

The Dial of Prin-

*ces, Compiled by the reuerend father
in God, Don Antony of Gueuara, Byshop
of Guadix, Preacher, and Chronicler to
Charles the fiste, late of that name
EMPEROR.*

Englised out of the Frenche by T. North,
sonne of Sir Edvard North Knight, L. North
of Kytheling. And now newly reuised and cor-
rected by hym, resourmed of faultes escaped
in the first edition: with an amplification
also of a fourth booke annexed to the
same, Entituled The fauored
Courtier, neuer heretofore
imprinted in our bul-
gar tongue.

Right necessarie and pleasaunt to
all noble and vertuous
persones.

*Now newly imprinted by Richarde
Tottill, and Thomas Marthe.*

Anno. Domini.

1568.

To the moste highe and vertuouse Princeesse, Mary,
by the grace of God, Queene of Englande, Spayne,

Fraunce, bothe Sicilles, Ierusalem, Naples, and Irelande.

Defendour of the faith, Archiduchesse of Austria, Duchesse

of Burgundie, Hplaine, and Brabant, Countesse of

Haspourge, Flaunders, and Tyrol. Longe

health and perpetual felicitie.

(:.)



THE Diuine philosopher Plato, moste gracious soue-
raigne Lady, traauailing all his life time to abolish the barba-
rous maners of the Grecians, and to induce a ciuile forme of
liuing among the people: ordeined a lawe to the greate com-
fort of those that folowed vertue, and no lesse to the terrour
of others that haunted vices. The which commaunded, that
not onely those, which brought in, or inuented any newe thing that might either
corrupt the good maners, violate the aunciente customes, hinder through euill
example good liuing, impoison with erroneous doctrine the consciences, effemi-
nate with voluptuous pleasures the heartes, impouerish with vnprofitable mar-
chaundise the people, or diffame through malicious words the renowmes: should
be (as vnprofitable membres) from the common wealth expelled and banished:
but also ordeined, that those which studied to publish any institution, appertey-
ning either to the honoure of the Goddes, to the reformation of the frayltie of
men, or by any other meane to the profit of the weale publike, should be condign-
ly of the common wealth entertained, preferred, and honoured. Then if this
lawe were iust, most gracious soueraigne Lady (as it is moste iuste in dede) who
deserued more honorable enterteynement amonge the liuing, or who meriteth a
worthier fame among the dead, then Don Antony of Gueuara the Authour
hereof? For by his stayed life God hath bene glorified, by his holosome doctrine
the people of Spayne heretofore edified, and by his swete and sauorie writings,
we (and sundrie other nations) at this present may be much profited. The which
though they are al pithy and ful of high doctrine: yet this entituled *Los relox de*
principes, aboue the rest (in my opinion) is most profonde and pleasaunt. For if the
zeale that I beare to his workes deceiue not my iudgement, there is no Authour
(the sacred letters set aparte) that more effectuously setteth out the omni-
potencie of God, the frailtie of men, the inconstancie of fortune, the vanitie of this
world, the misery of this life, and finally that more plainly teaceth y good which
mortal men ought to pursue, and the euill that all men oughte to flie: then this
present worke doth. The which is so full of high doctrine, so adourned with aun-
cient histories, so authorised with graue sentences, and so beautified with apte
similitudes: that I knowe not whose eies in reading it can be wried, nor whose
eares in hearing it not satisfied. Considering therfore (most gracious soueraigne
Lady

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Lady) that this worke may serue to high estates for counsell, to curious serchers of antiquities for knowledge, and to al other vertuous gentlemen for an honest pleasaunt and profitable recreation, and finally that it may profite all and can hurte none: I (according to my small knowledge and tender yeares) haue reduced it into our vulgare tongue, and vnder your graces name haue published it for the commoditie of many. Most humbly beseeching your highnes to accept in good parte (according to your graces accustomed goodnes) this my good will and trauaile: which here I offer as a pledge of my bounden duty towards your highnes, and also as a perpetual memory of the feruent zeale I beare to my country. And in so doing your grace shal not onely encourage me beinge young in these my first fruites: but also others (peraduenture) of more ripe yeares to attempt the like enterprise, by the whiche the deuine maiestie may be immortally glorified, your puissaunt name worthely magnified, your royall persone duely obeyed, and all your graces naturall and louing subiectes greatly profited.

At Lincolnes Inne the. 20. of December.

Your highnes most humble and loyal
subiecte Thomas North.

The generall Prologue vppon the Booke entytuled,
the Diall of Princes, with the famous booke of
 MARCVS AVRELIVS. Compyled by
the reuerend Father in God, the Lord Antony of
 Gueuara, Bisshop of Guadix, Confessor and Chro-
 nicler of Charles the fift Emperoure of
 Rome, to whom & to al other Princes
 and noble men this worke was
 directed.



POLONIVS THIANEVS disputing with the Schol-
 lers of Viarcas sayde: that among all the affections of nature,
 nothynge is moze naturall, than the desire that all haue to pre-
 serue life. Omitting þe dispute of these great philosophers herin,
 we our selves hereof haue dayly pꝛoofe: that to lyue men do tra-
 uaille: to liue birdes do flye: to liue fishes do swimme: and to lyue
 beastes do hide themselves for feare of death. Finally I say there
 is no liuinge creature so brutish, that hath not a naturall desire
 to liue. If many of the auncient Paynems so little wene lyfe, that of their owne free
 willes they offered the selues to death, they did it not for that they dispised life, but be-
 cause they thought that for their little regarding life, we would moze highly esteeme
 their fame. For we see men of halwte courages seeke rather to winne a longe during
 fame, than to saue a shORTE lasting life. How lothe men are to dye, is easely sene by the
 greate paynes they take to liue. For it is a naturall thing to all moztal men, to leaue
 their liues with sorrow, and take their deathes with feare. Admitte that all do taste
 this coꝛpoꝛall death, and that generally bothe god and euill do dye: yet is there great
 difference betwene the death of one, & the death of another. If the god desire to liue,
 it is for the greater desire they haue to do god: but if the euill desire to lyue, it is for
 that they woulde abuse the worlde longer. For the children of vanitie call no tyme
 god, but that wherein they liue according to their owne desires. I let ye vnderstande
 that are at this pꝛesent, and ye also that shal come hereafter: that I direct my writing
 vnto those which embrace vertue, and not vnto such as are boꝛne alwaye with vice.
 God doth not way vs as we are, but as we desier to be. And let no man say I woulde,
 and can not be god: for as we haue the audacitie to committe a faulte, so (if we like)
 we may enfoꝛce our selues to worke amendes. Al our vndoing pꝛoceedeth of this, that
 we outwardly make a shewe of vertue, but inwardly in the dede we employe our
 thoꝛough power to vice: which is an abuse, where with al the worlde is roꝛupted and
 deceiued. For heauen is not furnished but with good dedes, and hell is not replenished
 but with euill desires. I graunt that neither man noꝛ beaste desireth to dye, but all
 traualle to thende they may liue: But I aske now this question. What doth it auaille
 a man to desire his life to be prolonged, if the same be wicked, vngodly, and defamed?
 The man that is high minded, pꝛoude, vnconstante, cruell, disdeinfull, enuious, ful of
 hatred, angry, malicious, full of wrath, couetous, a lier, a glutton, a blasphemur, and
 in al his doinges disoꝛdered: why wil we suffer him in the worlde? The lyfe of a poꝛe
 man that for nede steleth a golone oꝛ any other smal trifle, is soꝛth with taken away:
 why than is he that disturbeth a whole common wealth left aliue? O woulde to God,
 *.*l.* there

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there were no greater theues in the worlde than those, whiche robbe the tempoꝛall goodes of the riche, & that we did not winke continually at them, which take away the good renoume as well of the riche as of the poore. But we chastise the one, & dissemble wth the other which is euidently sene, how the thiefe that steleth my neighbours gown is hanged forthwith, but he that robbeth me of my good name, walketh still befoze my doze. The diuine Plato in the firste booke of lawes sayde. We ozdayne, and commaunde, that he that bleth not him selfe honestly, and hath not his house wel resourmed, his riches well gouerned, his family well instructed, & lyueth not in peace with his neighbours, that vnto him be assigned tutors which shal gouerne him as a foole, and as a vacabonde shalbe expulsed from the people, to thintent the common wealth be not thzough him infected. Foꝛ there neuer riseth contention oꝛ arise in a common wealth, but by suehe menne as are alwayes out of order. Truly the diuine Plato had greate reason in his sayinges, foꝛ the man that is vitious of his person, and doth not trauaile in things touching his house, noꝛ kepeth his family in good order, noꝛ liueth quietly in the common wealth, deserueth to be banished, and bylueu out of the countrey. Truly we see in dyuerse places madde menne tied and bound fast, which if they were at libertie would not doe suche harme, as those that dayly walke the streates at their owne wylles and sensualitie. There is not at this daye so greate oꝛ noble a Loꝛde, noꝛ Lady so delicate, but had rather suffer a blowe on the head with a stone, than a blot in their good name with an euill tongue. Foꝛ the wounde of the heade in a moneth oꝛ two maye well be healed: but the blemmishe of their good name duringe life will neuer be remoued. Laertius saith in his booke of the lyfe of Philosophers, that Diogenes, beinge asked of one of his neighbours, what they were that ozdeyned the lawes: answered in this wise. Thou shalt vnderstande, my friende, that the earnest whole desire of our fozefathers, and all the intention of the Philosophers was to instructe them in their common wealth, how they ought to sprake, how to be occupied, how to eate, how to slepe, howe to treate, how to apparaille, how to trauaile, and how to rest: and in this consisteth all the wealth of woꝛldly wisdom. In dede this Philosopher in his aunswere touched an excellent pointe, foꝛ the lawe was made to no other ende, but to byddell him that liueth without reason oꝛ lawe. To menne that will liue in rest and without treuble in this life, it is requisite & necessarye that they chose to them selues som kinde and maner of liuinge, whereby they may mainteyne their house in good order, and confoꝛme their liues vnto the same. That estate ought not to be as the folly of their parson both desire, noꝛ as may be most pleasaunte to the delights of the body: but as reason teacheth them, and God commaundeth them, foꝛ the surer saluacion of their soules. Foꝛ the children of vanitie embrace that onely which the sensuall appetite desireth, and reiecte that which reason commaundeth. Since the time that trees were created, they alwayes (remayning in the firste nature) vntil this present day, doe beare the same lease, and frute which things are playne sene in this, that the palme beareth dates, the figge tree figges, the nut tree nuttes, the peare tree peares, the apple tree apples, the chesnutte tree chesnuttes, the Oke acoznes: and to conclude I saye all thinges haue kepte their firste nature, saue onely the sinfull man which hath fallen by malice. The planettes, the starres, the heauens, the water, the earth, the ayre, and the fier: the byute beastes, and the fishes, al continue in the same estate wherein they were first created, not complayninge noꝛ enuyng one the other. Span complayneth continually, he is neuer satisfied, and alwayes desireth to chaunge his estate. Foꝛ the shepheard woulde be a husbandman, the husbandman a squier, the squier a knight, the knight a king, the king an Emperour. Therefore I say, that felo

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is the number of them that seke amendment of life: but infinite are they that trauaile to better their estate, and to encrease their goodes. The decaye of the common wealth (at this present) though all the worlde is, that the dry and withered okes which haue bene nourished vpon the sharpe mountaynes, woulde nowe seme to be daynetie date trees cherished in the pleasaunt gardeins. I meane, that those which yester day coulde haue ben pleased wth drye acornes in a poore cottage at home: at this day wil not eat but of delicate dishes in other mens houses abroade. What estate menne ought to take vpon them to kepe their conscience pure, and to haue moze rest in their life, a man cannot easely describe. For there is no state in the Church of God, but men may therein (if they will) serue God, and profite them selues. For there is no kind of life in the worlde, but the wicked (if they perseuer and continue therein) may sclaunder their persons, and also lease their soules. Plinie in an epistle that he wrote to Fabius his friend, saith. There is nothing among mortall men moze common and daungerous, than to geue place to bayne imaginacions, whereby a man beleueth the estate of one to be much better than the estate of an other. And hereof it proceedeth, that the worlde doth blinde men so, that they wil rather seke that which is an other mans by trauaile and daunger: than enioy their owne with quiet and rest. I say the state of Princes is good, if they abuse it not. I say the state of the people is good, if they behaue them selues obediently. I say the estate of the rich is good, if they wil Godly vse it. I say the estate of the religious is good, if they be able to profit others. I say the estate of the communalitie is good, if they will contente them selues. I say the state of the poore is good, if they haue patience. For it is no merite to suffer many troubles, if we haue not patience therein. During the time of this our miserable life we cannot deny, but in euery estate there is bothe trouble and daunger. For then onely our estate shalbe perfect, when we shal come gloriously in soule and body without the feare of deathe: and also when we shal reioyce without daungers in life. Retourninge agayne to our purpose (mightie Prince) although we all be of value little, we all haue little, we all can attaine little, we all knowe little, we all are able to doe little, we all do liue but little: yet in all this little, the state of Princes semeth some great and high thing. For that worldely men say there is no such felicitie in this life, as to haue authoritie to commaunde many, & to be bounde to obey none. But if either subiectes knewe howe dere Princes by their power to commaunde, or if Princes knewe howe swete a thinge it is to liue in quiet: doubtlesse the subiectes woulde pittie their rulers, and the rulers woulde not enuy their subiectes. For fewe are the pleasures which Princes enioy, in respecte of the troubles that they endure. Sith then the estate of Princes is greater than al, that he may doe moze than all, is moze of value than all, vpholdeth moze than all, and finally that from thence proceedeth the gouernement of all, it is moze nedefull that the house, the person, and the life of a Prince be better gouerned, and ordered, than all the reste. For euen as by the yarde the marchante measureth al his ware: so by the life of the Prince is measured the whole common weale. Many sorowes endureth the woman in nourishing a waywerde childe, great trauaile taketh a scholemaster in teaching an vntowarde scholler, much paine taketh an officer in gouerning a multitude ouergreate: howe greate than is the paine and peril, whereunto I offer my selfe, in takinge vpon me to order the life of such a one, vpon whose life hangeth all the good state of a common weale. For Princes and great Lords, ought of vs to be serued, and not offended: we ought to exhort them, not to bere them: we ought to entreate them, not to rebuke them: we ought to aduise them, and not to defame them: finally I say, that right simple recken I that surgiō, which with the same plaisters he layed to a hard heele, seeketh to

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ture the tender eyes. I meane by this cōparison, that my purpose is not to tel p̄inces, and noble men in this booke what they be, but to warne them what they ought to be: not to tell them what they doe, but to aduise them what they ought to doe. For that noble man which will not amende his lyfe for remōse of his owne conscience, I doe thinke that he wil amende it for the wryting of my penne. Paulus diaconus the historiographer in the second booke of his commentaries, sheweth an antiquitie right worthy to remember, and also pleasaunt to reade: Although in dede to the hinderaunce of my selfe I shall reuerse it. It is, as of the henne, who by longe scraping on the dongehill, discouereth the knife that shall cut h̄r owne throte. Thus was the case. Hannibal the moste renowned p̄ince and captayne of Carthage (after he was bairquished by thaduenturous Scipio) fled into Asia to kinge Antiochus, a p̄ince then liuinge of great vertue, who receiued him into his realme, toke him into his protectiō, and right honourably enterteyned him in his house. And certes king Antiochus did herein, as a pitefull p̄ince: for what can moze beautifie the honoꝝ of a p̄ince than to succoꝝ nobilitie in their needfull estate. These two p̄inces vsed diuers exercises to spende the time honoꝝably, & thus they diuided tyme. Sometime to hunt in the mountaines, otherwhile to dispozte them in the fieldes, oft to beue their armies: But mostly, they wente to the scholes to heare the Philosophers. And truly they did like wise & skilfull men. For there is no holwer in a daye otherwise so well employed, as in hearinge a wise pleasaunt tonged man. There was at a tyme in Ephesus a famous philosopher called Phormio, which openly red and taught the people of that realme. And one day as these twoo p̄inces came into the schoole, the philosopher Phormio changed the matter wherupon he red, and of a sodayne began to talke of the meāces and wayes that p̄inces ought to vse in warre, & of thozder to be kepte in geying battaile. Such, so straunge, and high phrased was the matter which he talked of, that not onely they merueilled which neuer befoze saue him: but euen those also that of longe tyme had dayly heard him. For herein curious and flourishyng wittes shewe their excellency, in that they neuer wante fresh mater to entreate vpon. Greatly gloyed the king Antiochus, that this philosopher (in p̄sence of this straunge p̄ince) had so excellentlye spoken, so that straungers might vnderstand he had his realme stoꝝed with wise mē. For couragious and noble p̄inces esteeme nothing so p̄ecious, as to haue men valiant to defend their frontiers: and also wise to gouerne their commō weales. The lecture red, king Antiochus demaunded of the p̄ince Hannibal, howe he liked the talke of the philosopher Phormio: to whome Hannibal stoutely aunswered, and in his aunswere shewed him self to be of that stoutnes he was the same day, whā he wanne the great battaile at Cannas. For although noble harted and couragious p̄inces lose all their estates and realmes: yet they will neuer confesse their hartes to be ouerthrowen noꝝ baynquished. And these were the words that at that tyme Hannibal said. Thou shalt vnderstande kinge Antiochus, that I haue sēne diuers dotinge olde men, yet I neuer saue a moze dotarde sole than Phormio, whom thou caulest such a great philosopher. For the greatest kinde of foly is, whan a man that hath but a little vaine science, p̄sumeth to teach not those which haue only science, but also such as haue most certeine experience. Tel me (kinge Antiochus) what harte can bꝝoke with patience, oꝝ what tonge can suffer with silence, to see a sely man (as this philosopher is) nourished all his life time in a coꝝner of Grece, studieng philosophie, to p̄sume (as he hath done) to talke befoze the p̄ince Hannibal of the affaires of warre, as though he had bene either loꝝde of Affrike, oꝝ captayne of Rome: Certes he either full little knoweth him self, oꝝ els but little esteemeth vs. For it appeareth by his vaine words, he would seme

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to know moze in matters of warre, by that he hath red in booke: than doth Hannibal by the sundry and great battayles which he hath fought in the fieldes. King Antiochus, how far and how great is the difference, betwene the state of philosophers, & the state of captaynes: betwene the skill to reade in schole, and the knowledge to rule an armie, betwene the science that these wise men haue in booke, and the experience that thothers haue in warre: betwene their skill to write with the penne, and ours to fight with the sword, betwene one that for his pastime is set round with deskcs of booke, and an other in perill of life compassed with troupes of enemies. For many there are which with great eloquence, in blasing dedes done in warres, can vse their tongs: but few are those that at the bzunt haue hartes to aduenture their liues. This sely philosopher neuer saw man of warre in the field, neuer saw one army of men discomfited by an other, neuer heard the terrible trumpet sound to the horrible & cruel slaughter of men, neuer saw the treasons of some, nor vnderstode the cowardnes of other, neuer saw how fewe they be that fight, nor how many there are that runne away. Finally I say, as it is semely for a philosopher and a learned man to praise the profits of peace: eue so it is in his mouth a thing vncomely to prate of the perills of warre. If this philosopher hath sene no one thing with his eyes that he hath spoken, but onely red them in sondry booke: let him recounte them to such as haue neither sene nor red them. For warlike feates are better learned in the bloudy fieldes of Afrike, than in the beautifull scholes of Grece. Thou knowest right wel (king Antiochus) & for the space of 36. yeres I had continuall and daungerous warres, as well in Italy as in Spayne, in which fortune did not fauor me (as is alwaies her maner) to vse those, which by great stoutnes & manhodde enterprise things high and of much difficultie: a witnes wherof thou seest me heare, who before my berde began to grow, was serued: & now when it is hoze, I my selfe begin to serue. I sweare vnto the by the God Mars, (kinge Antiochus) that if any man did aske me how he should vse and behaue him selfe in warre, I would not answere him one word. For they are things that are learned by experience of daedes, & not by prating in words. Although princes begin warres by iustice, and solow them with wisdom, yet the ende standeth vpon fickle fortune and not of force, nor policie. Diuers other things Hannibal saide vnto Antiochus, who so wil see the, let him reade the Apothemes of Plutarke. This example (noble prince) tendeth rather to this end, to condempne my boldnes, & not to comende my enterprise, saying that thaffaires of the comon wealth be as vnknownen to me, as the daungers of the warres were to Phormio. Your maiestie may iustely say vnto me, that I being a poze simple man (brought vp a great while in a rude countrey) do greatly presume to describe, howe so puissant a prince as your highnes ought to gouerne him self and his realme. For of truthe the moze ignoraunt a man is of the troubles and alteracions of the worlde, the better he shalbe cousted in the sight of God. The estate of princes is to haue great traines about them, & the estate of religious men, is to be solitarie: for the seruaunt of God ought to be alwayes boyde from vaine thoughtes, & to be euer accompanied with holy meditations. The estate of princes is alwayes vnquiet: but the state of the religious is to be enclosed. For otherwise, he aboue all others may be called an Apostata, that hath his body in the sell, and his hart in the market place. To princes it is necessary to speake & common with all men: but for the religious it is not decenete to be conuersant with the worlde. For solitary men (if they do as they ought) should occupy their hands in traualle, their body in fasting, their tonge in prayer, & their harte in contemplacion. The estate of princes for the most part is employed to warre: but the state of the religious is to desire & procure peace. For if the prince would study to passe his boundes, and by

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bataille to shed the blood of his enemies: the religious ought to shed teares, & pray to God for his sinnes. And that it pleased almighty God, as I know what my bounden dutie is in my hart, so that he would giue me grace to accomplish the same in my dedes. Alas, when I ponder with my selfe the waightines of my matter, my penne through slothe and negligence is ready to fall out of my hand, & I half minded to leaue of mine enterpryse. My intent is to speake against my selfe in this case. For albeit men maye knowe thaffaires of princes by experience: yet they shall not knowe howe to speake nor write therof but by science. Those which ought to counsaile princes, those which ought to reforme the life of princes & that ought to instruct them, ought to haue a clere iudgement, an vpright minde, their wordes aduisedly considered, their doctrine holesom, & their life without suspicio. For who so wil speake of high things, hauing no experence of them: is like vnto a blinde man that would leade & teach him the way, which seeth better than he him self. This is the sentece of Xenophon the great which saith. There is nothing harder in this life than to knowe a wise man. And the reason which he gaue was this. That a wise man cannot be knowen but by an other wise man, we maye gather by this which Xenophon saith: that as one wise man cannot be knowen but by an other wise man: so lyke wise it is requisite that he should be, or haue ben a prince, which should write of the life of a prince. For he that hath ben a mariner, & sailed but one yere on the sea: shall be able to giue better counsaile and aduise, than he that hath dwelled .x. yers in the haven. Xenophon wrote a booke touching the institution of princes, & bringeth in Cambyses the kyng, how he taughte, and spake vnto kyng Cyrus his sonne. And he wrote an other booke likewise of the arte of cheualrye, and brought in kyng Phillip, how he oughte to teache his sonne Alexander to fight. For the philosophers thought that writing of no auctoritie, that was not intituled & set forth vnder the name of those princes, which had experience of what they wrote. And if an aged prince would with his penne (if not with worde of mouth) declare, what misfortunes haue happened since the first time he began to reigne, howe disobedient his subiectes haue ben vnto him, what grieffe his seruantes haue wrought against him, what vnkindnes his frendes haue shewed him, what subtil wiles his enemies haue used towardes hym, what daunger his person hath escaped, what iarres haue ben in his palace, what fautes they haue said against him, how many times they haue deceiued strangers, finally what griefes he hath had by day, & what sorrowful sighes he hath fetched in the night: truly I thinke (& in my thought I am nothing deceaued) that if a prince would declare vnto vs his hole lif, & that he would particularly shew vs euery thing, we would both wonder at that body which had so much suffered: & also we would be offended with that hart that had so greatly dissembled. It is a troublesome thing a dangerous thing, & an insolent and proud enterpryse, for a man to take vpon him with a penne to gouerne the common wealth, & with a prince to reasone of his life. For in dede men are not perswaded to liue wel by faire wordes, but by vertuous dedes. And therfore not without cause I say that he is not wise, but very arrogat, that dare presume vnasked to giue a prince counsaile. For princes in many thinges haue their mindes occupied, & haughtely bent, & som of them also are affectioned, & where as we (peraduenture) thinke to haue them mercifull, we finde them moze angry & heauy against vs. For counsaile doth moze harme than profite, if the giuer thereof be not very wise, & he also which receiueth it very patient. I haue not ben a prince to knowe the trauailes of princes, nor am not as president to counsaile princes: yet I was so bolde to compile this booke, it was not vpon presumption to counsaile a prince, so much as by an humble sorte to giue mine aduise. For to giue counsel, I confesse I haue no credite: but to giue them aduise, it sufficeth me to

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me to be a subiecte. What the order is that I haue taken in this booke, how profitable it is to all men, & how vnpleasaunt to no man, how holsome & profound doctrine in it is contained, & how the histories be herin applied: I wil not that my pen do write, but they the selues shal iudge which shal reade this worke. While it oft com to passe that diuers bookes do lose their estimation, not for that they are not very good & excellēt: but because the auctour hath ben to presumptuous & vainglorious. For in my opinion, for a man to praise his owne writings much, is nothing els but to giue men occasion to speake euil both of him & of his worke. Let no man thinke that I haue written thys which is written, without great aduise ment and examination. I do confesse before the redemer of the whole world, that I haue consumed so many yers to seke what I shold write, that this.ii.yers one day hath scarcely escaped me, wherein my pen hath not don his dutie to write or correct in this worke. I confesse that I toke great paine in writing it, for of truethe it hath ben written twise with mine owne hand, and thise with another mans hand. I confesse I haue red & searched in diuers & sondrie partes, many and good strange bookes, to the end I might finde good and pleasant doctrine, & besides that I trauailed much to set & apply the histories to the purpose. For it is an vnseemly thing to apply an history without a purpose. I had great respecte in that I was not so bryefe in my writings, that a man might note me to be obscure: nor yet in any thing so long, that a man shold slea under me with to much talke. For al the excellēcie of writing consisteth, where many & goodly sentences are declared in few & apte wordes: For oft times the long stile is lothsom & tedious both to the hearers & readers. Nero the emperour was in loue with a lady in Rome named Pompeia, the which in beauty (to his fantasie) exceded all other. In the end partely by intreaty, partely by money & presents, he obtained of her the which he desired. For in this case of loue, where prayers & importunities be paciēly hard, & resistance doth lacke: The inordinate loue the Nero bare to Pompeia, proceeded of the yelow heres she had, which wer of the colour of amber, & in prayse of them he compiled diuers & sondry songes in heroical meter, & with an instrument sang the himself in her presence. Nero was a sage prince, wise, & excellētly well learned in the latin tong, & also a good musiciā: yet Plutarke in his booke of the gestes of noble womē (to declare the vanitie & lightnes of Nero) reciteth this history: & describēg Pompeia said, the her body was smal, her fingers long, her mouth proper, her eye lids thin her nose somewhat sharpe, her teeth smal, her lips red, her neck white, her forehead broad, & finally, her eyes great & rowlin, her brest large & wel proportioned, what thinke you shold Nero haue don if he had so affectionatly set his fantasie vpon al other her beautiful properties, sines the for the loue alonly of her yelow locks, he was depriued both of his wisdom, & also senses. For baine & light men loue comely not the which reason commaūdeth: but the which their appetite desireth. The loue of the emperour encreased by soly so much, the not only he counted seuerally al the heres the his louer Pompeia had on her head, but also gaue to euery haire a proper name, & in praise of euery one of the made a song, in so much the this effeminate prince spent more time in baketting & plateng with his louer Pompeia: than he did to reforme & amend the faultes of the common welth. For his soly so much surmounted al reason, the he commaūded a robe of gold to be made, & therewith he himself commaūded her yelow locks. And if it chaūsed the any one here in kemig sel of, he by & by caused it to be set in gold, offered it vpon in the temple to the goddess Iuno. For it was an ancient custom among the Romans, the the things which they entierly loued (whether it wer good or euil) should be offered vpon to their gods. And whan it was once knowen the Nero was so in loue with these heres of Pompeia, which wer of the colour of amber, al the ladies endeouored the selues, not only to make artificially their here of that colour: but also to were their garmentes, and other attyres of the same colour, in somuche that bothe

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men and women did vse collers of amber, bryches & ringes set with amber, & al their other Jewels were of amber. For alwayes it hath ben sene, & euer shall be, that those things wherunto the prince is most addicted, the people folow, & aboue al other couet the same. Before this Emperour Nero pleased this light part in Rome, the amber stone was had in little estimation, & after that he set so muche by it, there was no precious stone in Rome so much esteemed. Yea & furthermore the marchant gained nothinge so much (whether it were in gold or silke) as he did in the amber stones, nor brought any kind of marchaundise to Rome more precious, or more vendible than that was. I doe merueile at this vanitie, so much as the children of the world do loue, desire, & laboꝝ more to folow the straunge folly of an other: than to furnish & supply their own proper necessitie. Wherefore retourning againe to my purpose (most excellent prince) by this example you may coniecture, what I would say, that is, that if this writing were accepted vnto princes, I am assured it would be refused of no man: And if any man would hauberously talke of it, he durst not, remembꝝing that your maiestie hath receiued it. For those things which princes take to their custodie, we are bound to defend, & it is not lawfull for vs to diminish their credite. Suppose that this my worke were not so profound as it might be of this matter, nor with such eloquence set out as many other booke are: yet I dare be bolde to say, that the prince shall take more profit by reading of this worke, than Nero did by his loue Pompeia. For in the end, by reading and studieng good booke, men tourne, & become sage and wise: and by keeping ill company, they are counted folles & bitious. My meaning is not, nor I am not so importunat and vnreasonable, to perswade princes that they should so fauour my doctrine, & it should be in like estimation now in these partes, as the amber was there in Rome. But that which only I require & demand is, & the time which Nero spent in singing & telling & heeres of his loue Pompeia, should now be employed to redresse the wrongs & faultes of the common wealth. For the noble & worthy prince ought to employ the least part of the day in the recreation of his person. After he hath giue audience to his counsaillers, to the embassadours, to the great Lordes & prelates, to the riche and poore, to his owne countrey men and straungers, & after that he be come into his priuy chamber, then my desire is that he would reade this treatise, or some other better than this: for in princes chambers oftentimes those of the priue chamber and other their familiars loose great time, in reciting wayne and trifling matters and of small profit, the which might better be spent in reading some good booke. In al worldly affaires that we do, & in al our booke which we compile, it is a greate matter to be fortunate. For to a man that fortune doth not fauour, diligence (without doute) can little auaille. Admitte that fortune were against me, in that this my worke should be acceptable vnto your maiestie, without comparison it should be a great grief & dishonour vnto me, to tel you what should be good to reade for your pastime, if on thother parte you would not profite by mine aduise. For my mind was not only to make this booke, to the end princes should reade it for a pastime, but to that end (in recreating the selues) sometimes they mought thereby also take profit. Aulus Gellius, in the. 12. chapter of his thirde booke entituled *De nocte attica*, said that amongs al the schollers which the diuine Plato had, one was named Demosthenes, a man amongst the Grekes moste highly esteemed & of the Romanaynes greatly desired. Because he was in his liuing senere, and in his tonge and doctrine a very satire. If Demosthenes had come in the time of Phalaris the tirauit, whan Grecia was peopled with tirauites, and that he had not bene in Platoes tyme, when it was replenished with Philosophers, truely Demosthenes had bene as cleare a lantern in Asia, as Cicero the greate was in Europe. Create good happy hath a notable

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table man to be bozne in one age, moze then in any other. I meane, that if a ballaunt knight come in the tyme of a couragious and stout pynce, such one truly shalbe esteemed and set in great authoritie. But if he come in the time of an other effeminate and couetous pynce, he shall not be regarded at al. For he wil rather esteeme one that wil augment his treasure at home: than him that can vanquish his enemies in battayle abroad. So likewise it chaunceth to wise and vertuous men, which if they come in the time of vertuous and learned pynces, are esteemed and honoured: But if they come in tyme of bayne and vitious pynces, they make small accounte of them. For it is an auncient custome amonge vanities childen, not to honoꝝ him which to the common wealth is most profitable: but him whiche to the pynce is most acceptable. The ende why this is spoken (Most pufant Prince) is because the twoo renoumed philosophers were in Grece both at one time: and because the diuine philosopher Plato was so much esteemed and made of, they did not greatly esteeme the philosopher Demosthenes. For the eminent and high renoume of one alone, diminisheth the same & estimation (among the people) of many. Although Demosthenes was such a one in dede as we haue sayd, that is to witte, eloquent of tonge, ready of memoꝝ, sharpe and quicke of witte, in liuing seuer, sure and profitable in geuing of counsaile, in renoume excellent, in yeres very auncient, and in philosophie a man right wel learned: yet he refused not to goe to the scholes of Plato to heare moꝝall philosophie. He that shall reade this thinge or heare it, ought not to meruelle, but to folow it, and to profit likewise in the same: that is to vnderstande, that one philosopher learned of an other, and one wise mā suffered him selfe to be taught of an other. For knowledge is of such a qualitie, that the moze a man knoweth, dayly there encreaseth in him a desire to knowe moze. All thinges of this life (after they haue bene tasted and possessed) cloyeth a man, wearyeth and troubleth him, true science onely excepted, which neuer doth cloy, weary, nor trouble them. And if it happen we weery any, it is but the eyes which are wteried with lookinge and reading: and not the sprite with feeling and tastinge. Many Lozdes and my familiar friends doe aske me how it is possible I shoulde liue with so much study: And I also demaunde of them, how it is possible they shoulde liue in such continuall idelnes: For considering the pꝛouocation and assaultes of the flesh, the daungers of the world, the temptacions of the deuil, the treasons of enemies, & impoꝝtunities of friendes: what hart can suffer so great and continual trauaile, but onely in readinge & comfortinge him selfe in booke: Cruely a man ought to haue moze compassion of a simple ignorant man, than of a poꝝe man. For there is no greater pouerty vnto a man, than to lacke wisdom whereby he shoulde know how to governe him selfe. Therefore folowinge our matter the case was such, one day Demosthenes (going to the scholl of Plato) sawe in the market place of Athens a greate assembly of people, which were hearing a philosopher newly come vnto that place: & he spake not this without a cause, that there was a greate compaigny of people assembled. For that naturallie the common people are desirous to heare new and straunge things. Demosthenes asked what philosopher he was after whome so many people went: and when it was answered him that it was Calistratus the philosopher, a man which in eloquence was very swete and pleasant: he determined to staie and heare him, to thende he woulde knowe whether it were true or bayne that the people tolde hym. For oftentymes it happneth, that amonge the people some gette them selues greate fame, moze by fauour, than by god learninge. The difference betwixte the diuine Philosopher Plato, and Calistratus was, in that Plato was exceedingly well learned, and the other very eloquente: and thus it came to passe, that in liuinge they folowed Plato: and in eloquence of speache they

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they did imitate Callistratus. For there are diuers menne sufficiently well learned, whiche haue profounde doctrine, but they haue no waye nor meanes to teache it others. Demosthenes hearing Calistratus but ones, was so far in loue with his doctrine, that he neuer after hearde Plato, nor entred into his scole, for to harken to any of his lectures. At which newes diuers of the sages of Grecia marueiled much, seing that the tongue of a man was of such power, y^e it had put all their doctrine to scilence. Although I apply not this crample, I doute not but your maiestie vnderstandeth to what end I haue declared it. And moreouer I say, that although Princes haue in their chambers bookes so well corrected, and men in their courtes so wel learned, that they may worthely keepe the estimation which Plato had in his schole: yet in this case it shoulde not displease me, that the difference that was betwen Plato and Calistratus, shoulde be betwene Princes and this booke. God forbidde, that by this sayeng men shoulde thinke I meane to dissuade Princes from the company of the sage men, or from reading of any other booke but this: for in so doinge, Plato shoulde be reiected which was diuine: and Calistratus embraced which was more worldly. But my desire is, that sometime they would vse to reade this booke a little, for it may chaunce they shal finde some holtsome counsaile therein, which at one tyme or other may profite them in their affaires. For the good & careful Princes ought to graffe in their memozy y^e wise sayings which they reade, & forget the cankered iniuries & wronges which are done the. I do not speake it without a cause, that he that readeth this my writing shal finde in it some profitable counsaile. For all that which hath bene written in it, hath bene in euery worde & sentence with great diligence so wel weyed, and corrected, as if therein onely consisted, the effecte of the whole worke. The greatestt grieve that learned menne feele in their writing is, to thinke, that if there be many that view their doings, to take profit thereby: they shal perceiue that there are as many moe, which occupy their tongues in the sleaunder and dispraise thereof. In publishinge this my worke, I haue obserued the maner of them that plant a new gardein, wherein they set Roses which giue a pleasant sauour to the nose, they make faire grene plattes to delight the eyes, they graft fruitfull trees to be gathered with the handes, but in the end as I am a man, so haue I written it for menne, and consequently as a man I may haue erred: for there is not at this daye so perfite a painter, but another will presume to amende his worke. Those which diligently wil endeouour themselves to reade this booke, shal find in it very profitable counsailes, very liuely lawes, good reasons, notable sayinges, sentences very profound, worthy examples, & histories very ancient. For to say the trueth, I had a respect in that the doctrine was auncient, & the stile new. And albeit your maiesty be the greatestt Prince of all Princes, and I the least of all your subiectes, you ought not for my base condicion to disdayne to cast your eyes vppon this booke, nor to thinke scozne to put that thing in prouise which semeth good. For a good letter ought to be nothing the lesse esteemed, although it be written with an euill penne. I haue sayde, and will say, that Princes and greate Lordes, the flouter, the richer, and the greater of renoume they be, the greater neede they haue of all men of good knowledge about them, to counsaile them in their affaires, and of good bookes which they maye reade: and this they ought to do as wel in prosperitie as in aduersitie, to the end that their affaires in time conueniente, may be debated and redressed. For otherwise, they shoulde haue time to repent, but no leasure to amende. Plinie, Marcus Varro, Strabo, and Macrobius, (which were historiographers no lesse graue than true) were at greate controuersie, in prouinge what thinges were most autentike in a common weale, and at what time they were of all menne accepted. Seneca in a pisse he wrote to Lucillus, praysed without

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cessing the common wealth of the Rhodiens, in the which (with much a doe) they bent them selues altogether to kepe one selfe thinge, and after they had therupon agreed, they kept and mainteyned it inuolately. The diuine Plato in the first booke entituled *De legibus*, ordeyned and commaunded that if any citizen did inuente any new thing, which neuer before was reade, nor harde of, the inuentour thereof should first practise the same for the space of .10. yeares in his owne house, before it was brought into the common wealth, and before it shold be published vnto the people, to thende if the inuencion were good, it should be profitable vnto him: and if it were noughte, that than the danger and hurte therof should lighte onely on him. Plutarche in his *Apothemes* saith, that Licurgus by greuous penalties did prohibite, that none should be so hardy in his common wealth to goe wanderinge into straunge countreys, nor that he should be so hardy to admit any straungers to come into his house: and the cause why this lawe was made, was to thende straungers should not bringe into their houses thinges straunge, and not accustomed in their common wealth, and that they trauiailing through straunge contreis, should not learne newe customes. The presumption of menne now a dayes is so great, and the consideration of the people so small, that what so euer a man can speake he speaketh, what so euer he can inuente he doth inuente, what he would he doth write, and it is no marueill, for there is no man that will speake againste them. For the common people in this case are so lighte, that amonges them you may dayly see new deuises, and whether it hurt or profit the common wealth they force not. If there came at this day a bayne man amonges the people which was neuer sene nor hearde of before, if he be any thing subtil, I aske you but this question: shal it not be easy for him to speake and inuente what he listeth, to set forth what he pleaseth, to perswade that which to him seemeth good, and al his sayenges to be beleued? Truly it is a wonderfull thinge, and no lesse sclaunderous, that one should be sufficient to peruerste the senses and iudgements of all, and all not able to repress the lightnes and vanitie of one. Things that are newe and not accustomed, neither princes ought to allowe, nor yet the people to vse. For a newe thinge oughte no lesse to be examined and considered, before it be brought into the common wealth: than the great doubts which arise in mennes myndes. Rufinus in the prologue of his seconde booke of his apologie reprooueth greatly the Egyptians because they were to full of deuises, and blamed much the Grecians because they were to curious in speaking fine wordes: & aboue all other he greatly prayseth the Romaynes, for that they were very harde of belife, & that they scarcely alweyes credited the sayings of the Grekes, and because they were discrete in admitting the inuencions of the Egyptians. The author hath reason to prayse thone, and dispraise thother. For it proceedeth of a light iudgement, to credite al the thinges that a man heareth, and to doe al thinges that he seeth. Returninge therefore now to our matter, Marcus Varro sayde there were .5. thinges in the worlde very harde to bringe in, to whereof none (after they were commonly accepted) were euer lost or forgotten, for euen as things baine begon, are easily left off: so things with great feare accepted, with much diligence are obserued.

The first thing that chiefly throughout al the worlde was accepted, was al men to liue together: that is to say, they should make places, townes, villages, cities & common wealthes. For according to the saying of Plato, the first & best inuentours of the common welth, were the antes, which (according to the experience we see) do liue together, traualle together, do go together, & also for the winter they make prouision together, & furthermore none of these antes do geue themselves to any priuat thing, but al theirs is brought into their common welth. It is a merueilous thing to behold the common welth
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of the antes, how netely they trim their hilles, to beholde howe they sweepe away the graine when it is wet, and how they drye it when they fele any moisture, to beholde how they come from their woꝝke, and how the one doth not hurt the other: And to behold also how they doe reioyce the one in the others trauaile, and that which is to our greatest confusion is, that if it come so to passe, 50000. antes will liue in a little hillocke together: and two men onely cannot liue in peace and concoꝝde in a comon wealth. Would to God the wisedome of men were so great to kepe them selues, as the pꝛudence of the antes is to liue. When the woꝝld came to a certayne age, & mens wittes wared moze fine, than tirantes spꝛange by which oppressed the poꝝe, theues that robbed the riꝛhe, rebelles that robbed the quiet, murderers that slew the patient, the ybell that ate the swete of other mens bꝛowes: all the which thinges considered by the which were vertuous, they agreed to assemble & liue together, that thereby they might pꝛeserue the good, and withstande the wicked. Macrobius affirmeth this in the seconde booke of Scipions dꝛeame saying, that couetousnes and auarice was the greatest cause why men inuented the comon wealth. Plinie in the seuenth booke. 56. chap. sayth, the first that made small assembles, were the Atheniens: and the first that builde great cities, were the Aegyptians.

The seconde thinge that was accepted thꝛoughout all the woꝝlde, were the letters whiche we reade, whereby we take pꝛofite in wꝛittinge. Accordinge whereunto Marcus Varro saith, the Aegyptians pꝛayse them selues and say, that they did inuente them: and the Assyrians affirme the contrarie, and sweare that they were shewed firste of all amongst them. Plinie in the seuenth booke saith, that in the first age, there was in the alphabet no moze than 16. letters, & that greate Palamedes at the siege of Troye, added other. 4. and Aristotile saith, that immediatly after the beginnunge there were founde. 18. lettters. And that afterwarde Palamedes did adde but, 2. and so there were 20. and that the Philosopher Epicarmus dyd adde other two, which were. 22. it is no great matter, whether the Aegyptians or the Assyrians first founde the letters. But I say and affirme, that it was a thing necessary for a common wealth, and also for the increase of man knowledge. For if we had wanted letters, and wꝛittings, we could haue had no knowledge of the tyme past, nor yet our posteritie coulde haue ben aduertised what was done in our dayes. Plutarke in the second booke entituled De uiris illustribus, and Plinie in the seuenth booke and. 56. chapter, doe greatly pꝛayse Pirotas, because he firste founde the fier in a flinte stone. They greatly commended Protheus, because he inuented harneis, and they highly extolled Panthasuea, because she inuented the hatchet. They pꝛaysed Cithcus, because he inuented the bowe, and the arrowes. they greatly pꝛaysed Pheniscus, because he inuented the crosse bowe and the slinge. They highly pꝛaysed the Lacedemonians, because they inuented the helmet, the spere, and the sword. They commende those of Thessalia, because they inuented the combat on horseback, and they commende those of Affrike, because they inuented the fight by sea. But I doe pꝛayse, and continually will magnifie, not those which founde the arte of fightinge, and inuented weapons to procure warre, for to kill his neighbour; but those which found letters, for to learne science, & to make peace betwene two pꝛinces. What difference there is to wet the penne with inke, and to paynte the spere with bloud: to be enuironned with booke, or to be laden with weapons. To study how enery man ought to liue, or els to goe pꝛiue and robbe in the warres, & to lye in waight to kill his neighbour: There is none of so vaine a iudgement, but wil pꝛaisse moze the speculation of the sciences, than the pꝛactise of the warre. Because that in the end, he that learneth sciences, learneth nought els but how he and others ought to lye. And
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he that learneth warlike seates, learneth none other thinge than howe to slep his neighbour, and to destroye others.

The thirde thinge, that equally of all was accepted, were lawes. For admit that al men now liued togethes in common, if they would not be subiect one to another, there woulde contention arise amongst them, for that accordinge to the sayinge of Plato, there is no greater token of the distruction of a common weale, than when many rulers are chosen therein. Plinie in his seuenth booke, 56. chapter sayth, that a Quene called Ceres, was the first that taught them to sowe in the fieldes, to grinde in milles, to passe and bake in ouens, and also she was the first that taught the people to liue accordinge to the lawe. And by the meanes of all these thinges our forefathers called her a goddesse. Since that time we neuer haue sene heard nor red of any realme, or other nation (as well straunge as barbarous) what so euer they were, but haue had lawes whereby the good were fauoured, and also institutions of greuous paynes wherewith the wicked were punished. Although truely I had rather, and it were better, that the good shoulde loue reason: than feare the lawe. I speake of those which leaue to do euill workes, for feare onely of fallinge into the punishmentes appointed for euill doers. For although men approue that which they doe, yet God condemneth that which they desire. Seneca in an epistle he wrot to his friend Lucille, sayde these wordes. Thou writest vnto me Lucille, that those of the yle of Scicili, haue caried a great quantitie of coyne into Spaine, and into Affrike, the which thing was forbidden by a Romayne lawe, and therefore they haue deserued greuous punishment. For we because thou arte vertuous, thou mayst teache me to do wel, and I that am olde wil teach the to say, wel: this is because that amongst wise and vertuous men it is enoughe to saye, that the lawe commaundeth, appointeth, and suffereth this thing, but in as much as it is agreing with reason. For the crowne of the good, is reason, and the scourge of the wicked, is the lawe.

The fourth thing that commonly throught the world amongst all men was accepted, was the barbers. And let no man take this thing in mockery. For if they doe reade Plinie in the. 59. chapter the seuenth booke, they shal finde for a truth, y the Romaines wer in Rome. 454. yeres without pouling or shauing y bayres of the beard of any man. Marcus Varro said, that Publius Ticinius, was the firste that brought the barbers from Scicili to Rome. But admitte it were so or otherwise: yet notwithstandinge there was a greate contention amonge the Romaynes. For they sayde, they thought it a rashe thinge for a man to committe his life to the courtesie of another. Dionisius the Siracusan neuer trusted his beard with any barboz, but when his doughters were very little, they clipped his beard with sifers: but after they became great, he woulde not put his trust in them to trimme his bearde, but he him selfe did burne it with the shales of nuttes. This Dionisius Siracusan, was demanded why he would not trust any barbour with his beard. He answered, because I know that ther be some which wil geue moze to the barboz to take away my life, than I wil giue to trimme my beard. Plinie in the seuenth booke saith, that the great Scipio called African, and y Emperour Augustus, wer y first that caused them in Rome to shauie their beards. And I thinke thend why Plinie spake these things, was to eralte these two princes which had as greate courage to suffer the rayfours touche their throtes: as thone for to fight against Hannibal in Affrike, and thother against Sextus Pompeius in Scicili.

The fift thing which comonly throught the world was accepted, were the dialles and clockes, which the Romaines wanted a long tyme. For as Plinie and Marcus Varro say, the Romaines were without clockes in Rome, for the space of. 595. yeres.

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The curious hyſtorioſographers declare thye manner of dialles that were in olde time that is to ſay, dialles of the houres, dialles of the ſonne, and dialls of the water. The dialle of the ſon Aneximenides Milleſius inuented, who was great Animandras ſcholar The dialle of the water, Scipio Naſica inuented, and the Diall of houres, one of the ſcholars of Thales the Phyloſopher inuented. Of all theſe antiquities whyche were brought into Rome, none of them were ſo acceptable to the Romaines, as the dialles were, wherby they meaſured the daye by the houre. For beſore they could not ſaye, we will ryſe at. vii. of the clocke, we will dine at. x. we will ſee one thother at. xii. at. i. we will doe that we oughte to doe. But beſore they ſayde, after the ſonne is by we wil doe ſuch a thinge, and beſore it goe downe we wyl doe that we ought to doe. Whoccaſion of declaring vnto you theſe. v. antiquities in this preamble, was to no other intente, but to call my booke the Dial of Princes. The name of the booke being newe (as it is) maye make the learning that is therein greatly to be eſteemed.

God ſorbyd that I ſhould be ſo bolde to ſaye, they haue ben ſo longe time in Spayne without dialles of learning, as they were in Rome without the diall of the ſonne, the water, and of the houres. For that in Spayne haue ben alwayes men well learned in ſciences, and very expert in the warres. By great reaſon and of greater occaſion, the Princes oughte to be commended, the knyghtes, the people, their wittes, and the fertilityte of their countrey: but yet to all theſe goodnes, I haue ſene manye vnlearned bookes in ſpayne, which as broken dialles deſerue to be caſt into the fier to be ſorgered anew. I do not ſpeake it without a cauſe, that manye bookes deſerue to be broken and burnt. For there are ſo many that without ſhame and honeſtie doe ſet forth the bookes of loue of the worlde, at this daye as boldely, as if they taught them to diſpiſe and ſpeake euill of the worlde. It is pitye to ſee how many dayes and nightes be conſumed, in readinge vayne bookes (that is to ſay) as Dion and Valentine, the Courte of Venus, & the .iiii. ſonnes of Amon, and diuerſe other vaine bookes, by whoſe doctrine I dare boldly ſay, they paſſe not the tyme but in perdition: for they learne not how they oughte to flye vice, but rather what way they may with moze pleaſour embrace it. This dial of princes is not of ſande, nor of the ſonne, nor of the houres, nor of the water, but it is the dial of lyfe. For that other dialles ſerue to know, what houre it is in the nyghte, and what houre it is of the day: but this ſheweth and teacheth vs, how we ought to occupye our mindes, and how to order our lyfe. The propertye of other dyalles is, to order thinges publyke: but the nature of this dyal of princes is, to teach

vs how to occupye our ſelues euery houre, and how to amende our lyfe euery momente. It lytle auayleth to keape the dyalles well, and to ſee thy ſubiectes diſſolutely without any order, to range in routes, and dayly rayſe debate and contention amonge them ſelues.

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*In this Prologue, the Authour speaketh parti-
cularlye of the booke. called Marcus Aurelius,
which he translated and dedicated to the Empe-
rour Charles the fyfte.*



The greatest vanitye that I find in the world is, that vayne men are not only content to be vaine in their life: but also procure to leue a memoꝛy of their vanity after their death. For it is so thought good vnto vaine and light men, whyche serue the worlde in vaine woꝛkes: that at the houre of death, when they perceiue they can do no moze, & that they can no longer preuaile, they offer them selues vnto death, which now they see appoche vpon them. Manye of the world are so fleshed in the world, that although it forsaketh them in deades: yet they wyl not forsake it in theyꝛ desires. And I durst sweare, that if the world could graunt them perpetual life, they woulde pꝛomysse it alwayes to remaine in their custonable follye. What a number of vaine men are alieue, whiche haue neither remembraunce of god to serue him, noꝛ of his gloꝛy to obey him, noꝛ of their conscience to make it cleane: but like brute beasts folow and ronne after their voluptuous pleasures. The brute beast is angrey if a man kepe him to much in awe: if he be wery he taketh his rest, he slepeth when he lysteth, he eateth and drinketh when he commeth vnto it, and vnles he be compelled he doth nothing, he taketh no care for the common welth, for he neither knoweth how to folow reason, noꝛ yet how to resist sensualitie. Therfoꝛe if a man at al times should eate when he desireth, reuenge himselfe when he is moued, commit adultrie when he is tempted, drinke when he is thirstie, and slepe when he is dꝛowsey, we might moze properly cal such a one a beaste nourished in the mountaines: than a man brought vp in the common wealth. For him properly we maye cal a man, yf gouerneth him selfe like a man, that is to say, confoꝛmable vnto such thyngs as reason willet, and not wher sensuality leadeth. Let vs leaue these vaine men whyche are alieue, and talke of them that be dead, against whom we dare say, that whyles they were in the world they folowed the world, & liued according to the same. It is not to be marvelled at that sines they were lyuing in the worlde, they were noted of some worlolye point. But seing their unhappy and wicked life is ended: why wil they then smel of the vanities of the world in their graues? It is a great shame and dishonoz for men of noble & stout harts, to se in one minut the end of our life, and neuer to see the end of our follye. We neither read, heare, noꝛ se any thyng moze common, then suche men as be most vnprofitable in the comon wealth, and of life most reprobate, to take vpon them most honour whyles they liue, and to leaue behind them the greatestt memoꝛy at their death. What vanity can be greater in the world, then to esteeme the world whych esteemeth no man, and to make no compt of god who so greatly regardeth al men: what a greater folly can ther be in man, then by muche trauaile to encrease his goodes, and with vaine pleasures to lose his soule: It is an olde plague in mannes nature, that many (oz the most parte of menne) leaue the amendment of their life farre behind: to set their honoz the moze before. Suetonius Tranquillus in the first booke of the Emperours sayth, that Iulius Cesar (no further thenne in Spaine, in the Citie of Cales now called Calis) saue in the temple the triumphes of Alexander the great paynted, the whyche when he hadde wel viewed, he sighed marvellous sooze, and beinge asked why he dyd so, he aunswered: What a wofull case am I in, that am now of thage of .30. yeres, and Alexander at the same yeres had subdued the whole worlde, and rested him in Babilon. And I (being as I am) a Romaine, neuer dyd yet thyng woorthy of prayse in my lyfe, noꝛ shal leaue any renoume of me after my death. Dion the Grecian in the second boke de Audacia saythe, that the noble Drusus, the Almayne, vled to visite the graues and

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tombes of the famous and renowned which were buried in Italy, and did this alwayes, especially at his going to warfare, and it was asked him why he did so, he answered. I vylite the sepulchers of Scipio, and of diuers others which are dead, befoze whom al y earth trembled when they were alque: for in beholpyng their prosperous successe, I dyd recouer voth strength, and stoutnes. He sayth furthermoze, that it encourageth a man to fight against hys enemies, remembryng he shal leaue of him a memozy in time to come. Cicero sayth in his Rhetorike, and also Plynie maketh mention of the same in an epistle: that there came from Thebes (in Egipt) a knight to Rome, for no other purpose, but onely to see whether it were true or no, that was reported of the notable thinges of Rome. Whom Mecenas demaunded, what he perceyued of the Romaynes, and what he thought of Rome. He answered: the memozy of the absente booth moze content me, then the glory of the present both satisfie me. And the reason of this is. The desire which men haue to extol the lyving, and to be equal vnto the dead: maketh thinges so straunge in their lyfe, that they deserue immortal fame after their death. The Romaynes reioysed not a litle, to heare such wordes of a straungers mouth, wherby he praped them whych were departed, and exalted them that yet lyued. What a thing it is to consider the auncient heathens, whych neyther feared hel. not hoped for heauen, & yet by remembraunce of weakenes, they toke vnto them strength: by cowardnes, they were boldened: through feere, they became hardy: of daungers they toke encouragement: of enemies they made frendes: of pouertye they toke patience: of malice they learned experience: finally I say, they denied their owne willes, & folowed thopinions of others, only to leaue behind them a memozy with the dead, and to haue a lytle honoz with the lyving. How many are they that trust the unconstauntnes of fortune, only to leaue some notable memozy behind them. Let vs cal to mynd some woorthy examples, wherby they may se that to be true, which I haue spoken. What made king Ninus to inuent such warres: Anene Semiramis to make such buildings: Vlisses the Grecian to sulke so many seas: king Alexander to conquere so many landes: Hercules the Thebane to set vp his pillars where he did: Caius Cesar the Romayne to giue 52. battailes at his pleasure: Cyrus king of Persia to overcome both the Asiaes: Hannibal the Carthagian, to make so cruel warres against the Romaines: Pirrhus king of Epirotes to come downe into Italy: Atila king of the Huns to despye al Europe: truly they woulde not haue taken vpon them such daungerous enterprises, only vpon the wordes of theym whych were in those dayes present: but because we should so esteeme them that should come after. Seeing then that we be men, and the chyldzen of men, it is not a lytle to bee maruelled at, to see the diuersity betwene the one and the other, and what cowardnes ther is in the harts of some, and contrarywise what courage in the stomakes of others. For we se commonly now a daies, that if there be, 10. of stout courages, whych are desirous with honour to dye: there are 10. thousand cowards, whiche throughe shamefull pleasures seke to prolong their life. The man that is ambitious, thinketh him most happy, who with much estimacion can kepe his renowne, and with litle care regarde his lyfe. And on the other side, he that will set by his lyfe, shal haue but in small estimacion his renowne. The Sirians, the Assirians, the Thebanes, the Caldes, the Grekes, the Macedonians, the Rodians, the Romaines, the Huns, the Germaines, and the Frenchmen, if such noble men (as among these were most famous) had not aduentured their lyues by such daungerous enterprises, they had neuer got such immortal fame as they had don to leaue to their prosperity. Sextus Cheronensis in his thirde booke of the valiaunt deedes of the Romaines saith, that the famous captaine Marcus Marcellus (which was the first of al men that saue the backe of Hannibal in the fiede) was demaunded of one how he durst enter into battaile, with such a renowned captaine as Hannibal was: to whom he answered: frend, I am a Romaine bozne, & a captaine of Rome, and I must daylye put my lyfe in hazard for my countrys sake, for so I shal make perpetual my renowne. He was demaunded agayne why he stroke his enemyes with such fiercesnes, & why he did so pitrefully lament those which were overcome, after the victozy gotten in battaile: he answered: the captaine which is a Romaine, and is not iudged to be a tiraunt, ought with

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with his owne hand to shed the blood of his enemies, and also to shed the teares of his eyes. A captayne Romaine ought moze to aduance him of his clemencie, then of his bludoie victorie. And Marcus Marcellus sayth further, when a Romaine captaine shal be in the field, he hath an eye to his enemies with hope to vanquish them, but after they be vanquished, he ought to remember they are men, and that he might haue bene ouercome. For fortune shewith herselfe in nothinge so common, as in the successes of warre. Certes these were words wel beseming such a man, and surely we may boldly say, that al those which shal heare or read such thinges, wil commend the words which that Romaine spake: but few are they that in dede would haue done the seates that he did. For there be many that are ready to praise in their words that which is good: but ther are few that in their woordes desire to folow the same. Such harts are vnquiet, & much altered by sight and enuie that they bare towards their auncients (which through manfulnes atayned vnto great tryumphe, and glozy) let them remember, what daungers and trauailes they passed through, before they came thereto. For there was neuer Captaine that euer triumphed in Rome, vnlesse he had first aduentured his life a thousand times in y^e field I thinke I am not deceyued, in this that I wil say. What is to wete, al are desirous to tast of the marke of fame presente: but none wil breake the done for feare of peril ensuing. If honour cold be bought with desire onely, I dare boldly say, it would be moze esteemed in these dayes of the poore page: then it was in times past of the balaunt Romaine Scipio. For ther is not at this day so poore a man, but would desire honour aboue al thinges. What a doleful case is this to se, many gentlemen and yong knights, becom euyl disposed bacabondes, and loyterers: the whych hearyng tel of any famous battaille fought, and that many of their estate and profession haue done balaunt seates in the same: immediately therewith be stirred and set on fire through enuies heate, so that in the same surpe, they chaunge their robes into armour: and wyth al speede prepare them selues to warre, to exercise the seates of armes. And finally (like yong men without experience) make importunate sute, and obtaine licence, and money of their frends to go vnto the warres. But after they are ons out of their countrey, and see them selues in a straunge place, their dayes euyl, and their nightes woorse, at one tyme they are commaunded to skirmish, and at an other time to watch, when they haue vittailles, they want lodging, & when the pay day cometh, that pay & the next also is eatē and spent. With these & other like troubles & discommodities, the poore yong men are so assyned: especially when they cal to mind the goodly wide haules, so wel hanged & trymmed wherin they greatly delighted to passe the time in sommer season. When they remember their greates chimneys at home, whereby they comforted their olde limmes, and how they vsed to sit quietly vpon the sonny bankes in winter. For the remembraunce of the pleasour past, greatly augmenteth the paines present. Notwithstanding their parents and frends, had admonished them hereof before: And now being beaten with their owne folye, & feling these discommodities which they thought not of before: they determyne to forsake the warres, & eche one to retourne home to his owne againe. But wher as they asked licence but ons to go forth, now they were enforced to aske it, 10. times before they could come home. And the worst is, they went forth laden with money, and retourne home laden with vyces. But the end why these thinges are spoken is, that sage and vertuous men shold marke, by what trade the euil disposed seke to gaine: which is not gotten by gasing at the windowes, but by keeping the frountiers against their enemies: not with playeng at tables in the tauerne, but wth fighting in the fields: not trimmed with cloth of gold or silkes, but laden with armour & weapons: not prauising their palfreys, but discovering the ambushmentes: not sleaping vntill none, but watching al night: not by auancing him of his apparaille and handsomnes, but for his stout couragiousnes: not banketing his frends, but assaunting his enemies: though a knight do these thinges, yet he ought to consider that it is vanitie and folishnes. But seing the world hath placed honour in such a vaine thyng, & that they can attaine vnto it by none other way, the yong aduenturous gentlemen ought to employe therunto their strength, with stout courage, to atchieue to some great actes worthy of renowne.

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renowme. For in the end when the warre is fully begonne, and that in defence of their countrey: they ought to reioyce more of him that dieth in the hands of his enemies: then of him which liueth accompanied with vices. It is a great shame and dishonour to men of armes, & yong gentlemen being at home, to heare the prayse of them which be in the warres, for the yong gentlemen ought not to thinke it honour for hym to heare or declare the newes of others: but y others should declare the vertuous dedes of him. Whow many are they in y world this day puffed vp with pride, & not very wise, which stil prate of great renowme, & yet passe their life w final honesty. For our predeceffours foughte in the field with their launces, but yong men now a dayes fight at the table with their tongues. Admit that al vaine men desire, & procure to leaue a memozy of their vanity: yet they ought to enterpryse such thyngs in their life, wherby they might winne a famous renowme (& not a perpetual shame) after their death. For ther are many departed, which haue left such memozy of their workes as moueth vs rather to pittie their folye, than to enuy their vertue. I aske those that read or heare this thyng, if they will be in loue wth Nembroth y first tiraunt: with Semiramis, which sinned with her owne son: with Antenor, that betreped Troy his countrey: with Medea, that slew her chyldren: with Tarquine that enforced Lucretia: with Brutus, that slew Cesar: wth Silla, that shed so much blood: with Catilina, that played the tiraunt in his countrey: with Iugurtha, that strangled his byetherne: with Caligula that comitted incest with his sisters: with Nero that killed his mother: wth Helicabalus that robbed y temples: with Domitian, that in nothing delighted so much, as by straunge hands to put men to death, and to bypue away flies wth his owne hands. Smal is the nomber of those that I haue spoken, in respect of those which I could recite: of whom I dare say & affirme, that if I had bene as they, I cannot tel what I would haue done, or what I should haue desired: but this I know, it would haue bene more paynes to me, to haue wonne y infamy that they haue wonne, then to haue lost the lyfe that they haue lost. It profiteth hym lytle, to haue his ponds ful of fish, & his parkes ful of deere, which knoweth neyther how to hunte, nor how to fysh. I meane to shew by this, that it profiteth a man lytle to be in great authority, if he be not esteemed, nor honored in the same. For to attayne to honour, wysedome is requisite: & to kepe it, patience is necessarye. Wth great consyderacions wise men ought to enterpryse dangerous thyngs. For I assure them they shal neuer winne honour, but wher they vse to recouer slaunder. Returnyng therfore to our matter (What saunt prynce) I sweare & durst vndertake, that you rather desyre perpetual renowme throught death: then any itell rest in this life. And hereof I do not misse, for they are some that shal alwayes declare the prowesses of good prynces, & others which wyl not spare to open the bytes of enyl tiraunts. For although your imperial estate is much, & your catholike person deserueth more, yet I beleue wth my hart, & se with these eyes, that your thoughts are so highly bent vnto aduenturous dedes, & your hart so contragious to set vpon them, that your maiestie litle esteemeth the inheritaunce of your predeceffours, in respect of that you hope to gaine, to leaue to your successours. A capitaine asked Iulius Cesar (as he declareth in his commentaries) why he trauailed in the winter in so hard frost, & in the sommer in such extreme heate, He answered: I wyl do what lyeth in me to do, and after ward let the fatal destinies do what they can. For the valiant knyght that gyueth in battayle thonsset, ought more to be esteemed: then sickle fortune, wherby the victozy is obtayned, sins fortune gyueth the one, & aduenture gybeth the other. These words are spoken like a stout & valyaunt capytaine of Rome. Whow many prynces do we read, whom trulye I muche lament to see, what flatteries they haue herd wth their eares being alyue: and to redde what slaunders they haue susteyned after their death. Prynces and great lordes shold haue more regard to that, which is spoken in their absence: then vnto that which is done in their presence. Not to that which they heare, but to that which they would not heare: not to that which they tel them, but to y which they would not be told of: not to that is wyrtten vnto them being alyue, but to that which is wyrtten of them after their death: not to those that tell them lyes, but to those which (if they durst) would tel them trouth. For men manye times

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times refrayne not their tongues, for that subjects be not credited: but because þ prince in his auctoritie is suspected. The noble & vertuous prince, shold not flit from the trouth wherof he is certified: neyther with flateries & lyes shold he suffer himselfe to be deceived: but to examine himselfe, & se whether they serue him with trouth, or deceiue hym with lyes. For ther is no better witnes & iudge, of truth, & lyes: then is a mans owne conscience. I haue spoken al this, to thintent your maiestie myght know, that I wil not serue you, wpth that you shold not be serued. That is, to shew my selfe in my wryting a flaterer. For it wer neither mete nor honest, þ flateries into the eares of such a noble prince shold enter: neither þ out of my mouth (which teach the deuine truth) such vaine tales shold issue. I say, I had rather be dysprayed for trew speaking, then to be honoured for flattery & lying. For of truth, in your highnes it shold be much lightnes to heare them, & in my basenes great wickednes to inuent them. Now againe folowing our purpose I say, the histories greatly commend Licurgus, that gaue lawes to the Lacedemonians, Numa Pompilius, that honoured and adourned the churches. Marcus Marcellus, that had pitye on those whych were ouercome. Iulius Cesar, that forgave his enemyes. Octavius, that was so welbeloued of the people. Alexander, that gaue rewards and giftes to al men. Hector the Troyane, because he was so valiaunt in warres. Hercules the Thebane, because he employed his strength so wel. Vlisses þ Grecian, because he adu ventured himselfe in so many daungers. Pirrhys king of Epirotes, because he inuented so many engins. Catullus Regulus, because he suffered so many torments. Titus the Emperour, because he was father to the Orphanes. Traianus, because he edified sumptuous & goodly buildyngs. The good Marcus Aurelius, because he knew moze thn al they. I do not say that it is requysite for one prince in these dayes, to haue in him all those qualtyes: but I dare be bold to affirme this, that euen as it is vnpossible for one prince to folow al: so likewise it is a great flaunder for him to folow none. We do not requyre princes to do al that they can, but to apply themselves to do some thing that they ought. And I speake not without a cause, that whych I haue sayd befoze, for if princes did occupy themselves, as they ought to do: they shoulde haue no tyme to be vicious, Plinie saith in an epistle, that the great Cato, called Cenfor, did were a ring vpon his synger, wherin was wryten these wordes, *Esto amicus vnus, & inimicus nullus*, which is, be frend to one, & enemy to none. He that would depely consider these few wordes, shal find therein many graue sentences. And to apply this to my purpose, I saye, the prince that would wel governe his common weal: shew to al equal iustyce: desire to possesse a quiet lyfe: to get among al a good fame: & that couefeth to leaue of hymselfe a perpetual memory: ought to embrace the vertues of one, and to reiect the vices of al. I allow it very wel that princes should be equal, yea & surmount many: but yet I aduise theym, not to employ their force, but to folow one. For oftentimes it chaunseth, that many, which suppose themselves in their life to excel al, when they are dead are scarcely found equal to any. Though man hath done much, & blased what he can: yet in the ende he is but one, one mind, one power, one byrth, one life, and one death. When sithen he is but one, let no man presume to know moze then one. Of al these good princes which I haue named in the rowle of iustice, the last was Marcus Aurelius, to thintent that he shoulde weaue his webbe. For suppose we read of many princes that haue compeled notable things, the whych are to be redde and knowen: but al that Marcus Aurelius sayd, or dyd, is worthy to be knowen, & necessary to be folowed. I do not meane this prince in his heathen law, but in his vertuous dedes. Let vs not stape at his belyef: but let vs embrace the good that he did. For compare many christians wpth some of the heathen, & loke howe farre we leaue them behynd in faith: so farre they excel vs in vertuous works. Al þ old princes in times past, had som philosophers to their familiars, as Alexander, Aristotle. King Darius, Herodotus. Augustus, Pisto. Pompeius, Plauto. Titus, Plinie. Adrian. Secundus. Traian. Plutarchus. Anthonius, Apolonius. Theodotius, Claudius. Seuerus, Fabatus. Finally I say, þ philosophers then had such authority in princes palaces: that children acknowledged them for fathers and fathers reuerenced them as maysters. These sage men wer aloue in the company of princes: but the good Marcus Aurelius (whose

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doctrine is before your maiestie) is not alieue, but dead: Yet therfore that is no cause why his doctrine shold not be admitted. For it may be (paradventure) that this shal profit vs moze, which he wrote with his hands, then that which others spake with their tongues. Plutarke sayth, in the time of Alexander the great, Aristotle was alieue, and Homere was dead. But let vs see how he loued the one, & reuerenced the other: for of truth hee slept alway with Homers booke in his hands, & waking he red the same with his eyes, & alwayes kept the doctrine therof in his memozy, & layed (when he rested) the booke vnder his head. The which priuiledge Aristotle had not, who at al times cold not be heard, & much lesse at al seasons be beleued: so that Alexander had Homere for his frend, and Aristotle for a maister. Other of these phylosophers wer but simple men: but our Marcus Aurelius, was both a wyse phylosopher, and a valiaunt pynce: and therfore reason would he should be credited before others. For as a pynce he wyl declare the troubles, & as a phylosopher he wil redresse them. Take you therfore (Puisaunt Pynce) this wyse phylosopher and noble emperour, for a teacher in your youth, for a father in your gouernment, for a captayne general in your warres, for a guide in your iourneys, for a frend in your assayes, for an erample in your vertues, for a maister in your sciences, for a pure whyte in your despyres, and for equal matche in your deedes.

I wil declare vnto you the lyfe of an other beinge a heathen, and not the lyfe of an other beinge a chrystian. For how much glozy this heathen pynce had in this worlde, beinge good and vertuous: so much paynes your maiestie shal haue in the other, if you shalbe wicked and vycious. Behold, behold noble pynce, the lyfe of this Emperour, & you shal se how clere he was in his iudgement, how vpright in his iustyce, howe circumspect in his lyfe, how louing to his frends, how pacient in his troubles, how he resembled with his enemies, how seuer agaynst Tyrants, how quyet among & quiet, how great a frend to the sage, and louer of the simple, how aduenturous in his warres, and amiable in peace, and aboue al thinges, how high in wordes, and profound in sentences. Many tymes I haue bene in doubt with my selfe whether the Eternal maiesty (which gyueth vnto you pynces the tempozal maiesty, to rule aboue al other in power and authoryte) did exempt you that are pynces, moze from humaine frailtye: then he did vs that be but subiects: and at the last I knew he did not. For I see euen as you are chyldzen of the worlde, so you do lyue according to the worlde. I see euen as you traualle in the worlde: so you can know nothing but thinges of the worlde. I se because you liue in the flethe, that you are subiect to the myseryes of the flethe. I see though for a tyme you prolong your lyfe: yet at the last you are brought to your grane. I see your traualle is great, and that within your gates there dwelleth no rest. I se you are cold in the wynter, and hote in the sommer. I se that hunger seeleth you, and thirst troubleth you. I se your frendes forsake you, and your ennemyes assault you. I se that you are sadde, and lacke ioy. I se you are sicke, and be not wel serued. I see you haue muche and yet that which you lacke is moze. What wil ye se moze, seying that pynce die? A noble pynce & great Lordes, syns you must die, and become wormes meat, why do you not in your lyfe tyme serche for good counsaile? If the pynces and noble men commit an erreure no man dare chastice them, wherfore they stand in greater nede of aduise & counsaile. For the traualler who is out of his waye, the moze he goeth sozeward, the moze he erreth. If the people do amisse, they ought to be punished: but if the pynce erre, hee shoulde bee admonished. And as the Pynce wyl the people shoulde at his handes haue punishment: so it is reason that he at their handes shoulde receyue counsaile.

For as the wealthe of the one dependeth on the wealthe of the other: soo trulye if the pynce bee vycious, the people can not be vertuous. If youre maiesty wyl punish the your people with wordes, commaund them to pynnt this present worke in their harts. And if your people would serue your hyghnes with their aduise: let them likewise beseeche you to reade ouer this booke. For therein the subiectes shal fynd how they may amende, and you Lordes shal se al that you ought to do, wether this presente worke be profitfable, or noo, I wyl not that my penne shal declare: but they whyche reede it shal iudge.

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For we authours take paines to make and translate, & others for vs vse to giue iudgement and sentence, From my tender yeres vntil this present, I haue liued in the world, occupieng my selfe, in reading and studieng humaine & deuynne bookes, and although I confesse my debilitie to be such, that I haue not reade so much as I might, nor studied so much as I ought: yet not withstandinge al that I haue red, hath not caused me to muse so muche, as the doctrine of Marcus Aurelius hath, sith that in the mouth of an heathen, god hath put such a great treasor. The greatest part of al his woꝝkes were in Greke: yet he wrote also many in latin. I haue drauen this out of greke throughe the helpe of my frends, & afterwards out of latin into our vulgare tongue by the trauaile of my hands. Let al men iudge what I haue suffered in drawing it out of Greke into latin, out of the latin into the vulgar, and out of a plaine vulgar, into a swete and pleasant style. For that banket is not counted sumptuous, vnlesse ther be both pleasant meates, and saucy sauces. To cal sentences to mynd, to place the woꝝdes, to examine languages, to coꝛrect sillables: what swette I haue suffered in the hote sommer, what bytter cold in the sharpe wynter, what abstinence from meates when I desired to eate, what watching in the night when I would haue slept, what cares I haue suffered in freed of rest that I might haue enioyed: let other proue, if me they wyl not credite. The intencion of my painful trauailes, I offer to the deuine maiestie vpon my knees, & to youre highnesse (noble prince) I presente thys my woꝝke, and humbly beseeche god, that the doctrine of this booke may be as profitable vnto you, and the common wealth in your lyfe: as it hath ben to me tedious, & hinderaunce to my health. I haue thought it good to offer to your maiestie the effect of my laboures, thonghe you peradventure wyl lytle regard my paines: for the requyting of my trauayle, and reward of my good wyl, I requyre nought els of your highnes, but that the rudenesse of my vnderstanding, the basenes of my stile, the smalnes of my eloquence, the euill order of my sentences, the banitie of my woꝝds, be no occasion, why so excellent and goodly a woꝝke shold be lytle regarded. For it is not reason, that a good horse should be the lesse esteemed, for that the ryder knoweth not how to make hym ronne hys carrier. I haue done what I could doe, doe you now that you ought to doe, in gyngunge to this present woꝝke grauntye, and to me the interpretoꝝ thereof authoꝛity. I saye no moze, but humbly beseech god to mayntayne your estimacion and power in earth: and that you maye afterwarde enioye the frucion of hys deuynne presence in heauen.



*The Argumente of the booke called the Diall of
Princes. V Wherein the aucthour declareth, hys in-
tencion and maner of proceedinge.*



Archimenes, the great and famous philosopher, (to whom Marcus Marcellus for his knowledge sake graunted life, and after being Pygromancie deserued death) being demaunded what time was, sayd: that time was the inuentor of al nouelties, and a Register certaine of antiquities, whiche seeth of it selfe the beginning, the middest, and the ending of al things. And finally, time is he that endeth al. No man can deny but the diffinition of this Philosopher is true: for if tyme could speake, he would certifie vs of sundry things wherin we doubt, and declare them as a witness of sight. Admyt al things perishe, and haue an ende: yet one thing is exempted, and neuer hath end, which is truth, that amongst al things is privileged in such wise, that the triumpheth of time, and not tyme of her. For accordyng to the dyuine sayng it shal be more easy to se heauen, and earth to fal: then once truth to perishe. There is nothing so entyer, but may be diminished: nothyng so healthful, but may be diseased: nothing so strong, but may be broken: neyther any thing so wel kept, but may be corrupted. And finally I say, there is nothing but by time is ruled and gouerned, saue only truth, which is subiect to none. The fruits of the spring time haue no force to giue sustenance, nor perfect sweetenes to giue any saueur, but after that the sommer is past, and haruest commeth, they rype, and then all that we eate nourisheth more and gyueth a better tast, I meane by this, when the world beganne to haue wyse men, the more Philosophers were esteemed for their good maners, the more they deserued to be repproued for their euyl vnderstandyng. Plato in his second booke of the comon wealthe sayd, that the auncient Philosophers (as well Grekes, as Egyptians, & Caldees) which firste beganne to beholde the starres of heauen, and ascended to the toppe of the mount Olympus, to vew the influences, and motions of the planets on the earthe, deserued rather pardon of their ignoraunce, then prayse for their knowledge. Plato sayde further, that the Philosophers which were before vs, were the first that gaue themselves to searche out the truth of the Elements in the heauen, and the first whych solued errors in things natural of the earth. Homere in his Iliade agreyng wyth Plato, saith. I condemne al that the auncient Philosophers knew, but I greatly commend theym for that they desired to know. Certes Homere sayd wel, and Plato sayd not amysse: for if amongst the first Philosophers this ignoraunce had not raygned, there had not bene such contrary sectes in euery schoole. He that hath redde, not the bookes which are lost, but the opinions whych the auncient philosophers had, wyl graunt me: though the knowledge were one, yet their sectes were dyuers: that is to say, Cinici, Stoici, Academici, Platonici, and Epicurei, whych were as variable the one from the other in their opinions, as they were repugnaunt in their condicions. I wyl not, neyther reason requireth, that my penne should be so much dysmesured, as to repproue those whych are dead, for to gyue the glozy al onely to them that are alpye: for the one of them knew not al, neyther were the other ignoraunt of all. If he deserueth thanks that sheweth me the way, whereby I ought to go: no lesse then meriteth he, whiche warneth me of the place wherin we may erre. The ignoraunce of our forefathers, was but a gyde to kepe vs from erryng: for the error of them shewed vs the truth, to theym much prayse, and to our great shame. Therefore I dare boldly say, if we y are now, had bene then, we had knowen lesse then they knew. And if those were nowe, whych were then, they would haue knowen more then we know. And that this is true it appeareth wel, for that the auncient philosophers, though the great desyre they had to know the trouth, of small
and

The Argumente

and bypathes haue made bꝛode and large wayes, the whych we now will not se, nor yet walke therein. Wherefore we haue not so muche cause to bewaile their ignoraunce, as they had reason to complayne of our negligence, For truth, whych is (as Aulus Gellius saith) the daughter of time, hath reueled vnto vs the errours which we ought to eschew: and the true doctryns, which we ought to folow. What is ther to se, but hath bene sene? what to dyscouer, but hath ben discovered? what is there to reade, but hath bene red? what to wyte, but hath bene wyten? what is ther to know, but hath ben known? now a dayes humaine malice is so expert, men so wele able, and our wittes so subtyl, that we want nothyng to vnderstand, neither good, nor euyl, And we vndoe our selues by seeking that vayne knowledge, which is not necessary for our life. No man vnder the presence of ignoraunce can excuse his fault, since al men know, al men reade, and al men learne, the whych is euident in this case, as it shal appeare. Suppose the ploughe man, and the learned man do go to the law, and you shal perceyue the labourer (vnder that simple garment) to forge to his counsellour halfe a dosen of malicious trickes, to delude his aduersary as synely: as the other that is lerned shalbe able to expound. 2. of 3. chapters of this booke. If men would employ their knowledge to honesty, wysedome, patience, and mercy, it were wel: but I am soꝝ they know so much, only soꝝ that they subtilly discelue, and by vsury abuse their neighbours, and kepe that they haue vniustly gotten, and daply getting moze inuventing new trades. Finally I say if they haue any knowledge, it is not to amend their life: but rather to encrease their goods. If the diuill could slepe, as men do, he might safely slepe: for wheras he waketh to deceine vs, we wake to vndoe our selues, wel, suppose that al these heretofore I haue sayd is true: Let vs now leue aside craft, & take in hand knowledge, The knowledge which we attaine to is smal, & that whych we shold attaine to so great: that al y we know, is y least part of y we are ignoraunt. Euen as in things natural, the elementes haue their operacions, accordyng to the variety of time: so moral doctrynes (as the aged haue succeeded) and sciences were discovered. Truly al frutes come not together, but when one faileth, another cometh in season. I meane, that neyther al the Doctors among the Christians, nor al the philosophers among the gentyles were concurrant at one time, but after the death of one good, ther came another better. The chiefe wysedome, whych measurcth al thyngs by iustyce: and disparseth them accordyng to his bounty, wyl not that at one time they should be al wyse men, and at an other time al simple. For it had not ben reason the one should haue had the frute, and the other the leaues. The old world that ran in Saturnes dayes (otherwyse called the golden world) was of a truth muche esteemed of them that saw it, and greatly commended of them that wrote of it. That is to say, it was not gilded by the Sages, whych did gilbe it: but because there was no euyl men, whych dyd vngild it. For as therperience of the meane estate & nobility teacheth vs, of one only parson dependeth aswel the fame and renoume, as the infamy of a hole house, and parentage. That age was called golden, that is to saye of gold: and this our age is called yronne, that is to say of yron. This dyfference was not, for that gold then was found, & now yron: nor soꝝ that in this our age ther is want of theym that be sage: but because the number of them surmounteth, that be at this day malicious. I confesse one thing, and suppose many will fauour me in y same. Phauorin the philosopher (whych was maister to Aulus Gellius, and his especial frend) sayde oft tymes, that the philosophers in old time were holden in reputacion, bycause ther were few teachers, and many learners. We now a dayes se the contrary, for infinite are they whych presume to be maysters: but few are they whych humble theym selues to be scholars. A man maye know how litle wise men are esteemed at this houre, by the greate veneration that the philosophers had in the old tyme. What a matter is it to se Homere amongest the Greicians Salomon amongest the Hebrues, Lyncurgus amongest the Lacedemoniens: Phoromus also amongest the Grekes, Ptolomus amongest the Egiptians. Lilius amongest the Romaynes, and Cicero lykewyse amongest the Latines? Appolonius among the Indians, and Secundus amongest the Assirians.

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How happy were those philosophers (to be as they were in those dayes) when the world was so full of simple personnes, and so destitute of sage men: that there flocked greates numbers, out of diuers contries, and straung nations, not only to here their doctrine: but also to se their persons. The glorious saint Hierome, in the prologue to the bible sayth. When Rome was in her prosperitie, thenne wrote Titus Liuius his decades: yet notwithstanding, men came to Rome more to speake with Titus Liuius, then to se Rome: or the high capitol therof Marcus Aurelius writing to his friend Pulio, said these words. Thou shalt vnderstand my friend, I was not chosen Emperour for the noble bloude of my predeceßours, nor for the fauoure I had amongst them now present: for ther were in Rome of greater bloud and riches then I, but the Emperour Adrian my maister set his eyes vpon me, and the emperour Anthony my father in law chose me for his sonne in law, for no other cause, but for that they saw me a friend of the sages, & an enemy of the ignoraunt. Happie was Rome to chose so wise an emperoure, and no lesse happye was he to attaine to so great an empire. Not for that he was heire to his predeceßour, but for that he gaue his mynde to study. Truly, if that age then were happye to enioy his person: no lesse happye shal ours be now at this present, to enioy his doctrine. Salust sayth, they deserued great glozy, whych did worthy feates: and no lesser renoume merited they, whych wrote them in high stile. What had Alexander the great ben, if Quintus Curtius had not written of him: what of Vlisses, if Homere hadde not bene bozner: what had Alcibiades bene, if Zenophon had not exalted him: what of Cyrus, if the philosopher Chilo had not put his actes in memozy: what had bene of Pirrus, kinge of the Epirotes, if Hermicles cronicles were not: what had bene of Scipio the great Affricane, if it had not bene for the decades of Titus Liuius: what had ben of Traiane, if the renowned Plutarcke had not bene his friend: what of Nerua and Anthonius the meke, if Phocion the Greke had not made mencion of them: how should we haue knowen the stout courage of Cesar, and the great prowesse of Pompeius, if Lucanus had not written them: what of the twelue Cefars, if Suetonius tranquillus hadde not compyled a booke of their lpyues and how should we haue knowen the antiquities of the Hebrues, if the byright Iosephe had not ben: who could haue knowen the commyng of the Lombardes into Italy, if Paulus Diaconus had not writt it: how could we haue knowen the commyng in, & going out, and end of the Gothes in Spayne, if the curious Rodericus had not shewed it vnto vs: By these things that we haue spoken of befoze, the readers may perceyue what is dew vnto the Historiographers: who in my opinion, haue left as great memozye of them for that they wrote with their penne: as the pynces haue done for that they dyd with their swordes. I confesse I deserue not to be named amongst the sages, neyther for that I haue written and translated, nor yet for that I haue composed. Wherefoze (the sacred and deuyn letters set a side) ther is nothing in the world so curiouslye written, but needeth correction, & as I say of the one, so wil I say of the other, and that is: as I wyth my wyl do renounce the glozye, which the good for my learning woulde gyue me: so in like maner euyl men shal not want, that agaynst my wil wil seke to defame it. The other writers, smally esteeme the labour and paynes we haue to write, although in dede we are not ignoraunt of a thousand enuyous tongues, that wyl backbite it. Many now a dayes are so euill taught, or so say better, so enuyous, that when the aucthour laboureth in his study, they playe in the streates: when he waketh, they slepe. When he fasteth, they eate: when he sitteth turninge the leaues of the booke, they go huntynge after vices abroad: yet for al that, they wyl presume to iudge, depzaue, and condeame an other mans doctrine, as if they had the aucthoritye that Plato had in grece, or the eloquence that Cicero had in Rome. When I find a man in the latyn tongue well sene, his vulgar tongue wel polished, in histories wel grounde, in Greke letters very expert, and desirous to spend his tyme wyth good bookes: this so herofical and noble a parsonage, I woulde desire him to put my doctrine vnder his fete. For it is no shame, for a vertuous and wise man, to be corrected of an other wyse man. Yet I woulde gladly know what pacience can suffer, or hart dissemble. When two or thre be assembled together at meate, and after (at the table, or other wyse) one of them taketh a booke at aduenture

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venture in his handes, against the whiche another will say it is to longe, and another wyl saye it speaketh not to the purpose: another it is obscure, and another the wordes are not well couched: another wyl say, all that that is spoken is fained, one will say he speaketh nothing of profite, another he is to curious, and the other he is to malicious. So that in speaking thus, the doctrine remaineth suspicious, and the authour scapeeth not scotte free. Suppose them to be therfore suche that speake it (as I haue spoken of) & that at the table doe finde suche faultes, suer they deserue pardon: for they speake not according to the booke whiche they haue redde, but according to the cuppes of wyne whiche they haue drunke. For he that taketh not that in geste, whiche is spoken at the table, knoweth not what gesting meaneth. It is an olde custome to murmure at vertuous dedes, and into this rule entreteth not onely those that make them, but also those whiche wyrt them afterwarde: Whiche thing cometh to be true, for that Socrates was reprovod of Plato. Plato of Aristotle. Aristotle of Auerois, Sicilius of Vulpitius, Lelius of Varro, Marinus of Ptolomens, Ennius of Horace, Seneca of Aulus Gellius, Crastonestes of Strabo, Theopale of Gallian, Hermagoras of Cicero. Cicero of Salust, Origines of saint Hierome, Hierome of Rufinus, Rufinus of Donatus, Donatus of Prosper, and Prosper of Lupus. When sithe that in these men, and in their workes hath bene suche neade of correction, whiche were men of great knowledge, and lanternes of the worlde: it is no maruayle at all that I haue suche fortune, since I knowe so litle as I doe. We may wothely be counted baine and light, whiche at the first sight, as for onely once reading, will rashely iudge that, whiche a wyse man with muche diligence, and studie hath wyrtten. The authours, and wyrters are oftentimes reprovod, not of them whiche can translate, and compile workes: but of those whiche can not reade, and yet lesse vnderstande them. to thintent simple folkes shold count them wise, & take their partes in condemning this worke and esteeme him for a great wyse man. I take God to witness, who can iudge, whether my intention were good or ill to compile this worke, and also I lay this my doctrine at the feete of wyse and vertuous men, to the ende they may be protectours, & defendours of the same. For I truste in God, though some would come to blame (as dyuers doe) the simple wordes whiche I spake: yet others would not faile to relate the good intention that I ment. And to declare further I say, that diuers haue wyrtten of the tyme of the said Marcus Aurelius, as Herodian wrote litle, Eutropius lesse, Lampri dius not so much, and Iulius capitolinus somewhat moze. Likewyse ye ought to know, that the maisters whiche taught Marcus Aurelius sciences, were Iunius Rusticus, Cinnna Catullus, Sextus Cheronensis, whiche was nephew to the great Plutarque. These three were those, that principally as witnesses of sight, wrote the most parte of his life and doctrine. Many may marueile to heare tell of the doctrine of Marcus Aurelius, saying, it hath ben kept hid and secret a great whyle, and that of myne owne head I haue inuented it. And that there neuer was any Marcus Aurelius in the worlde. I knowe not what to saye nowe vnto them, for it is euident to all those whiche haue red any thyng, that Marcus Aurelius was husbando to Faustine, father to Comodus, brother to Annus Verus, and sonne in lawe to Antonius Pius, the seuenth (of Rome) Emperour. Those whiche say I onely haue made this doctrine, truly I thanke them for so saying, but not for their so meaning. For truly, the Romaines would haue set my Image in Rome for perpetuall renowne, if so graue sentences should haue proceeded from my head. We see that in our tyme, whiche was neuer sene before, and heare that we neuer heard before. We practise not in a newe worlde, and yet we marueile that there is at this present a newe booke. Not for that I was curious to discouer Marcus Aurelius, or studiouse to translate him. For truly it is worthy he be noted of wyse personnes, and not accused of enuious tongues. For it chaunceth oftentimes in hunting that the moste simplest man killeth the deere. The last thing which the Romaines conquered in Spaine, was Cantabria, whiche was a citty in Nauarra, ouer against Lagrogne, and situated in a hygh countrey, where there is nowe a baine of bynes. And the Emperour Augustus whiche destroyed it, made tenne booke De bello Cantabrico, where are thynges worthy of notinge, and no lesse pleasaunt in reading, which happened vnto him in the same conquest.

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conquest. As Marcus Aurelius was brought me from Florence. so was this other booke of the warres of Cantabrie brought me from Colletne. If perhappes I tooke paynes to translate this booke, as felwe haue done whyche haue sene it, they woulde speake the lyke of it, that they dyd of Marcus Aurelius. Bycause menne are so long in speakyng, and so bryefe in studieng, that without anye let or shame, they will a bove no booke to be in the woꝛlde this daye, but that they haue rebbe, or seen it. I haue as muche profited in this wrytynge, whyche is humane: as other doctours haue done in matters, whyche are deuine. It is not translated woꝛde for woꝛde, but sentence for sentence. For we other interpreters are not bounde, to gyue woꝛdes by measure: but it sufficeth vs, to gyue sentencis by wayghte. I began to studie this woꝛke in the yere, a thousande, five hundred, and eyghtene, and vntill the yere, a thousande, five hundred, twentie and foure, I coulde neyther vnderstand, nor knowe, wherein I was occupied. and albeit I kept it secret. vi. yeres yet it was knowne abzoade wherupon the Emperour his maiestie being with the feauer diseased, sent to me for it to passe the tyme away. And I (according to his commandement) shewed him Marcus Aurelius that then was vncorrected, and humbly beseeching him sayde: that for recompence of all my trauaile, I despyed no other rewarde, but that no man in hys chamber myghte cōpye the booke. And I in the meane tyme proceeded to accomplyshe the woꝛke, Bycause I did not meane in suche maner to publyshe it: for otherwyle, I sayd hys maiestie shoulde be euill serued, and I also of my purpose prevented: but my synnes caused, that the booke was cōpyed, and conueyed from one to another. And by the handes of Pages sondzie tymes wrytten: so that there encreased dayly in it errours, and faultes. And sence there was but one original cōpye, they brought it vnto me to correct, whiche if it coulde haue spoken, woulde haue complained it selfe, moze of them that dyd wryte it: then of those whyche dyd steale it. And thus when I hadde synished the woꝛke, and thought to haue publyshed it, I perceaued that Marcus Aurelius was now imprinted at Cluile. And in this case, I take the readers to be iudges, betwene me and the Imprinters, because they maye see, whether it maye stande with lawe, and iustice, that a booke whyche was to his imperiall maiestie dedicated, the auctour thereof beyng but an infant, and the booke so vnperfecte and vncorrect, without my consent or knowledge shoulde be published. Notwithstandyng they ceased not, but printed it agayne in Portugall, and also in the kyngdome of Nauarre. And if the fyrste impression was faultye, truly the seconde and the thirde were no lesse. So that whyche was wrytten for the wealthe of all men generallye, each man dyd applye to the profite of hym selfe particularlye. Where chanced another thyng of this booke, called the golden booke of Marcus Aurelius, whyche I am ashamed to speake, but greater shame they shoulde haue, that so dishonestly haue done. What is, some made them selues to be auctours of the whole woꝛke, others saye that parte of it was made, and compyled of their owne heades: the whyche appeareth in a booke in print, wherein the auctour dyd lyke a man voyde of all honestye, and in another booke, one vsed lykewyle the woꝛds whyche Marcus Aurelius spake to Faustine, when she asked him the key of hys studie. After these thynges came to my knowledge, iudge you whether it were inoughe to proue my patience. For I had rather they hadde robbed me of my goodes, then taken awaye my renowne. By this all men shal see, that Marcus Aurelius was not then corrected, nor in any place perfecte, wherby they myght perceauie, that it was not my minde to translate Marcus Aurelius, but to make a diall for Prynces, whereby all christien people maye be gouerned and ruled. And as the doctrine is shewed for the vse of many: so I woulde profite my selfe, with that whyche the wise men had spoken and wrytten. And in this sorte procedeeth the woꝛke, wherein I put one, or tise Chapters of mine, and after I put some epistles of Marcus Aurelius, and other doctrine of some auncient men. Let not the reader be discanied, to thynke that the one, and the other is of the auctour. For although the phrase of the language be mine, yet I confesse the greatest part that I knew, was of another man, although the historiographers and doctours (with whome I was holpen) were manye: yet the doctrine whyche I wrote.

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wooke, was but one. I will not denye, but I haue left out some thinges whiche were superfluous: in whose steade I haue placed, thinges moze swete, and profitable. So that it needeth good wittes, to make that whiche semeth in one language grosse, in another to giue it the apparaunce of golde. I haue deuised into thzee booke this present diall of Princes. The first treateth, that the Prince ought to be a good christian. The second, howe he ought to gouerne his wife, and children. The thirde teacheth, howe he shoulde gouerne his person, and his commen wealthe. I had begon another booke, wherein was conteyned, howe a Prince shoulde behaue him selfe in his courte, and pallace, but the importunitie of my frendes, caused me to withdraue my pen, to the ende I might bringe this worke to lighte.



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The Table of the Diall of Princes

The Prologue general of the Auctour
The Prologue vpon the booke enti-
tuled Marcus Aurelius,
The Argument of the whole booke.

The firste Chapter entreateth of the
byrthe & lynage of Marcus Aurelius, where
the Auctour reciteth at the beginninge of
the booke. iii Chapters in the which he de-
clareth the discourse of his liue: for by his
Epistles and doctrine this whole worke is
proued. Chap. i.

Of a letter whiche Marcus Aurelius,
wrot to his frend Pulio: wherein he recount-
teth the order of his lyf. and among other
thynges declareth the wordes whiche a
poore man of Nola spake vnto the Romaine
censor. Chap. ii.

Macus Aurelius concludeth his letter,
and mencioneth the sciences which he ler-
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end he reciteth fyue notable thynges in the
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and of the vanities of the auncientes in ty-
mes past. Chap. iiii.

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losopher Bruxellus was esteemed, and of the
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Philosopher spake to the senate of Rome.
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God was not of power sufficient to defend
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Of the true and liuing God, and of the
maruailes he wroughte in the old lawe to
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goddes whiche the Auncient people had.

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Of the wordes the emperesse Sophia
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peresse Sophia, wherein he declareth that
Princes nede not to houre by great trea-
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How the chieftaine Narsetes ouercame
manye battailes, onely for that his wholle
confydence was in God. And what hap-
pened to him by the emperesse Sophia Augus-
ta: wherein may be noted the vnthankful-
nes of Princes towardes their seruantes.

Chap. xvi.

Of a letter the emperour Marcus Au-
relius sent to the kynge of Seicille, in the
whych he recordeth the trauailes they en-
dured to gether in their youthe, and repro-
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ter to admonish the Princes to be fearful of
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shed euill men by his Justice, and specially
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violate the temples. Chap. xxviii.

How Valentine the Emperour because he was an euill christian, losse in one daye both the Empire and his lief, and was burned alive in a shepecote. Chap. xxviii.

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That Princes and great Lordes ought not to esteeme them selues for beinge sayer and well proportioned of botye. Chap. xli.

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That the nobles and beloued of pynces errede not in superfluous fare, & that they be not to sumptuous in their meates. A no-

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of the letters, translated out
of Spanishe, vvhich vvere not in
the Frenche Coppe.

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Of that whych chaunced vnto a neighbour of hys in Rome, in the tyme of his Emperre. Chap. ii.

How Marcus Aurelius the Emperoure soughte the wealth of hys people, and how hys people loued hym. Chap. iii.

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Of the sharpe woꝛdes whych Marcus Aurelius spake to hys wyfe, and too hys daughter. Chap. v.

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A letter sent by the Emperour Marcus Aurelius to Censorius, that was so sorrowful for the death of his sonne, woꝛthy to be red and noted. Chap. ix.

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that tyme were at Rome. Chap. r.

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The aunswere of Bohemia to the Emperour Marcus Aurelius wherein is exprest the great malice, and litle patience of an euyl woman. Chap. riii.

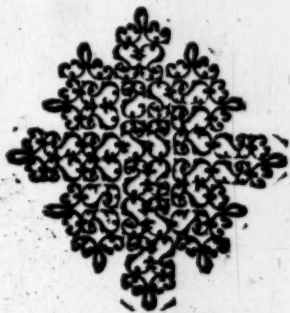
Of a letter whych the Emperour Marcus Aurelius sent to the lady Macrine, the Romayne, of whom (beholdyng her at the window) he became enamoured, which de-

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sonest the gentle harts. Chap. rv.

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cus Aurelius sent to the beautiful ladye of
Lybia, wherein he reponeth that loue is na-
tural, and that the most part of the philoso-
phers and men haue bene by lous over-
come. Chap. rvi.

The ende of the table.



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The first booke of the Diall of princes, vvith the

famous Booke of Marcus Aurelius, wherein he entreateth

what excellencie is in the p[ri]nce, that is a good Ch[ri]stian :
and contrariw[ise], what euils do folowe him,
that is a cruell tyzante.

Where the Authour speaketh of the birth and lynage of the wyse Philo-
sopher and Emperour, Marcus Aurelius And he putteth also at the begin-
ning of this Booke thre Chapters, wherein he entreateth of the discourse
of his life : so; by his Epistles and doctrine, the whole of this presents
worke is p[ro]oued. Cap. 1.



After the death of the Emperoure Antonius Pius, in the
695. yeares from the foundation of Rome, and in the
173. Olimpiade : Fuluius Cato, & Gneus Patroclus then being
consulles : the fourth daie of October, in the highe Ca-
pitoll of Rome, at sute of the whole Romaine people &
with thassent of the sacred Senate Marcus Aurelius An-
tonius was p[ro]claymed Emperoure vniuersall of the
whole Romaine monarche. This noble p[ri]nce was na-
turally of Rome bo[r]ne in the mount Celio, on the sixt daie before the Kalen-
des of May, which after the Latines accounte is the, xxvi. day of April. His
Graundefather was called Annius Verus, and was chosene senatoure in
the tyme of the Emperours Titus, and Vespasian, hys greate graunde fa-
ther was named Annius Verus, whiche was bo[r]ne in Spayne in the free
towne of Gububa, whenne the warres were moste cruel betwene Caesar and
Pompeius: at what time many Spanyardes fled to Rome, and manye Ro-
maynes ranne into Spayne. By this meanes this Emperour had a greate
graundfather a Romaine, and a greate graundmother a Spanyard. Hys
father was named Annius Verus after his grandfather and great grandfa-
ther, by reason wherof the auncient historiographers call him Marcus Antoni-
us Verus. And true it is that the Emperour Adrian called him Marcus Veris-
simus, for that he neuer forged lie nor swarued at anye tyme from the trueth.
These Annij Veri wer a kindred in Rome (as Iulius Capitolinus reporteth) which
baunted themselves to come of Numa Pompilius and Quintus Curtius the fa-
mous Romaine: which (to worke the Romaine people safetie, and his owne
p[er]son euerlasting memorie) willingly threw him selfe into the lake, which
afterwards was called Curtius. That as then was sene in Rome. This Em-
perours mother was called Domitia Camilla, as recounteth Cinna in the boo-
kes that he wrote of Romaine pedigrees. That stocke of Camilli, was in those
dayes highly honoured in Rome: for that they conueighed their dissent from
that Camillus, whych was the renowned and valiaunt Romaine captayne,
who deliuered Rome when the Gavvles had taken it and besieged the Capi-
toll. The men that sprange of this linage bare the name of Camilli, for reme-
brance of this Camillus. And the woman that came of the same stocke kepte
the name of Camille, in memorie of a daughter of the sayde Camillus. Thys
Camilla refused mariage, and chose to liue amonge the vessall virgines: and
ther

THE FIRST BOOKE

ther longe space remayned enduring a sharpe and hard lyfe. And she was so vertuous a Romaine and precise in her life, that in the tyme of Seuerus Emperour of Rome, her tombe was honoured as a relique, whereon was engraued this Epitaphe.

*Camilla lo, doth here engraued rest.
That only was, Camillus daughter deere
Twyse twentie yeres, and sixe, she hath possesse
A couert lyfe, vn touchte of any feere.
The king of Trinacry, could not her moue
To tast the swete delight of wedlockes bande*

*Nor trayne by sute, her sacred mind to loue,
Inclosde in brest, so deepe did chastnes stand.
But oh, greate wrong, the crawling wormes her do
To gnawe, on that vnspotted senceles corse
That rage of youth, spent vndeiled so
With sober life, in spite of Cupides force.*

And this was written in heroycal verse in the Greeke tongue with a maruelouse haughtie stile. But to our mater, ye shal vnderstand that the Romaines kepte a certayne Lawe in the 12. tables, the woordes wherof were these. We ordeyne and commaund, that al the Romaines shal for euer haue speyall priuiledge in euery such place, where they auncestoures haue done to the Romaine people any notable seruite. For it is reason, that where the citizen aduentureth hys lyfe, there the citie should do him some honoz after hys death. By vertue of this lawe, all the familie of Camilli euer enioyed the keeping of the hyghe Capitoll, for that by hys force and pollicye he chased the french men from the siege. Truly it is not vnknowe that this noble knight and valyant captayne Camille dyd other thynges as great, and greater than this: but because it was done within the circuite of Rome, it was esteemed a boue all hys other actes and prowes. And herem the Romaines swarued not farre from reason, for that amongst all princelye vertues is esteemed to be the chiefest and worthiest, whych is employed to the profyt of the comon wealth. The Romaine Croniclors wyth teares cease not to lamēt the ruine of their countrey, seynge that varietie of tyme, the multytude of tyrantes, the crueltye of cyuill warres were occasion that the aunciente state of the Romayn gouernment came to vtter destruction, and in steede therof a newe and euyl trade of lyfe to be placed. And hereof no man ought to maruaile, for it chaunsech throughout al realmes and nacions, by oft chaunging gouernours that among the people dayly spryngeth sondry new vices. Pulio sayth, that for no alteracion whych befell to the common weale, for no calamitye that euer Rome suffred, that priuiledge was taken away from the image of Camilli. (I meane the gouernment of the high Capitoll) except it were in the tyme of Silla the consul, when this familie was soore persecuted, for none other cause but for that they fauoured the consull Marius. Thys cruel Silla beinge deade, and the pitiful Iulius Cesar preualinge, al the banyshe men frome Rome returned home agayne to the commonne wealth. As touching the auncestours of the Emperoure Marcus Aurelius, what hath bene their trade of lyfe, estate, pouer ty, or riches, standinge infauour or displeasure, what prosperitie or aduersitie they haue had or suffred, we fynde not in wytynges, though with greate diligence they haue bene serched for. And the cause hereof was, for that the auncient wyters of y Romaine histories, touched the lyues of the emperours fathers (specially, when they were made princes) moze for the good merites that were in the children, then for y great estimacio that came from the fathers. Iulius Capitolinus saith that

that Annius Verus (father of Marcus Aurelius) was Pretor of the Rhodian armies, and also wardein in other frontiers, in the time of Traian the good, Adrian the wyle, and Antonye the mercifull. Whiche Emperours trusted none with theyr armies but discrete and valiaunt men. For good princes chose alway suche captaines as can with wisdom guide the armye, and with valiauntnes giue the battaile. Thoughe the Romaynes had sondrye warres in diuerse places, yet cheselye they kept great garrisons alwayes in foure partes of the world. That is to saye, in Bizance (which now is Constantinople) to resist the Parthiens, in Gades (whiche now is called Caliz) to withstand the Portugales: in the riuer of Rein, to defend them selues from the Germanes: and at Colosses (whiche now is called the Ile of Rhodes) for to subdue the Barbariens. In the moneth of Ianuary when the Senate distributed their offices, the dictatoure being appointed for 6. monethes: and the 2. Consulles chosen for one yere: incontinently in the 3. place they chose 4. of the most renoumed personnes to defende the sayd 4. daungerous frontiers. For the Romaynes neither feared the paynes of hell, nor trusted for reward in heauen: but sought by all occasions possible in their life to leaue some notable memory of them after their death. And that Romaine was counted most valiante & of the Senate best fauoured, to whom they committed the charge of the most cruell and daungerous warres. For their strife was not to beare rule and to be in office to get mony: but to be in the frontiers to ouercome their enemies. In what estimation these 4. frontiers wer we may easely perceiue, by that we see the most noble Romaines haue passed som part of their youth in those places as captaines, vntill such time that for more weyghtie affaires they were appointed from thense to some other places. For at that time there was no worde so greauous and iniurious to a citezin, as to saye go, thou hast neuer ben brought bp in the warres: and to proue the same by examples, the great Pompey passed the winter season in Constantinople, the aduenturous Scipio in Colonges, the couragious Cesar in Gades, and the renoumed Marius in Rhodes. And these 4. wer not only in the frontiers afoze sayde in their youthe, but ther they dyd such valiaunt actes, that the memory of them remayned euermore after their death. These thynges I haue spoken to proue, sythe wee fynde that Marcus Aurelius father was captaine of one of those 4. frontiers: it followeth that he was a man of singuler wisdom and prowesse. For as Scipio sayde to his frende Masinissa, in affrike it is not possible for a Romaine captayne to want eyther wisdom or courage, for thereunto they were predestined at their birthe. We haue no autentike authorities that sheweth vs from whence, when, or howe, in what countreis and with what personnes this captaine passed his youth. And the cause is, for that h Romain Croniclers wer not accustomed to wryte the thynges done by their prince before they were created: but only the actes of yonge men, whiche from their youth had their hartes stouthe bent to great aduenturs. And in my opinion it is wel done. For it is greater hono: to obtaine an empire by policie & wisdom then to haue it by discent, so h ther be no tirannie. Suetonius Tranquillus in his first boke of Emperours counteth at large the aduenturous enterprises taken in hand by Iulius Cesar in his yong age, & how farre unlikely they wer from thought that he should

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euert obtayne the Roman Empiree writing this to shew vnto princes, how earnestlye Julius Cefars harte was bent to winne the Romaine Monarchie, and likewise how wisdom fayled him in behauing him selfe therein. A philosopher of Rome wrote to Phalaris the tiraunt, which was in Cicilia, asking him why he possessed the Realme so longe by tyrannye? Phalaris aunswored hym agayne in another Epytyle in these fewe wordes Thou callest me tyraunt bicause I haue taken this realme & kept it this. 32. yeres I graunt the (quod he) that I was a tiraunte in vsurpyng it: for no manne occupyeth another mannes ryght but by reason he is a tyraunte. But yet I will not agree to be called a tyraunte, sithe it is now. xxxii. yeres sins I haue possessed it. And though I haue archeued it by tyrannie, yet I haue gouerned it by wisdom. And I let thee to vnderstande, that to take an other mans goods, it is an easie thing to conquer, but a hard thing to kepe an easy thing: but to kepe them, I ensure the it is very hard. The Emperour Marcus Aurelius married the daughter of Antonius Pius, the 16. Emperour of Rome, and she was named Faustina, who as sole heire had the Empire: & so through marriage Marcus Aurelius came to be Emperour: this Faustine was not so honest and chaste: as she was faire and beautifull. She had by him two sonnes, Commodus, and Verisimus, Marcus Aurelius triumphed twise, once when he ouercame the Perthians, and another time when he conquered the Argonantes. He was a man very wel learned and of a deepe vnderstanding, he was as excellent both in the Greke and latin, as he was in his mother tongue. He was very temperate in eating and drinking, he wrote many thinges ful of good learning & swete sentences: He dyed in conquering the realme of Pannonia, whiche is now called Hongarie. His death was as much bewayled, as his lyfe was desired. And he was loued so intirely in the citie of Rome, & euery Romaine had a statue of him in his house, to thende the memorie of him (among them) should neuer decay. The which was neuer red that they euert did for any other king or Emperoure of Rome, no not for Augustus Cesar who was beste beloued of all other Emperours of Rome. He gouerned the empire for the space of 18. yeres with byrighte iustice: and dyed at the age of 62. yeres with much honour, in the yere clymatericke, which is in the 60. and 3. yeres wherein the lyfe of man runneth in great peril. for then are accomplished the nine seuens, or the seven nynges. Aulus Gelius writeth a chapter of this matter in y booke De noctibus Atticis. Marcus Aurelius was a prince of lyfe most pure, of doctrine most profound, & of fortune most happie of all other princes in the world, saue only for Faustine his wife and Commodus his sonne. And to the ende we maye see what Marcus Aurelius was from his fancie, I haue put here an epistle of his which is this.

Of a letter whych Marcus Aurelius sent to his frend Pulio, wherein hee declareth the order of his whole lyfe: and amongst other thinges he maketh mencion of a thyng that happened to a Romaine Censo; with his host of Campagna. Cap. ii.

Marcus Aurelius only Emperour of Rome greteth the his old frend Pulio wisheth health to thy parson, and peace to the comen wealth. As I was in the temple of the bestall virgens, a letter of thine was presented

ted vnto me, which was witten long before, and greatly desired of me: but the best therof is, that thou wytyng vnto me bryefly, desirest that I should writ vnto the at large. Which is vndercent for the authoritie of him that is chiefe of the empire, in especial if such one be couetous: for to a prince there is no greater infamy, then to be lauilhe of words, and scant of rewards. Then wytest to me of thy grieve in thy legge, and that thy wounde is great: and truly the payne thereof troubleth me at my hart, and I am righte sozr that thou wantest that which is necessarie for thy health, and that good that I do wishe the. For in the ende all the trauailes of the life may be endured, so that the body with diseases be not troubled. Thou lettest me vnderstande by thy letters that thou art arriued at Rhodes, and requireste me to wite vnto the howe I lyued in that place when I was younge, what time I gaue my minde to studie, & likewise what the discourse of my life was vntil the time of my being Emperoure of Rome. In this case trulpe I meruell at the not a lytle that thou shouldest aske me such a question, and so muche the more that thou diddest not consider, & I cannot without great trouble and paine answer thy demaunde. For the doinges of youthe in a younge man were neuer so vpright and honest, but it were more honesty to amend them, then to declare them. Annus Verus my father shewing vnto me his fatherly loue (not accomplishing yet fully 12 yeres) drew me from the vices of Rome, and sent me to Rhodes to learne science, howbeit better accompanied with bookes, then laden with money, where I vled suche diligence, and fortune so fauoured me, that at the age of 26. yeres I red openly natural and moral philosophy, and also Rethoricke: and ther was nothing gaue me such occasion to study, and read bookes, as the want of moneye, for pouertie causeth good mens children to bee vertuous, so that they attaine to that by vertue, which others come vnto by riches. Trulpe frende Pulio I found great want of the pleasures of Rome, specially at my first comminge into the Ile, but after I had redde philosophie 10 yeaeres at Rhodes, I toke my selfe as one bozne in the countrey, And I thinke my couersacion among them caused it to seme no lesse. For it is a rule that neuer faileth, that vertue maketh a straunger grow natural in a straunge country: and byce maketh the natural a straunger in his owne country. Thou knowest wel how my father Annus Verus was 15. yeres a captaine in the frontiers against the Barbarous, by the commaundement of Adrian my lorde and maister, and Antonius Pius my father in law, both of theym prynces of famous memoire: which recomended me ther to his old frendes, who with fatherly counsel exhorted me to forget the byces of Rome, and to accustome me to the vertues of Rhodes. And trulpe it was but nedeful for me, for the naturall loue of the countrey oft tymes bringeth domage to him that is bozne therein leadinge his desier stil to retourne home. Thou shalt vnderstand that the Rhodians are men of much curtesy, & requyting beneuolence, whyeth chaunseth in few Iles: because that naturallly they are personnes deceitful, subtile, vnthankeful, and ful of suspicio. I speake this bycause my fathers frends alwaies succoured me wryth counsaile and money: which two thinges were so necessarie, that I could not tell which of them I had most nede of. For the straunger maketh his profit with moneye to withstand disdainfull pouertie, and

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profiteth him selfe with counsell to forget the sweete loue of his country. I desired then to reade philosophy in Rhodes so long as my father continued there captaine, But that could not be, for Adrian my lord sent for me to returne to Rome, which pleased me not a litle, albeit (as I haue said) they vsed me as if I had ben borne in that Island, for in theend although the eyes be fedde with delyght to see straunge thinges, yet therefore the hart is not satisfysed. And this is al that toucheth the Rhodians. I will now tel the also how before my going thether I was borne and brought vp in mount Celio (in Rome) with my father from mine infancie. In the common wealthe of Rome ther was a law vsed, & by custome wel obserued, that no citize which enioyed any lybertie of Rome (after their sonnes had accomplished. 10. yeares) should be so bold or hardy to suffer them to walke the streetes like bacabondes. For it was a custome in Rome, that the chyldren of the senators should sucke til two yerres of age, til 4. they should liue at therr owne wylls, tyl 6. they should reede, tyl 8 they should wypte, tyl 10. they should study gramer, & 10. yeares accomplished they should then take some craft or occupacion, or gyue them selues to study, or go to the warres, so þ throughout Rome no man was idell. In one of the lawes of the 12 tableg weare wrytten these wordes. We ordeine and commaund that euery cytizen that dwelleth wythin the circuite of Rome or lybertyes of the same, from 10 yerres vpwardes to kepe hys sonne well ordered. And if perchaunce the chyld being ydel, or that no man teacheth hym any craft or science, should therby peraduenture fal to byre, or commyt some wycked offence, that then the father no lesse then the sonne should be punyshed. For ther is nothing so much breadeth byre amongst the people, as when the fathers are to neglygent, and the chyldren to bold. And furthermore another law sayd. We ordeine and commaunde that after 10. yeares be past, for the fyrst offence that the chyld shal commyt in Rome, that the father shalbe bound to send hym forth some where els, or to be bound suertye for the good demeanour of hys son. For it is not reason that the fonde loue of the father to the sonne should be an occasion why the multytude shuld be sclaudered; because al the wealth of the Emppre consisteth in keepyng and mayntaynyng quyet men, and in bawshyng and expellyng sedycious personnes. I wyl tell the one thyng my Pulyo, and I am sure thou wylt meruell at it, and it is thys. When Rome tryumphed and by good wysedom gouerned all the worlde, the inhabitantes in the same surmounted the number of two hundreth thousand parsonnes, which was a maruelouse matter. Amongeste whom (as a man maye iudge) ther was aboue a hundreth thousand chyldren. But they whych had the charge of them kept them in such a we and doctryne, that they banysed from Rome one of the sonnes of Cato vticensis for breakyng an erthen pot in a maydens handes whych went to fetcche water. In lyke manner they banysed the sonne of good Canna, onlye for entrynge into a garden to gather frupte, And none of these two were as yet fyftyne yeares olde. For at that tyme they chastised them more for the offences done in gest, then they doo now for those which are don in good earnest. Our Cicero saith in his booke De legibus, that the Romaynes neuer toke in any thing more paynes, then to restraine the chyldren as wel old as young from ydlenes. And so long endu-

red

dured the feare of their lawe, and honour of theyr common wealthe, as they suffered not their children lyke varabondes idelly to wander the streates. For that countrey may aboue all other be counted happye, where eche one enioyeth hys owne labour, and no man lyueth by the sweette of another. I let the know my Pulio, that when I was a chylde (althoughe I am not yet very olde) none durste be so hardy to go commonly throughe Rome, wythout a token about hym of the crafte and occupacion he exercepsed, and whereby he lyued. And if anye man had bene taken contrary, the chyl dren byd not onlye crie out of hym in the streates as of a foole: but also the Censour afterwarde condemned hym to trauaile wyth the captiues in common workes. For in Rome they esteemed it no lesse shame to the child which was idle, then they dyd in Grece to the phylosopher whych was ignorant. And to thende thou mayest se thys I wyte vnto the to be no new thynge, thou oughtest to know, that the Emperour caused to be borne afore hym a brenning brand, and the counsell an aze of armes, the priestes a hat in maner of a crosse, The Senatours a crusible on their armes, the Iudges a lytle balance, the Tribunes Hares, the gouernours a scepter, the Bysshoppes hattes of floures, The Oratours a booke, the cutlers a sword, the goldsmithes a pot to melt gold: and so forth of al other offices, strangers excepted, which went al marked after one sort in Rome: for they woulde not agree that a stranger shoulde be apparailed & marked according to the chylde of Rome. O my frend Pulio, it was suche a ioye then to beholde the discipline and prosperitie of Rome, and it is now at this present suche a greife to see the calamitie thereof, that by the immortall gods I sweare to the, and so the god Mars guyde my hande in warres, that the man which now is best ordered, is not worthe so much as the most dissolute person was then. For then amongst a thousande they could not finde one man vicious in Rome, and now amongst twenty thousande they cannot finde one vertuous in all Italye. I know not why the gods are so cruel agaynst me, and fortune so contrary, that this 40. yeaeres I haue done nothynge but wepe and lamente to see the good men die, and immediatly to be forgotten: and on the other side to see the wicked liue and to be alwayes in prosperitie. Uniuersallye the noble harte maye endure al the troubles of mans life, vnlesse it be to see a good man decay, and the wicked to prosper: which my harte cannot abyde, nor yet my tounge dissemble. And touchynge this matter my frende Pulio, I will wyte vnto the one thynge whiche I founde in the bookes of the highe Capitoll, where he treateth of the time of Marius and Sylla, whiche trulpe is worthy of memorie and that is this: There was at Rome a custome and a lawe inuiolable, sith the time of Cenna, that a Censour expressely commaunded by the senate shoulde goe and visite the prouinces whiche were subiecte vnto it throughe out all Italye: and the cause of those visitacions was for thre thynges. The firste, to see if any complained of iustice. the second, to see in what case the common wealthe stode. The thirde, to thende that yeaerlye they shoulde render obedience to Rome. O my frende Pulio, how thinkest thou? if they visited Italye at this presente, as at that time they surueyed Rome, how ful of errours shoulde they fynd it: And what decay shoulde they see therein thinkest thou? Trulpe (as thou knowest) they

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should see the common wealthe destroyed, iustice not ministred, and more-
 ouer Rome not obeyed, and not without iuste cause. For of righte oughte
 that common wealthe to be destroyed, which ons of al other hath bene the
 flower, and most beautified with vertues: and after becommeth moste ab-
 hominable and defiled with vices. The case was suche, that two yeares af-
 ter the warres of Sylla, and Marius, the Censor went yearly to Nola (whiche
 is a place in the prouince of Campania) to visite the same countrey as the cu-
 stome was. And in those dayes the tyme and season being verpe hote, and
 the prouince quiet, not dysturbed with warres, and perceiuyng that none of
 the people cam to him. The censor sayde to the hoste which lodged hym.
 Friend I am a iudge sent from the Senatours of Rome to visite this land.
 Therefore goe thy wayes quickely and call the good men hither whiche be
 amonge the people, for I haue to saye vnto theym from the sacred senate.
 This hoste (who peraduenture was wyser then the Romaine iudge, al-
 thoughe not so ryche) goeth to the graues of the dead, whiche in that place
 were buryed, and spake vnto them with a loude voyce sayinge. O ye good
 men, come awaye with me quickely, for the Romaine Censor calleth you.
 The iudge perceiuyng they came not, sent hym agayne to cal them: and the
 host as he dyd at the first tyme, so dyd he nowe at the seconde. For when he
 was at the graues with a loud voyce he said. O ye good men come hither,
 for the censor of Rome woulde talke with you. And lyke wyse they were
 called the thirde tyme, with the selfe same wordes. And the Censor seying no
 body come, was maruelous angrie, and said to the hoste. Sithe these good
 men dydayne to come at my commandement, and shewe their allegiaunce
 to the sacred senate of Rome (to thintente I maye punyssh this their dys-
 obedience) I wil goe vnto them my selfe, Come and go with me. The poore
 hoste without any wordes, takyng the censor by the hand, led him to the
 graues where he had ben before, and agayne with a loude voice cried vnto
 the dead men and sayed. O ye good men, here is the Roman censor come to
 speake with you. The censor beyng angry sayde to hym, what meanest thou
 by this host? I sent the to cal them that are aliue, & not those that are dead?
 the host made answer: o thou Roman Judge if thou wert wyse, thou wol-
 dest not marueil at that that I haue done. For I let the vnderstand, in this
 our citie of Nola al the good men, (all I say) are now deade, and lye here bu-
 ried in these graues. Therefore thou hast no cause to marueille, nor yet to be
 dyspleased with my answer: but I rather ought to be offended with thy
 demaunde, willyng me to enquire for good menne, and thou thy selfe doste
 offende with the euill dailie. Wherefore I let the know (if thou be ignoraunt
 therof) if thou wilt speake with any good man, thou shalte not finde him in
 all the hole world: vnles the dead be reuiued, or excepte the gods wil make
 a newe creation. The Consul Sylla was fyue monethes our captain in this
 oure citie of Nola in Campania, sowinge the fruite whiche ye other Romain-
 nes gathered: that is to say, he lefte children without fathers, fathers with-
 out children, daughters without mothers, and husbannes without wyues:
 wyues without husbannes, vnclles without nephewes, subiectes withoute
 Lordes, Lordes withoute tenauntes, gods without Temples, Temples
 without priestes, mountaines without hearde, and fieldes without frus-
tes

tes. And the worst of all is, that this cursed Sylla, dispeopled this our citie of good and vertuous men: and replenished it with wycked and vitious personnes Ruine and decay neuer destroyed the walles so muche, neyther the mothes euer marred so many garnētes, ne the wormes rotted so much fruites, nor yet the hayle beate downe so muche corne, as the disorder and vices of Sylla the Romaine Consul dyd harne, whiche he broughte vnto this land of campania. And although the evils that he did here to the men weremanyfolde greate, yet muche greater herein was that which he did to their customes and maners. For in the ende, the good men whiche he beheaded are now at rest with the dead: but the vices whiche he left vs. In this land ther are none but proude & arrogant men that delite to commaunde. In this land there are none other but enuious men that know nought els but malice. In this land there are idle men which doe nothing but lose their tyme. In thys land there are none but gluttons, whych doe nothyng but eateth. In this land ther are non but theues, which entende nought els but robberies. In thys lande there are none but rebelles, that doe nothyng but stirre sedicion. And if thou and al the Romaines esteime these men for good, tary a while I wyl goe to cal them al to the. For if we should kil and put in the shambles al the yll men and wey theym as we doe the flesh of shepe, or other lyke beastes: all the neighbours and inhabitantes of Italye shoulde haue meate sufficiente to eate. Beholde Cenfor, in this lande of Campania they caie none good but those which are quyet, sober, wise, and discret men. Thei cal none good but the patient, honest, and vertuous men. Finallye I say that we cal none good but those which wyl doe no harne, and will occupy them selues in good workes without teares. I speke not that whych I wil say, that is: if we seke for any of them we shal finde none but in these graues. For the iuste iudgment of god it was, they should repose them selues in the intrailles of the earthe, whom the publike weale deserued not to haue alyue. Thou comest to visite thys land where thou shalt immediatly be serued with the wycked: and to hyde theyr faultes, theyr dissolute lyfe, and theyr vices, thou shalt not be a little solicted. Belieue me if thou wilt not vndoe thy self & be deceiued. Trust thou rather these rottē bones, then their deceitful hartes. For in the end, the examples of the dead that were good doe profyte men more to lyue well: than the counsaile of the liuing that be wicked doe interre and burie al those that be now lyuyng.

¶ Marcus Aurelius concludeth the letter, and declareth at large the sciences he learned, and al the maisters which he had. And in the ende he reciteth five notable thynges, in the obseruance of whych the Romaines were verie curious.

Cap. iiii.

I haue recyted these thynges vnto the, my frende Pulio, to the ende thou shouldest know what an infinite number there is of the wycked sort in y world, and how smal and scant a number there is in Italye of the good, and this procedeth of none other thyng, but because the fatheres doe not byng vp their chyldren as our auncestours dyd. It is vnpossyble a young chylde shoulde be vicious, yf wyth due correction he had bene instructed in
bet.

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vertues. Annius Verus my father in thys case deserueth as much prayse, as I doe reproche. For whyles I was yonge, he neuer suffered me to slepe in bed, to syt in chaire, to eate with him at hys table, neyther durst I lyfte vp mine eyes to lobe hym in the face. And ostentymes he sayde vnto me, Marcus my sonne, I had rather thou shoudest be an honest Romayne, than a dissolute Philosopher. Thou desyrest me to wyte vnto the how manye masters I had, and what sciences I learned in my youth. Knowe thou that I had manye good masters, though I am become an euill scoller. I learned also dyuerse sciences, though presently I knowe lyttle, not for that I forgote them, but because the affayres of the empyre of Rome excluded me from them, and cauled me to forsake them. For it is a general rule, that science in that place is neuer permanent, where the personne is not at libertie. I studied grammer with a mayster called Euphermon, who sayed he was a Spaniard borne, and his head was hore for age. In speache he was very temperate, in correction somewhat seuer, and in life excedyng honeste. For there was a law in Rome, that the childrens masters should be very old: so that if the discipule were. 10. yeres of age, the master should be aboue fiftie. I studied a long time Rethorick, and the lawe, vnder a greeke called Alexander, borne in Lycaony, which was so excellent an Oratour, that if he had had as great a grace in wyting with his pen, as he hadde eloquence in speakyng with hys tong, truly he had bene no lesse renowned among the Gretians, then Cicero was honored amonge the Romains. After the death of this my master (at Naples) I went to Rhodes, and hearde rethoricke againe of Orosus of Pharanton, and of Pulio, whiche trulye were men expert, and excellent in the arte of oratorie, and especially in makyng comedies, tragedies, and enterludes, they were very fyne, and had a goodly grace. Commodus Calcedon, was my firste master in naturall Philosophie. He was a graue man, and in greate credite with Adrian, he translated Homere out of greeke into latin. After this man was dead, I toke Sextus Cheronensis for my master, who was nephew to Plutarke the greate, whych Plutarke was Traianus master. I knewe this Sextus Cheronensis at. 35. yeaeres of age, at what time I doute whether there hath bene any Philosopher that euer was so well esteemed throughout the Romain empire as he. I haue him here with me, and although he be foure score yeres olde, yet continually he writeth the Histories and gestes done of my time. I let the know, my frend Pulio, that I studied the law. 2. yeres, and the seekyng of the lawes of many nations was occasion that I knew many antiquities: and in this science Volucius Mecianus was my master, a man whiche could reade it well, and also dispute of it better. So that on a time he demaunded of me merily and sayde. Tell me Marke, dost thou thinke there is any lawe in the world that I know not? and I answered him: Tell me master, is there any lawe in the world that thou obseruest? The fyfte yere that I was at Rhodes there came a marvellous pestilence, whiche was occasion of the dissolution of our scoole, which was in a narrow and litle place, and beyng there a certaine painter paintinge a riche and excellent worke for the Realme of Palestine, I then for a truth learned there to drawe and painte, and my master was Diogenetus, who in those dayes was a famous painter. He painted in Rome. 6. worthy Princes

Princes in one table, and 6. other tyrannous Emperours in an other. And amongst those euill Nero the cruell was painted so lyuely, that he seemed a lyue to all those that sawe him: and that table wherein Nero was so liuely drawen, was by decrees of the sacred senat commaunded to be burnt. For they saide that a man of so wycked a life, deserued not to be represented in so goodly a table. Others saide that it was so naturall and perfect, that he made all men afrayde that beheld him, and if he had bene leste there a fewe daies, that he would haue spoken as if he had bene aliuē. I studied the arte of Pigromancie a while with al the kyndes of gyromancye and chiromancye. In this science I had no particuler master, but that somtymes I went to heare Apolonius lecture. After I was married to Faustine, I learned Cosmographye in the cite of Argeleta, which is the chiefeeste towne of Illyria: and my masters were Iunius Rusticus, and Cyna Catullus, Croniclers and counsaylers to Adrian my master, and Antonius my father in lawe. And because I would not be ignorant in any of those thynges that mans debilitie myght attaine to, beyng at the warres of Dalia I gaue my selfe to musicke, & was apte to take it, and my master was named Geminus Ccomodus a man of a quicke hand to play, and of as pleasaunte a voice to singe, as euer I hearde Romaine tonge prompte to speake. This was the order of my lyfe, and the tyme that I spent in learning. And of good reason a man so occupped can not chosse but be vertuous. But I sware and confesse to the that I did not so much geue my selfe to studye, but that euery day I lost time enoughe. For youth and the tender fleshe despyeth libertie, and althoughe a man accustometh it with trauailes, yet he findeth vacant time also for his pleasours. Although al the auncient Romans were in dyuerse thinges very studious, yet notwithstandinge amongst all ouer and besides these, there were fyue things wherunto they had euer a great respect: & to those that therein offended, neyther requestes auayled, rewards profited, nor lawe (old nor new) dispensed. Truly their good willes are to be comended, and their diligence to be exalted. For the princes that gouerne great Realmes, ought to employe their hartes to make good lawes, and to occupie their eyes to se them duly executed throughout the common wealthe. These fyue thinges weare these.

1 The firste, they ordeyned that the priestes shoulde not be dishoneste. For in that Realme where priestes are dys honest, it is a token that the gods against the people are angrie..

2 The seconde, it was not suffered in Rome that the Virgines bestalles should at their pleasoure stray abroad. For it is but reason that she whiche of her owne fre wil hath heretofore promised openly to be good, should now if she chaunge her mind be compelled in secret to be chaste.

3 The third, they decreed that the iudges should be iuste and bryghte. For there is nothing that decayeth a common wealthe more, then a iudge who hath not for all men one ballaunce indifferent.

4 The fourth was, that the Captaynes that should go to the warres should not be cowardes: for there is no lyke daunger to the common wealthe, nor no like sleaunders to the Prince, as to committe the charge of men to hym in the fielde, who wylbe firste to commaunde, and laste to fighte.

The

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The fifthe was, that they whiche had charge of bringinge by of children shoulde not be vicious. For there is nothinge more monstrous and more sclaunderous, then he that is maister of children, should be subiecte and seruauit to vices. How thinkest thou my frende Pulio whan al these thinges were obserued in Rome: Thinkest thou that the youthe was so dissolute as at this present: thinkest thou in deede that it is the same Rome wherin (in times past) were so notable good and auncient men: beleuest thou that it is that Rome wherin (in the golden age) the olde men were so honest, and the children so well taught, the armies wel ordered, and the iudges and Sena- tours so vpright and iuste: I call God to witnes, and sweare to the that it is not Rome, neyther hath it any likenes of Rome, no: yet anye grace to be Rome: and he that would say that this Rome was the old Rome, knoweth lytle of Rome. The matter was this, that the auncient and vertuous Ro- maynes being dead, it semeth to the gods, that we are not yet woorthye to enioye their houses, So that eyther this is not Rome, or els we be not the Romaines of Rome. For considering the prowesse and vertuous deedes of the auncient Romaines, and wayeng also our dissolute lyues: it wer a very great infamy for them, to call vs their successours. I desier my friend Pulio, to wyte vnto the all these thinges, to thend thou mayest se what we were, and what we are. For great things haue neede of great power, and require a long tyme before they can growe and come to their perfection: and then afterward at one moment & with one blow they fal downe to the ground. I haue bene more tedious in my letter than I thoughte to haue bene, and now I haue told the that which wyth diligence (by reason of my great af- faires) in thre or foure tymes I haue wypten of that that wanteth in thine and is to much in myne, we shal make a reasonable letter, and since I par- don the for being to byere, pardon thou me also for being to long. I saw the ones enquire for vnicornes horne in Alexandry, wherfore now I send the a good peece and likewise I send the a horse which in my iudgement is good. Aduertise me if thy doughter Drusilla be alpye, wyth whom I was wont to laugh, and I wyll heape her to a mariage. The immortall gods kepe the & my Pulio, thy wife, thy stepmother and thy doughter, and Salut them all, from me and faustine. Marke of Mounte Celio Emperour of Rome with his owne hand wypteth vnto the.

Of the excellency of christian religion, whych manifesteth the true God,
and disproueth the vanitie of the auncyents hauyng so many Gods And
that in the olde tyme, when the enemyes were reconcyed in their houses,
they caused also that the gods should embrace eche other in the Temples.
Cap. iiii.

HE that is the onely diuine worde, begotten of the father, lord perpe-
tuall of the Hierarchies, more aunciente then the heauens, Prince of all
holynesse, chiefe head from whom all had their begynning, the greatest
of all gods, and creatore of all creatures, in the profundnesse of his eternall
sapience, accordeth all the harmony and composition of Christian religion.
This is suche a maner of sure matter, and so well laid, that neyther the mis-
eries which spring of thinflections of naughty Christians can trouble, no: yet
the

the boysterous windes of the heretiques are able to moue. For it wer more likely that heauen and earthe shoulde both perishe, then it should suspend for one daye, and that ther shoulde be no Christian religion. The auncient godds whiche were inuentours of wordly thinges, as the foundation of their re-
proued sectes was but a fliege sande, and an vnstable ground ful of daũge-
rous & erronious abuses: so some of those poore wretches, lokyng perhappes lyke a shippe conning vppon a rocke, suspectyng nothyng, were drowned. Other like ruyned buildynges were shaken in sonder and fell downe dead, finally these godds whiche onely bare the name of godds shalbe for euermore forgotten. But he onely shalbe perpetual, whiche in god, by god, & thorough god hath his beginninge. Many and sundy were the multitude of the na-
tions whiche haue bene in times past. That is to wyf, the Sirians, & Assirians, Persiās, Medians, Macedoniās, Grecians, Cythians, Arginians, Corinthiās, Caldeās, Indiās, Athenians, Lacedemonians, Africans, Vandales, Svvēuians, Allains, Hongarians, Ger-
maignes, Britons, Hebreuues, Palastines, Gentiles, Iberthailides, Maurians, Lucitaians, Gothes, and Spaniardes. And truly in all these loke howe greate the difference amongst them in their customes and maners was: so much diuersitie was of the ceremonies which they vled, and of their godds which they honoured. For the gentiles had this error, that they sayd one alone was not of power sufficient to create suche a multitude as were created. If I were before al the sages that euer were, they would not say the contrary, but without cō-
parison the godds whome they worshypped and inuented were greater in multitude, then the realmes and prouinces whiche they conquered and pos-
sessed. For by that folie the auncient poetes durst affirme in their wytinges that the godds of one nation and countrey wer mortal enemies to the godds of another prouince. So that the godds of Troie enuied the godds of Grece, more then the princes of Grece, enuied the princes of Troie. What a strange thinge was it to see the Assirians in what reuerence they worshypped the god Belus. The Egypciās the god Apis. The Caldeans the god Assas. The Babiloniās the deuouring dragon. The pharaones the statue of gold. The Pa-
lestines Belzebub. The Romaines honoured the god Jupiter. The Affricās the god Mars. The Corinthians the god Apollo. The Arabians the God A-
staroth. The Arginians the Sonne. Those of Acaia the Moone. The Edo-
nians Belphegor. The Amonites Balim. The Indians Baccus. The lacedemo-
nians Oliges. The Macedonians did sacrifice to Mercury. The Ephesians to their goddesse Diana. The Grekes to Iuno. The Armenians to Liber. The Troiās to Vesta. The Latins to Februa. The Tarentines to Ceres. The Rho-
dians (as saith Apolonius Thiancus,) worshypped the God Janus, and a-
boue all thinges wee oughte to meruaile at this. That they strived often-
times amongst them selues, not so muche vpon the possessions and signo-
ries of Realmes, as vppon a certaine obstinacie they had to maintaine the
godds of the one, to be of greater power then the others. For they thoughte
if their godds were not esteemed, that the people should be impouerished, vn-
fortunate, and persecuted. Pulio in his second booke De dissolatione regionum
orientarum, declareth that the first prouince that rebelled againste the Empe-
rour Helius Adrianus (which was the fiftenth Emperour of Rome) was the
land of Palestyne, against the which was sent a capitaine named Iulius Seue-
rus,

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rus, a manne of great courage and verie fortunate and aduenturous in armes. This captaine did not only finishe the warres, but he wrought such an outrageous destruction in that land, that he besieged 52. cities and rased them to the ground, and burned 680. villages, and slew so many in battaile schermidge, and by Justice, that amounted to the nombre of .5000. persons. For vnto the proude and cruell captaines victoꝝ can neuer be glorious, vnlesse they water the ground with the bludde of their enemies. And further: more in the cities and townes besieged, the children olde men and women whiche died throughe hunger and pestilence were more in nombre, than those whiche were slain in the warres. For in warres the sworde of the enemies lighteth not vpon all: but pestilence and famine hath no respecte to any. After this warre of Palestina was ended, immediatly after arose a more crueller betwixte the Allaynes, and Armenians. For there are many that se the beginninge of the troubles and miseries which arys in Realmes: but there are fewe that consider the ende, and seke to remedye the same. The occasion of this warre was, as they came to the feast of the mount Olympus they fell in disputacions whither of their gods were better, & whiche of them ought to bee preferred before other. Whereof there sprange suche contradictions, and suche mortall hatred, that on euerye parte they were furiouslye moued to warres: and so vnder a colour to mainteine the gods which they honoured, both the common wealthes were brought into great pouertie, and the people also into muche miserie. The Emperoure Helius Adrianus, seyinge suche cruell warres to arysse bypon so lyghte occasion, sente thither the captayne aboue named, Iulius Seuerus, to pacifye the Allaynes and Armenians, and commaunded hym that he should persecute those with warres, whiche would not be ruled by his arbitrement and sentence. For those iustlye deserue the sworde, which with no reasonable condicions will condescende vnto peace. But Iulius Seuerus vsed suche policie that he made them good frendes, and neuer touched them nor came nere them. Whiche thyng was no lesse acceptable to the Emperour, then profitable to the realmes. For the captayne whiche subdueth the countrey by entreatye, deserueth more honoure, then he which ouercommeth it by bataile. The agrement of the peace was made vpon suche condicion, that the Allayns should take for their gods the Armenians gods, and the Armenians on the contrarie the gods of the Allayns: and further when the people should imbrace and reconcile them selues to the senate, that then the gods should kysse the one the other, and to be reconciled to the temple. The vanitie of the auncientes was suche, and the blindnes of mortall men so greate, and so subiect were they to deuillish deuises, that as easely as the eternall wisdom createrh a true man now a dayes: so easelye then a vaine man might haue inuented a false god. For the Lacedemonians had this opinion, that men had no lesse power to inuent goddes, then the gods had to create menne.

Howe the Philosopher Bruxellus was greatly esteemed amongst the auncientes for his lyfe, and the wordes whiche he spake vnto the Romaines at the houre of his death. Cap. v.

P Harasimaco in hys 20. booke De libertate deorum (whereof Cicero maketh mention in his booke De natura deorum) saythe: that when the Gothes toke Rome and besiged the highe capitoll, there came amongst them a philosopher called Bruxellus, the which (after the Gothes were repulled out of Italy) remained with Camillus at Rome. And because at that time Rome wanted Philosophers, this Bruxellus was had in great veneration amongst all the Romaynes, so that he was the first straüger of whom (beyng a lyue) a statue was euer made in the Senate. The Romaines vsed to make a statue of y^e Romaines being aliue: but not to strangers til after their death. The age of this Bruxellus was 113. wherof. 65. he had bene an inhabitaunt of Rome. And among other things they recite. 7. notable things of his lyfe.

- 1 The first, that in .60. yeres no man euer saw him issue oute of the walles of Rome. For in the olde tyme the Sages were lytle esteemed, if in their behauiours they were not byright.
- 2 The second, that in 60. yeres no man heard him speake an idel word: for y^e words that are superfluous, do greatly deface the authoritie of the person.
- 3 The third, that in al his time they neuer saw him loose one howe of time. For in a wise man there is no greater follye, then to see hym spende a moment of an houre idelly.
- 4 The fourth, that in al his tyme he was neuer detected of any vyce. And let no man thinke this to be a smal matter. For few are they of so longe life, which are not noted of some infamy after their death.
- 5 The fift, that in all the 60. yeres he neuer made quarel, nor strided with anye man: and this thinge oughte to be no lesse esteemed then the other. For truly he that lyueth a long tyme without offering wrong to another, may be called a monsture in nature.
- 6 The sixt, that in thre or foure yeres he neuer issued out of the temple, and in this case this philosopher shewed himself to be a good man. For the vertuous man ought not to content him selfe onlye to be boyde of vyces: but he ought also to withdrawe hym selfe from the vicious.
- 7 The seuenth & last, that he spake more often to the gods then with men.

This philosopher now drawinge nere to the houre of deathe, al the Senate came to vylite him, and to thanke him for that he had lyued so long amongst them in so good conuersaciõ, & that so willingly he cared and watched for the wealth of Rome. And likewise al the people of Rome wer right sorre for his sicknes & that they should lose the company of so excellent and vertuous a man. The good philosopher in the presence of theym all spake these words vnto the Senate.

¶ Of that the sage Philosopher Bruxellus spake to the Senate of Rome, at the hower of his death.

Cap. vi.

Since you are wise (o worthy senatours) me thinketh you should not lament my death, sithens I my selfe so ioyfully do receiue it. For we ought not to lament the death we take, but the wicked life we lead. That man is very simple that dreadeth deathe, for feare to loose the pleasures of life. For death ought not to be feared for losse of life, but because it is a sharp scourge of y^e wicked lyfe. I dye (noble Senatours) in ioy & pleasure: first, because I

B. ii.

do

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do not remember that euer I did any euil in all my life, or displeasour to any of the common wealth. And I am certaine, that the man which dyd no euil to men in his life, the gods wil do him no harme at þ hour of his death. Secōdarily I dy ioyfully, to se al Rome lament þ losse of my life. For þ man is very wicked and vnhappy, whose life the people lament, & at whose death they do reioyce. Thirddly I dye ioyfully, only to remember that the 60 yeres which I haue bene in Rome, alwaies I haue trauailed for þ cōmon wealth. For the iust gods told me, that ther is no death with paine, but wher life is without profit. Fourthly I dye ioyfully, not so much for the profit I haue don to men, as for þ seruice I haue done to the gods. For regarding to how many profitable things we employ our life, we maye say, we liue onlye the time which is employed to the seruice of god. Ceasinge to speake further of my person, I wil worthy Senatours disclose vnto you a high secret, which toucheth your comon welth, & this it is. That our father Romulus founded Rome, Numa Pompilius erected the high Capitol, Aeneas Marcius enclosed it w walles, Brutus deliuered it from Tyrants: the good Camillus drove out the frenchmen. Quintus Scicinnatus augmented her power: but I leaue it peopled w gods, which shal defend Rome better then walles or men. For in the end, þ feare of one god is more worth, then the strength of al men. When I came to Rome it was a confusion to se how it was peopled with men, & vnfinished of gods. For ther wer but 5. gods, þ is to wete, Iupiter, Mars, Ianus, Berecinthia, and the goddesse Vesta. But now it is not so. For ther remayneth for euery one a priuate god. He thinketh it an vniust thing þ treasuries shold be ful of gold, & þ temples void of gods. As ther is 28000 householdes, so you may account your selues happie þ I leaue you 28000. gods: by the vertu of þ which I cōiure you Romains, þ eche of you be contented with the god of his house, and haue no care to applie to himsele the gods of the common wealth. For he that emproppeth to him self that which ought to be cōmon to al, is to be blamed of god, and hated of mē. This shalbe therfore the order that you shal kepe and haue to wards the gods, if you wil not erre in their seruice. That is to vnderstand, ye shal kepe the mother Berecinthia, to pacify þ ire of the gods, ye shal kepe the goddesse Vesta, to turne from you the wicked destemies. Ye shal kepe the god Iupiter, & shal commit vnto him the gouernment of your common wealth. And also ye shal kepe him for the god aboue all the gods in heauen and earth. For if Iupiter dyd not temper the ire, which the gods aboue haue against you: there shoulde be no memorie of men here beneth in earth. Of other particuler gods which I leaue you, vse your particuler profit. But yet not withstāding in the meane season (Romains) take you hede to your selues, and if at any time fortune shoulde be contrary, let no man be so hardy to speake euil of the god, which he hath in his house. For þ gods tel me, that it was sufficient inough, to dissemble with theym whiche serue them not: & not to pardon those that offend them. And do not deceiue your selues in sayeng þ they are priuate gods, and not able to help themselves. For I let you know, that ther is not so lytle a god, but is of power sufficient to reuenge an iniurie. O Romaynes, it is reason that al from henceforth liue ioyfully, and in peace, and furthermore thinke your selues assured not to be ouercome by your enemyes: because nowe youre neyghbours of
you

you and not you of them shal desire to borrow gods, and because ye shall see me no more, ye thinke I must dye, and I thinke because I dye. I shall beginne to liue. For I go to the gods, and leaue amonge you the gods, because I departe.

Howe the Gentiles thoughte that one God was not able to defende them from their enemies, and howe the Romans sent throughout al the Empire to borrow gods when they foughte agaynst the Gothes. Chap. vii.

In the yeare of the foundation of Rome 1164. which accordynge to the count of the Latins was 402. from the incarnation (as Paulus Orosius in the sixte booke De machina mundi saith, & Paulus Diaconus in the 12. booke of the Romaine histories) The gothes (which as Spartian sayeth, wer called otherwise Gethules, or Messagethes) wer driuen out of theyr countrey by þe Huns, & came in to Italy to seke new habitacions, and became natural, & built houses. At this time there was an Emperour of Rome named Valentine, a man of smal reputation & courage in warres, and endued with few good conditions, for þe he was of Arian his secte. The kynges of these Gothes wer two renowned men, whose names wer Randagagisimus, and Alaricus. Of the which two Randagagisimus was the chiefeft and most puissaunt, and he had a noble mynde and a very good wit. He led with him at the leaste. 2000000. Gothes, the which all with him and he with them made an othe, to shed as muche bloude of the Romaines as they coulde, and offer it to their gods. For the barbarous people had a custome, to noynte the god (whiche was at that time in the tēple of Venus) with þe bloud of their enemyes whom they had slaine. The newes of the comynge of this cruell tiraunt was published throughout all Italie, whose determination was not only to race þe walles of Rome downe to the earth, batter towers, dungions, houses, walles, and buildynges: but also he purposed to abolyshe and vtterlye to bynne to noughte the name of Rome and likwyse of the Romaines. Of this thing all the Italiens were in great and merueilous feare. And the most puissaunt and couragious knyghtes and gentlemen, agreed together to retire within the walles of Rome, and determined to die in that place to defend the liberty therof. For amonges the Romaines there was an aunciente custome, that when they created a knyghte, they made him sweare to kepe thre thynges.

- 1 First, he sware to spende all the dayes of his lyfe in the warres.
- 2 Secoundarely, he sware that neyther for pouerty nor ryches nor for any other thynges he shoulde euer take wages but of Rome onelye.
- 3 Thirde, he sware that he woulde rather chuse to dye in libertye, then to liue in captiuitie.

After all the Romaines (scattered abrode in Italie) wer together assēbled in Rome, they agreed to sende letters by their pursuantes, not only to their subiectes, but also to al their confederate. The effecte whereof was this.

Of a Letter sent from the senate of Rome to all the subiects of the Empire. Chap. viii.

The sacred Senate, and all the people of Rome, to all their faythfull and louing subiectes, and to their deare frendes and confederates, wyssheth health & victory agaynst your enemies. The varietie of time, the negligence of

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you all, at the vnhappy successe of our aduentures, haue broughte vs in periles of tyme, that wher as Rome conquered Realmes, and gouerned so many straunge signoryes, now at this day commeth straungers to conquere and destroye Rome: in such sorte, that the Barbarous people (whom we were wont to kepe for slaues) sweare to become our lordes and masters. We let you know now how al the Barbarous nation hath conspired against Rome our mother, and they with their king haue made a bove to offer al the Romaines blood to their gods in the temples. And peradventure their pride & hyerlenes beinge seene, and our innocency knowen, fortune wil dispose another thing. For it is a generall rule, that it is vnpossible for a prince to haue the victorie or that warre, whiche by malice is begonne, and by pride and hyerlenes pursued. It hath seemed good vnto vs (since theyr cause is vniust, and oure righteous) to endeuoure oure selues by all meanes howe to resyst this Barbarous people. For oft times that which by iustice was gotten, by neglygence is lost. For the remedie of this mischiefe to come, the sacred senate hath prouided these thinges following: and for the accomplishing thereof your fauour and ayde is necessarye.

1 first of al we haue determined to repaire with al dyligēce our ditches, walles, gates, and bulwarke: and in these places to arme al our frendes. But to accomplishe that and diuers other for the necessitie of warfare we lacke money: for ye know wel inoughe that the warre cannot be prosperous, wher enemyes abound, and money is scarce.

2 Secondarily we haue commaunded that all those whiche be sworne knightes and soldiours of Rome, repaire immediatly to Rome: and therfore ye shal send to vs all those which are vnder thage of 50. and aboue thage of 20. For in great warres, aunciente men for counsaile, and younge men and lustye to erecute the same are required.

3 Thirdly we haue agreed and concluded that the citie be prouided of victualles, municion, & defence at the least for 2. yerres. Wherfore we desire ye & ye send vs fro you y tenth part of wine, the fift part of flesh, and the third part of your bread. For we haue al sworne to die, yet we meane not to dye for famine, assaged as feareful men: but fighting in plaine feld, like valiant Romaines.

4 Fourthly we haue prouided (since the vnknewen barbarous come to fight with vs) that you bring vs to Rome straunge gods to helpe and defend vs. For you know wel inough, that since the great Constantine we haue ben so pore of gods, that we haue not but one god, whom the Christiāns do honour. Therfore we desire you that you wil succour vs with your gods in this our extreame necessity. For amongst the Gods we know no one alone sufficiēt to defend al the Romaine people from their enemies. The walles therefore being wel repayed, and al the young and warrelke men in garrison in the cytie, the batteries wel furnished, and the treasure house wel replenished w money, & aboue al the temples wel adourned with gods, we hope in our gods to haue the victory of our enemyes. For in fighting with men and not against gods, a man ought alwayes to haue hope of victorie. For ther are no men of such might, but by god and other men may be vauquished. Fare ye wel. &c. After this letter was sent through al the dominion of the Romaines, not tarpenge for answer of y same, they soorthwith openly blasphemed the name of Christ, and set vp idolles in the temples, vsed the ceremonies of the gentiles

gentiles: & that which was worse then þ, they said openly that Rome was neuer so oppressed with tirantes, as it hath ben since they wer Christians. And further they sayde, if they called not againe all the gods to Rome, the citie should neuer be in safegard, for that they had dishonoured and offended their gods, and caste theym oute of Rome, and that those Barbarous were sent to reuenge their iniury. But the deuine prouidence which geueth no place to humayne malice to execute his forces, before the walles were repaired, and before the messengers broughte answer, and before the straunge gods coulde enter into Rome, Randagagifinus, king of the Gothes, with 2000000. of barbarous (without the effusion of Christian blood) so dainlye in the mountaynes of Vesulanes, wythe famyne, thirste, and stones which fell from heauen, loste all his armye, not one left alpyue but himselfe, whoe had hys heade strycken of in Rome. And this thing the eternal wisdom broughte to passe, to thende the Romaynes shoulde see that Iesus Christe the true God of the Christians had no neede of straunge gods to defend his seruauntes.

¶ Of the true and lyuing god, and of the maruailles he wrought in the old lawe to manifest his deuine power, and of the supersticion of the false gods.
Cap. iij.

○ Grosse ignorance, and vnspokeable obstinacy. ○ Iudgemēt of God inscrutable. What thinke these gentyles by þ true god: They searched the false gods to helpe them, & had a lyuing god of their owne: they sought gods ful of gyle and disceyte, and worse then that, they thought it necessary þ that God, which created al things should be accompanied with their gods to defend them which could make nothinge. Let now all they gods come forth into the fyeldes on the one syde, and I will go forth alone in godlye company, that is to say with the hygh god on thother parte. And we wyll compare the deades and proue the aydes of their false God, against & wyth the least worke of our true god. And they shall clearelye perceiue their falsehood and our truth. For the tongue that speaketh of God can neuer beare with any lye, and that whiche speaketh of Idolles can neuer disclose anye truth. If they esteeme him much for creatinge the world with his might: is it any lesse to preserue and gonerne it by his wisdom: for many thinges are done in a moment, for the preseruacion wherof long tyme is requysyte, and much paynfull trauaile necessarye. I demaunde further what God of the gentyles could do that whych our God hath done: that is to knowe, within one Arcke to make quyet the Lion with the leoperd, the wolfe with the lambe, the Beare with the Cow, the Tigar with the Cocodrill, the stoned hoxe with the Hare, the Dogge with the Catte, the fore with the Henne, the houndes with the hares, and so of other beastes: whose enmytye is greater thone agaynst other, then that of man is agaynst men. For thenmyty amōges men proceedeth of malice, but that of beastes proceedeth of nature. Also I demaunde what God (if it wer not the true God so myghty) could fley and drowne in one hower and moment so many men women, & beastes: so that al those which were in the world (eight only excepted) perished in the deluge of floy. The iudgement of god by ordynance, & their offences

OF PRINCES

deserued this so maruelous a domage. For god neuer executed any notable punishmēt, but first it came through our wicked offences. And if this be cou-
ted for a greate thyng, I wyll that another thing be had in great estyma-
cion. Which is, that if god shewed his rygorous iustice in this punishment,
incontinently he shewed his might & clemency in remedyng it, in that of
these eyght persons (which were but few) the generation dyd multiplie in
so great a number that they dyd replenysh many and great Realmes. wher
on a man ought to marueil, for according as Aristotle sayth, the great thin-
ges are easely put to destruction and brought to nought, but with greate
difficuly they are remedyed and repayred againe. And further I demaund
what God of the gentiles was so puissaunt to do this, which the god of the
Hebrues dyd in that auncient and opulent realme of the Egyptians? That
is to witte, when he would, and when it pleased him, he made the ryuers
runne bloud, infected the fleshe, darkened the ayer, dyed the seas, & slew the
first begotten, obscured the sone, and did wonders in Chanaan, & other wo-
derful thinges in y read sea. Finally he comaunded y sea to drowne y prince
aliue with al his Egyptians, & that it should let y Hebrues passe dry. If one
of these false gods had done any one of these thinges, it had bene to be mar-
uailed at: but y true god doing it we shold not meruaile at al. For according
to our lytle vnderstandyng it semeth a great thing, but in respect of that the
deuyne power can do, it is nothing. For wher God putteth his hande, there
are no men so myghty, no beastes so proude, nor heauen so highe, nor sea so
deape, that can resyst his power. For as he gaue them power, so can he take
it from theym at hys pleasure, further what God of the gentyles (alough
they were assembled together) could haue had the power to haue destroyed
one man only, as the true God dyd: the which in the tyme of kyng Zedechi-
as) made an hundreth and foure score thousande of the campe of the assy-
rians dye, the Hebrues being a sleape which were their mortal enemyes. And
truly in this case god shewed to princes and greate lordes howe lytle their
monnye, and their subtile wyttes preuaile them in feates of warre, when
god hath determined another thinge for their desertes. For in the ende the
first inuencion of warres procedeth of mans ambition and worldlye ma-
lyce, but the victorpe of them procedeth of the deuine pleasoure. What god of
y gentyles could haue done that which our true God dyd: when he brought
vnder the feete of the renowned Captayne Josue, two and thirty kynges
and Realmes, whom he depyued not only from their lades, but also bereft
theym of theyr lyues, in tearing them in pieces, and deuydng the mystra-
ble realmes into 12 Tribes. Those realmes (which in old time belonged vn-
to the Hebrues) were more then 2000 yeres kept of them in tyranny: wher
fore God would that by the handes of Josue they should be reitorred. And
though god differred it a long tyme, it was to gyue theym greauous tor-
mentes, and not for that god had forgotten them. And althoughe princes
do forget manye wronges and tyrannies, yet notwithstandinge riuers of
bloude cease not to runne before the face of the dyuine Justice. If all the
auncient goddes hadde had power, woulde not they also haue holpen their
princes: since the goddes lost no lesse in losinge theyr temples, then menne
losse in losinge their realmes, For it touched more the case of the auncien-
tes

ancientes, to lose one lytle Temple: thenne for men to lose a noble Realme we see that y goddes of the troians could not resist the greekes, but that both men and gods, gods & men came into Carthage, & from Carthage into Trinacie, and from Trinacie into Italie, and from Italie into Laurentum, and from Laurentum into Rome. So they went about flieng, declaring that the gods of Troy were no lesse conquered of the gods of Grece: then the Dukes and captaynes of grece, were vanquished of the captaynes of Troy, the which thing is hard to them that presume to be gods. For the true god doth not only make himselfe feared: but also beloued and feared both. That we say of the one, the same we may wel say of y others. That is to know, that al the gods in the realmes and temples, wherin they honored and serued: but wee see thone destroyeth the other, as it is declared by the Hebryes which were in bondage of the Assirians: the Assirians of the Persians: the Persians of the Macedonians: the Macedonians of the Medes: the Medes of the Grekes: the Grekes of the Penians: the Penians of y Romaines: the Romaines of the Gothes: the Gothes of the Moores: So that that ther was no realme nor nacion but was conquered. Neyther the wyfters can deny, but they would haue exalted their gods and ceremonies, that the gods & their worshippers shuld not haue end. But in the end both gods and men had al end except the chistian religion, which shal neuer haue end For it is founded of that which hath neyther beginning nor ending. One of the things which comforteth my hart most in the chistian religion, is to see that since the time the churches wer founded, the kinges and princes most puissant haue ben alwayes theyr enemyes, and the most feble and poore, alwayes greatest helpers and defenders of the same. O glorious militaunte church, which now is no other then gold amongst the rust, a rose amongst the thornes, corne amongst the chaffe, marye amongst the bones, Margarithes amongst y peble stones, a holy soule amongst the rotten flesh, a Phoenix in the cage, a shippe rokking in the raging seas, which the more she is beaten the faster she sayleth.

And there is no Realme soo litle, nor no manne of so litle fauoure but, when other doo persecute him, hee is by his frendes, parentes and defendours, fauoured and succoured, so that manye times those whiche thinke to destroye are destroyed: & those which seme to take their part were their chieftest enemyes. Doth not that procede of the great secret of god? For though God suffred the wicked to be wicked a while, god will not therfore suffer that one euil man procure an other to do euil. The Palestines, and those of Hierusalem, had not for their principall enemyes but the Caldeans: and the Caldians had for their enemyes the Idumeans: the Idumeans the Assirians: y Assirians the Persians, the Persians the Arginians: the Arginians the Athenians: the Athenians had for their principal enemyes the Lacedemonians, and y Lacedemonians the Sydonians: the Sydonians the Rhodians: and the Rhodians the Scythians: the Scythians the Hunnes: the Hunnes had the Alaines: the Alaines the Svveuians: and the Svveuians the Vandales: the Vandales the Valerians: the Valerians the Sardinians: y Sardinians the Affricanes: the Affricanes the Romaines: the Romaines the Daciās: the Daciās the Gothes: the Gothes the Frenchmen: the Frenchmen the Spanyardes: and the Spanyardes the Mores.

And

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And of all these realmes the one hath persecuted the other. And not al ones but our holy mother the church hath alwayes ben oppressed & persecuted w those realmes, and hath bene socoured of none but of Iesu Christ only, and he hath euer succoured and defended it wel. For the things that God taketh charge of, although al the world wer agaynst them, in the end it is impossible for them to perishe.

How ther is but one true God, & how happy those Realmes are which haue a good christian to their king, and how the gentils affirme that the good princes after their death were changed into gods & the wicked into deuils: whych thing the Auctoure proueth by sound examples. Cap. x.

Although the common opinion of the simple people was, that ther were many gods, yet not withstandinge al the Philosophers affirmed that ther was but one God (who of some was named Iupiter) the whiche was chiefe aboue al other gods. Others called him the first intelligence, for that he had created al y world. Others called him the first cause, because he was the beginner of all things. It semeth that Aristotle vnderstode this thinge, and was of this opinion, forasmuch as he sayth in his. 12. booke of his metaphisickes. All superiour and inferiour thinges wold be well ordered, and many thinges muche better by tharbitrement of one, then by the aduice of many. Marcus Varro in hys booke De theologia mistica, & Tullius in hys booke De natura Deorum, although these were gentyles, and curious enoughe of the Temples, yet they do mocke the gentiles whych beleued ther were manye gods, & that Mars & Mercury, and lyke wyse Iupiter, & the whole flocke of godds (whiche the gentyles set vp) wer al mortal men as we are. But because they knew not that ther wer good nor bad angels, nor knew not that ther was any paradise to rewarde y good, nor hel to torment the euil: They held thys opinion. that the good men after their death wer gods, and the euyl men deuils. And not contented with these folysh abuses, y deuil brought them into such an errour, y they thought it consisted in the Senates power to make some gods, and other deuils. For when ther dyed at Rome any Emperour, if he had bene wel willed of the Senate, immediatly he was honoured for a god: and if he died in dyspleasure of y Senate, he was condemned for a deuyl. And to the end we do not speake by fauour, but by wytting. Herodian sayth, y Faustine was the doughter of Antonius Pius, & wife of Marcus Aurelius, which wer Emperours the one after the other. And truly ther wer few eyther of their predecessours, or of their successours, which wer so good as they wer, and in myne opinion moze better: & therfore was she made a goddesse, and her father a god. An Emperour that coueteth perpetual memory, must note 5. thinges which he should haue in his life. That is to saye, pure in lyfe, vpright in iustice, aduenturous in feates of armes, excellent in knowledge, and welbeloued in his prouinces, which vertues were in these 2. excellent Emperours. This Empreffe Faustine was passing fayre, and the wytters praise her beauty in such sorte, y they sayde it was vnpossible for her to be so beautiful. but that y gods had placed som deuine thing in her. Yet not withstanding this added therunto, it is doubtful whether the beauty of her face was moze praysed: then the dishonestie of her lyfe discommended.

For

for her beauty maruelously amazed those that saw her, & her dishonesty offended them moche that knew her. Yet after the Emperour Marcus Aurelius had triumphed ouer the Parthians, as he went visitinge the prouinces of Asia, the goodlye Faustine in 4. daies dyed in the mounte Taurus (by occasion of a burninge feuer) and so annealed was caried to Rome. And since she was the daughter of so good a father, and wife of so dearely beloued an Emperour, amoniges the Gods she was canonyzed, but consideringe her vnconstant or rather incontinent lief, it was neuer thought that the Romaines would haue done her so much honor. Wherefore the Emperour reioysed so much, that he neuer ceased to render thanks vnto the Senate, for truly the benefite ought to be acceptable to him that receiueth it, especially whan it commeth vnloked for. The contrary came to the death of Tiberius, third Emperour of Rome, which was not only killed and drawen throughe the streates by the Romans: but also the priestes of all the Temples assembled together, and openly prayed vnto the gods that they would not receiue him to them, and prayed to the infernal furies that greauously they would torment him, sayinge it is iustly required, that the Tyrant which dispraiseth the life of a good in his life, should haue no place amongest the good after his death. Leauing the common opinion of the rude people, whiche in the olde time had no knowledge of the true god, & declaring the opinion of Aristote, which called god the first cause: the opinion of the Stoickes, which called him the firste intelligencer: and the opinion of Cicero, which vnder the colour of Iupiter, putteth none other god but him: I saue and confesse (according to the religion of christian faith) there is but one only God, which is the creatour of heauen and earth, whose excellency and puissaunt maiestie is litle to that our tong can speake. For our vnderstanding can not vnderstand, nor our iudgemēt can determine, neither our memozy can comprehend, and much lesse our tonge can declare it. That which princes and other faithful ought to beleue of god is, that they ought to know god to be almighty and incomparable, a god immortall, incorruptible, immouable, great, omnipotent, a perfite and sempiternall God: for all mans power is nothing in respecte of his diuine maiesty. I saue that our lord god is the onely hyghe god, that if the creature hath any good, it is but a meane good. For a man comparing wel the good which he possesseth, to the misery and calamitie whiche persecute him: with out doubt the euill which foloweth him is greater, then the good which accompanieth him. Also our god is immortall and eternall, which like as he had no beginning, so shall he neuer haue ending. And the contrarie is to the miserable man, which if some see him bozne, others see him dye. For the byrth of the children, is but a memozy of the graue to the aged. Also God onely is vncorruptible, the which in his being hath nother corruption nor diminution: but all mortall men suffer corruption in their soules throughe vyce, and in their bodyes throughe wormes, for in the end no man is priuileged, but that hys bodye is subiecte to corruption, and hys soule to be saued or damned. Also God is no chaungelyng, and in this case thoughe he chaungeth his worke, yet he chaungeth not his eternall counsaile. But in men it is all contrarie, for they oftentimes beginne their busynes with grauitie, and after ward chaung theyr counsaile at a better tyme, and leaue it lyghtlye.

I haue

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I haue now shewed you that God only is incomprehensible, & maiestie of whom can not be attained, nor his wisdom vnderstanded, which thing is aboue mans intelligence. For there is no man so sage nor profound, but & an other in an other tyme is as sage and profound as he. Also God onely is omnipotent, for that he hath power not only ouer the lyuinge, but also ouer the dead: not onely ouer the good, but also ouer the euill: for the man which doth not feele his mercy to giue him glory, he wil make him feele his wrath in giuinge him payne. O ye Princes of this world, trulie it is both iuste and necessarie that you acknowledge subiectiō vnto the Prince of heauen and earthe, whiche in the end althoughe ye be greates, and thynke your selues to be muche worthe, although that youe haue muche, and can do muche yet in respecte of the supream prince you are nothing worth, neither can ye doe any thing. For there is no Prince in the worlde this daye but can doe lesse than he would, and would more than he hath. Since all that we haue spoken of before is true, let Princes and great Lordes see howe consonaunte it is to reason, that sythe all the creatures were not created but by one: why then do they not honour one aboue all? For as a Prince will not suffer that an other be called kynge in his realme: so likewise god will not permit that any other be honoured in this worlde but he onely. The father did a greates benefite to vs, for to create vs without the desire of any man: and also the sonne to redeeme & by vs without the helpe of any man, and aboue all the holie ghoste to make vs christians without the desert of anye man. For all the good deedes and seruices whiche we are able to do, are not sufficient to requite the leaste benefite that he shewed vnto vs. Princes ought greatly to esteeme suche a gyfte, that god hath created them men, and not beastes: and muche more they shoulde esteeme that they are made Lordes, and not seruantes: but moste of all they ought to reioyce, that god hath made them christians, and not gentils, nor Moores. For it profiteth them litle to haue scepters and realmes to condempne, if they shall not acknowledge the holie church, without the which no man can be saued. O diuine bountie, how many paynings had bene better peraduenture than I, if thou haddeste chosen them for the church: & if thou hadst made me a paynine, I had bene worse than they. Thou leauest them which haue serued the, and haste chosen me a sinner which offende the. Lorde God thou knowest what thou doest, and wher thou art: but I know not what I do, nor what I speake. For we are bounde to praise the workes of god, and haue not the lycence to call them backe. The Emperours & paynem kynges, which haue bene good and vertuous, (as there hath bene many) so muche lesse they haue to aunswere, for that in tyme of charge they were not called. And likewise the contrary to the wicked christian princes. The more goodnesse they haue receyued without measure: so muche the more tormentes shalbe giuen them in eternall fyre. For accordyng to the ingratitude whiche they haue shewed, for the benefites by them receiued in this worlde: so shall the bitternesse of their paynes be, which they shal receiue in hell. Princes are muche bound to do well, because they were created of god reasonable men: but they are moche more bounde, because they be christians, and more then others bounde, because they were made mighty, and placed in so high estate. for the greatest power is not for a prince

a prince to haue and possesse muche, but to profite muche. They do not require of a litle and weake tree muche, but that he beare his fruite in due time. For a great and high tree, is bounde to giue wood to heate them that be a cold, shadow to refreche the very trauailours, and frute to confort the neady, and also it ought to defend it selfe from all importunate windes. For the vertuous prince, ought to be a shadow and resting place, wher the good may couer them selues being weareye. The churche dothe moue vs to do many things, and our conscience willethe vs to obserue more. But if the princes will promise me they will do. 2. thinges onely, that is to say, that they wil be faithfull in the law of god whom they honour, and that they wil not vse tyranny against their people whom they gouerne: from henceforth I promyse the the glory and felicitie whiche they desire. For that prince only dieth in safeguarde, which dieth in the loue of our sauour Iesus Christ, and hath lyued in the loue of his neyghbour. Princes and great lordes which presume to be good Christians, should watche greatly that all thinges myght be done to the seruice of god, begonne in god, followed in god, and ended in god. And if they will watche in this, I let them knowe, that as touchyng the exaltation of faith they shoulde watche so muche, that all shoulde knowe, that for the defence of the same they are readye to dye. For if the prince beleue that ther is paine for the euill, and rewarde for the good in an other lyfe: it is impossible but that he amend his life, and gouerne wel his common wealth. Thinke this for a surety, that where the princes feare not god, neither them selues nor their realmes can prosper. For the felicitie or miserie of Realmes, proceedeth not of the paynes and trauailes that the kinges and people doe take: but of the merites which the kinges and realmes deserue. In great peril liueth that realme, whose prince is an euil christian. Happye & sure is that common wealth, wherof the prince hath a good conscience. For the man that is of a good conscience, will not doe any euill thing to the common wealth.

Of sondry gods which the auncientes worshipped, of the office of those gods, howe they were reuenged of them when they displeased them, and of the Twentie elect goddes. Cap. xi.

Though to men of clere iudgement, the woorkes of God are greate of them selues, without anye comparison to others: yet that the whyte maye be better knowen from the blacke, I will satisfie somewhat the curious reader, in rekenyng by a flocke of false gods, that by them and their power, men shall see how muche the princes are bound to the true God. The auncient Paynins had gods of diuerse sortes, howe be it the chiefe of all were these, which they called Diis electi. They would haue said gods of heauen: whiche gods (as they thoughte) sometime descended from heauen to earth. These gods were. xx. in nombre: as Ianus, Saturnus, Iupiter, Genius, Mercurius, Apollo, Mars, Vulcanus, Neptunus, Sol, Orcus, Vibar, Tellus, Ceres, Iuno, Minerva, Luna, Diana, Venus, Vesta. These. viii. laste reherfed were goddes, and. xii. of the firste were goddes. No man myghte take anye of those as hys owne God, but as common and indifferent to all.

C. i.

Their

THE FIRST BOOKE

Their office was to profit all, I meane all of any one Realme, one prouince singular, or one noble citie. And first note, they had one God whome they called Cantius, whom they honored much, & offered vnto him many sacrifices, to the end that God might giue them wise children. And this if they had demanded of the true God, they should haue had reason. For the imposition of humaine malice is swelled in suche wise, that that man is in great ieopardie, whom God hath not indued with wise iudgement. They had also an other Goddesse, whom they named Lucina, to whom they did commend women, quick and great with chylde, to sende them safe deliuerie. And without the walles of Rome, in a streete called Salaria, she had a great churche, wherein all the Romaine women conceiued with childe, did sacrifice to their goddesse Lucina: and as Fronten declareth de Veneratione deorum, there they remayned nyne dayes and nyne nightes, making their vowes. Numa Pompilius buylte the churche of this goddesse, which was plucked downe by the Consul Rutilius, because a daughter of his (great with childe) made her vowes, and kept her nyne Vigilles, and vpon more deuotion, was desirous to be deliuered in the saide temple. Suche was her mishappe, that her deliuey was not onely euill, but her death was much worse. Whereupon Rutilius in his rage, caused the temple secretly to be burned. For we reade many times, that when the Gentyles sawe they were distressed and in great necessitie, they recommended them selues to their Gods: and if they did not then succour them in their necessitie, immediatly they toke from them their sacrifice, bette downe their temples, or chaunged their Gods. And further, the Gentiles had an other god called Opis, which was called y God of the babe new borne, euen as Lucina was goddesse of the mother whiche bare it. The custome was, that during all the nyne monethes, that the woman was quick with chylde, she caried the image of the God Opis hanging vppon her belly, tyed to her girdle, or sowed to her garmentes, and at the houre of her deliuerie, the mydwife toke in her hands the saide image, and euen in the verye byrth before herselfe layde handes vpon it, she first of all toched the childe with the Idoll. If the childe were well borne, the parentes that daye made great oblations to the Idoll: but if it were euill or dead borne, straight way the parentes of the childe did beate the image of the poore God Opis to powder, or els burned it, or drowned it in the ryuer. Also the Gentyles worshipped an other God called Vaginatus, and vnto him they did great sacrifice, because their children should not weepe muche: and therefore they caried the image of this god Vaginatus, hanged about their neckes, for the Gentiles thought it an euill signe and token, whan the Babe wept muche in his infancie, he should haue very euill fortune in his age. They had also an other God called God Cuninus, him they honoured with sacrifice, to the end that he should be their Patrone for the safetie of their children in their cradels. And those whiche were poore, had the God Cuninus hanged vpon the cradell, but the ryche had very sumptuous cradelles, wherein were painted many gods Cunini, Herodian, and Pulio, declareth in the life of Seuerus, that when the Emperour Seuerus was in the warre against the Gavvles, his wife (whose name was Iulia) was deliuered of a daughter, whiche was her first. And it happened, that a sister of this Iulia named Mefa (native of Persia, and of the citie of

Mefa)

Mela sent vnto her sister at Rome a cradell, all of an Unicorne's horne, and fine gold: and about the same was painted many images of the god Cuni-
 nus. The cradell was of so great value, that many yeres after it was kept in
 the Treasurie of Rome: Though in dede the Romaines kept those thinges,
 more for the desire of memorie, than for the loue of ryches. The Romaines
 had likewise an other god, whom they called god Ruminus, whiche was as
 muche to saie, as God of sucking Babes: and to him the matrones of Rome
 offered diuerse sacrifices, to thende he woulde kepe their brestes from cor-
 ruption, and geue them mylke enough for their litle children. And all the
 whyle they gaue the chyld sucke, thei had the image of this god about their
 neckes hanging downe to their brestes. And euery morning before she gaue
 the childe sucke, the mother sent a dishe full of mylke to offer to the God Ru-
 minus, and if she happened to be in suche place where there was no churche
 dedicated to the God Ruminus, then she bathed her god Ruminus she hadde
 with her, in mylke. They had also an other God, whom they called God Stel-
 linus, and him they impropored to their children when they began to goe. To
 this god the matrones offered many giftes, that their children might not be
 lame, Dwarfes, nor impotent or decrepite, but that they might be able to go
 well. For among the Romaines, those that were Criples or Dwarfes, were
 had in suche contempt, that they could neither beare office in the Senate, nor
 be admytted priestes in the temples. Hercules in his thirde booke, De repub. saith
 that Cornelia, (that worthy woman and mother of the Gracchi) had her twoo
 first sonnes, the one lame, and the other a Dwarf. Whereupon supposinge
 the god Stellinus had bene wrath with her, she bylte him a Temple in the. iij.
 region, neare to the fieldes Gaditanus, amongst the Gardens of Detha, and
 this temple remained till the tyme of Randagismus, who besieging Rome, de-
 stroyed the Temples, and brake vp their gardines about Rome. They had
 also an other god, called Adeon, and his chardge was, that when the childe
 could goe well, he should go to his mother and make muche of her. And all
 be it Cicero in his booke De natura Deorum, putteth this god amongst the o-
 ther gods, yet I do not remember that I haue euer read that this god had
 any Temple in Rome till the tyme of Mammea, mother of the Emperoure
 Antoninus. This excellent woman beinge lefte a wydowe, and with
 two litle children, desiring that they might be well and vertuously brought
 vp, and that they should increase their loue towarde her, she buylte to the
 god Adeon, a sumptuous Temple in the. iij. region Vaticanus, neare to the gar-
 dens of Domicilius, and hard adioyning to that also, she erected one other edi-
 fice called Sacellum Mammeæ, where she abode solitarely for a tyme. For the
 maner and custome at that time was, that all wydowes (whiche woulde
 byng vp their children in good discipline) should immediatly leue the selues
 farre from the daungerous pleasures of Rome. The auncientes had also an
 other god called Mentallis, which was in effect god of wyte. That is to wyte,
 he had authoritie and power to giue children good or euill sence. And to this
 god the auncientes did great sacrifices, especially the Greekes, muche more
 than the Romaines. For as muche as Seneca saith, that he doth meruayle no-
 thyng at all of that the Greekes knewe: but that whiche made him most to
 marueile, was of that they knewe not, since they had the temple of the god

OF PRINCES

Mentallis, within their scholes. All the children whome they sent to learne Philosophie, were (by the lawes of Athens) bounde to serue thre yeares in that temple. And to ompt that, whiche Seneca spake of the Greekes, I dare boldly saye and affirme (to many whiche at these dayes are liuing) that if it be true, he gaue sence and vnderstanding to men, that they would to daye, rather than to morowe, withdrawe them selues to goe into those temples, and there offer their vowes. For nothing in the worlde happeneth to men more, then the wante of wpt te and vnderstanding howe to gouerne them selues, & lyue in quiet. They had also an other God Volunus, and a goddesse called Voluna, these two had the charge of affiaunce in wedlocke: and therefore they were twoo, because the one should heaile the man, and the other should helpe the woman. The maner was such, that during the time of their mariage, ech of them ware the image of their owne god about their neckes, and those were of golde or syluer. And after they were married, the brydegrome gaue vnto his spouse the goddesse Voluna, and the bryde vnto her husbände the god Volunus. At suche times as the consules were created at Rome, and the kings banished, and before the comming of the Emperours, a litle before the Cornelians moued ciuill commocions in Rome, there was one Confull amongst all these whose name was Balbus. It is sayde he was the first that builded the temple of Volunus, and Voluna. It did stande in the nynth warde of the citie, neare vnto the gate Corinthia and was called Scripta Balbi. And nighe vnto it was an other building called Theatrum Balbi. All the Consuls, Senatours, noble and renoumed barons, were married in the Temple which Balbus builde. That night that Pompey the great married Iulius Cæsars daughter, there were some that saide, that Pompey refused to marie her in the temple of the gods Volunus, and Voluna, whereupon they diuined straight that the mariage would not indure long betwixt them. As writeth Publius Victor in his thirde booke De nuptijs antiquorum. The auncient Pagans he noured a god called Agrestes, as muche to saye, as the god of fieldes and fruites: to him they offred no sacrifice but twyse in the yeare, that is to wete, in seede time, and in haruest. The Phrigians (that is the Troyans and Ciscilians) greatly obserued this god Agrestes, and it was for that in those twoo countries there was gathered suche plentie of coyne to make bread, that Phrigia was the great garner of Asia, and Trinacria (that was Cicilia) was the coyne house of Europe. They had another god called Belus, which was patrone of men of warre. For euen as the Christians (when they come to the poynte to geue the battayle) make their praiers vnto god: so likewise the auncientes in the same poynte did knele downe, and recomende them selues to god Belus. Liuius declareth, that in all other thinges which were done, and wherof the Romaine knightes were accused in the battaile of Cannas (against Hannibal) was for that they did not recomende them selues at all to the god Belus, when they should giue battayle, saying the Carthagians remayned conquerours, because they a litle before honoured the god Mars: & the Romaines were vanquished, for that they offred no sacrifice to god Belus. When Pirrus, king of the Epirotes (that is of Albanie) came into Italie, and that the Romaines were aduertised, he brought with him many engins, and subtile inuentions for the warre, they agreed to buyde a Temple for the god Belus, within

within the walles of Rome, in the nyynth warde nere the gate Carmentalle, & it was named Edes Beloe, in the fronte whereof was a marueylous sumptuous and stately pyller, wherein was grauen thorder of battayle. The Gentiles had another god called the god of victorie, to whome the Romaines (more then any other nation) did sacrifices, to thende they might obtayne victorie of their enemies. Of this god Victoria, there was many magnificall temples in Rome, but the chieftest and the greatest was adiorning to the gate Venia, in the twelfte warde, in the place called Della victoria. It was builde in the yeare of the foundation of Rome, foure hundredeth, the score and seuentene. And it was for thoccasion of the victorie, that Appius Claudius, and Quintus Fabius had in Sicill, the firste tyme the Romaine people foughte against the Affricanes, Herones being king. Of this warre and victorie, rose the cruell, long, and perillous warres betwene Rome and Affrike. There was another god amongst the gods, whome the auncientes called Honorius, whiche had the charge that the Inkeapers should honour and gently entertaine Pylgrimes, and straungers: so that they should be well handled, through the prouinces and realmes whereby they passed. And there was a custome in Rome, that euer when any Romaine should goe any vyage, his wyfe immediatly should go to the temple of god Honorius to doe her sacrifices. In the fiftene yeare after that Hannibal passed into Italie, the Romaines knewe by a prophetic, that as sone as they brought the image of the goddesse Berecinthia (mother of all the gods) into Rome: so sone Hannibal shoulde retire out of Italy. And to byring this to passe, the Romaines sent their Embassadours into Phigia, whiche is one parte of Asia, to thende they shoulde byringe the goddesse Berecinthia to Rome. And because their Embassadours should go well and retourne safe, and that in comming and going throughe the Realmes, they should entertaine them well, and doe them honour: they buylt a tēple for the god Honorius within the walles of Rome, in the fourth warde, in a place whiche they called Forum Transitorium.

Of other more naturall and peculiar Gods, whiche the auncient people had. Cap. xxii.

AND because it should not be so tedious a thing, to name all the gods whiche the Gentiles worshipped, and semblably in whose tyme and reigne they honoured them molte, and what Realmes were more replenished then others, and furthermore for what causes so many temples, and buyldynges, were ordeyned and erected for them: I wyll make mention onely of those Goddes, whiche were called naturall Gods, and particuler Gods, and declare why the Gentiles honoured them.

And this onely moueth me to it, because those whiche shall see this my wytynge maye knowe what a speciall grace God hathe giuen to them, whiche are bozne in the tyme of the Christian lawe. Knowe you therefore, that the god Esculanus was the god of Mines of golde and syluer. Pecunia was the goddesse of metalles: and they prayed vnto her, to geue them treasures and ryches. Fessoria was the goddesse of trauaylours and Pylgrimes: and they prayed to her, that she would not suffer them to be wery that trauayled on foote. Pelonia was a goddesse whiche had the charge to dyue the ennemies out of the lande. Esculapius was the god and patrone of sicke men,

C.iii.

and if

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and if the maladie were great, they called vpon the God Apollo, whiche was father to Esculapius. Spinenfis was a god whome the auncientes prayed to kepe the corne from thistles and thornes. Rubigo was a god which kepte the Vines from wormes, and the corne from locustes. Fortuna was the goddesse of good fortune: and to her the auncient wyues of Rome made a temple, in the tyme of Silla and Marius. Muta was the goddesse to whome the auncientes prayed, that she would not suffer their ennemies to speake, when they would speake euill of them. Genoria was a goddesse that had the charge to chase slouthfulnesse from them, that recommended them selues to her: and the Greekes honoured her, especially the Philosophers, when they entred into study & vniuersities. Stimula was a goddess which hastened the of their busynes, to thend they should not forget any thyng they had to do. And her image was at Rome ouer the gate of the Senate house, for she was take for aduocate of the pleaders. Murcia was a goddesse and an aduocate for men & women, whiche desired not to be leane nor weake of their bodies, & to this goddesse the women of Rome offred many gistes, to the ende they might be fatte. For in Rome, maydens and women are forsaken because they be leane and slender, and not for that they be foule and fatte. Bulina properly was a goddesse of the fieldes, and to her the auncientes offred sacrifice, because she should loke to the grasse that grew in the fieldes. And the Scythians were great worshippers of that goddesse, because they hadde no houses in towne but kept the fieldes euen with their flockes, whiche if they wanted grasse died immediatly, and then they were vtterly vndone. Iugatiuus was he that was called the god of the highe mounte, & to him the auncientes made a lodge and aulter in the toppe of the highest mountaines, whereunto they went oftentimes to doe sacrifice, especially when it thundred and lightned. Vallonia was the goddesse of the valleis, and she had the charge to brydle the waters that descended from the mountaynes, to the ende they shoulde not endamage the medowes and milles whereby they passed. Ceres was a goddesse of all nations honoured, for that she was goddesse of corne and of other soueraigne seedes: and the auncientes had a custome to offer her a loafe of all the seedes and corne that they sowed. Her lodges and aulter to doe sacrifice were in the fieldes, but besides those she had a temple in Rome in the ninthe warde, in the fieldes of Mars, harde by the gardens of Lucullus, and it is saide that out of this temple came firste the fountaine of Scipio. Segecia was a goddesse that hadde the charge to make the seedes to growe after they were sowed. I doe not remember I haue read that she had any temple in Rome. Tutillina was a goddesse, whose office was to entreate Iupiter not to beate downe the corne with haylestones when it was ready to be repte. And the auncientes painted her in suche sorte, that it seemed Iupiter did cause it to rayne stones, and that this goddesse Tutillina shoulde gather them all. She had a temple in Rome in the tenth warde, in the market place of Apollo, nere vnto the house of Romulus. And at euery tyme when it thundred, immediatly the Romaynes lyghted a great nombre of candelles in the temple to appease the goddesse that she shoulde keepe their corne and seede from hurte. Flora was the mercifull goddesse of the Vines, that preserued them from froste. And those of Capua were great worshippers of this goddesse,

desse, for they saye that they were the firste that planted Vynes in Italy. Matura was a goddesse that hadde the charge to rype grapes: and the auncientes vled a custome, to offer the fyrste grapes whiche were rype, in the place where the goddesse was. And for the more parte euerye man that had Vynes, made in the fielde a lodge and an aultar to sacrifice vnto her. Ruana was a goddesse and aduocate for them that gathered the corne and other graynes, to the ende they should doe no hurte in cutting away the eare, nor shoulde marre the strawe, and that in cuttyng, the corne shoulde not shake from the eare. And therefore the auncientes painted her, holding in her right hande a handfull of strawe, and the eares were whole. Forculus was the God of Lockesmythes, and the auncientes sacrificed hym, because he should locke faste the doores, and should not suffer them to be broken open, nor picked, nor adulterd keyes to be made: the auncientes paynted this God holdinge a chayne in one hande, and twoo doores in the other: his image was ouer the gate of Trigemine, and specially ouer their doores that hadde enemies. Limentimen was God of the hammers of the gates. I coulde not fynde what the entention was to inuente thys God, but as I thynke (not for that I haue founde it wrytten) they prayed this God that when there shoulde come anye ennemy of theirs to the house, that he shoulde cause them stumble, and fall befoze the doze, if perhappes by negligence it were lefte open. Portulus was the god of the gates, and the auncientes dyd paynte hym with twoo gates in his handes, and did sacrifice hym, because no man shoulde open the gates to the enemies when they slepte: and to hym the Romaines did sacrifice in all the gates of Rome, and those whiche hadde enemies, would paynte hym in the gate of their house. Cardea was a Goddesse of the barres & hingies of the gates, and the cause why the auncientes did sacrifice to her, was that no man shoulde breake the gates, nor lift by the hingies, and that if they went about to put to their handes, immediatly the hingies shoulde make a noyse to wake the maister of the house that he might heare it, and knowe that his enenies were at the gate. There was another god who was called Siluanus, and he was mooste honoured among the auncientes, especially among all the Romaines. This god had the charge to kepe those from perill and misfortune that went for their pleasure and recreation to the Gardeynes, as Plynie sayeth in an epistle he wrote to Rutilius. The firste that buylte a temple for the god Syluanus, was Mecenas, whiche was in the tyme of Augustus. And he desyred aboue all other men, to make feastes and bankettes in Gardeins. This temple was in the eleuenth warde, in the fielde of the goddesse Venus, neare vnto the house of Murcea, whiche was destroyed in the tyme of the Emperour Antonius Pius throughe an earthquake, whereby many buyldinges and houses fell in Rome. Iugatibus was the god of mariages, who had charge to make the loue which begon in youth, to endure till the olde age. It was wonderfull to see how the women newly married, went on pylgremage for deuotion vnto this god, and what giftes and presentes they offered in his temple. Suetonius Tranquillus saithe, that there was a Temple of this God, but I fynde not in wrytynge by whome it was buylte: sayng that Helius Spartianus sayth, that the Emperoure Heliogabalus founde muche rycheesse in the Temple of Iugatibus, the whiche he tooke away to mayntayne his warres.

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Bacchus was the God of, drunkardes, and the custome in Rome was, that only madde men and fooles celebrated the feaste of this God, and if there wer found any of wit & vnderstandyng (wer it neuer so litle) they thrust him forthewith out of the Temple, and soughte in his steade another drunkard. The Temple of Bacchus was in the tenth ward, in the medowes which they call Bacchanales, withoute the citie, in the waye of Salaria, by the Altars of the Goddesse Februa, and it was bilte by the Gauls, when they besieged Rome in the time of Camillus. Februa was a goddesse for the feuers, and they vsed in Rome when any was taken with the seauer, immediatlye to sende some sacrifice vnto her.

This Goddesse hadde no temple at al, but her Image was in Pantheon, whiche was a temple wherein al the goddes were, and in this place they sacrificed vnto her. Paur was the God of feare, who hadde the charge to take feare from the Romaines hartes, and to gyue them stout courage against their enemies. The Temple of this god Paur was in Rome, in the sixte ward, in the place of Mamuria, nere the olde Capitoll: and euer when they had any enemyes, the Romaynes forthewith offred in this place sacrifices, and there was in the same temple a statue of Scipio the Affricane all of siluer, which he offred there when he triumphed ouer the Carthagiens.

Meretrix was the goddesse of dishonest women, and as Publius Victor saith, there was in Rome fourty streates of comen women, in the myddest wherof the temple of this Meretrix was. It chaunced in the time of Ancus Martius (the fourth kynge of the seuen Romayne Kynges) that there was in Rome a courtizan, natieue of Laurento, whiche was so fayre, that with her bodye she gayned greate ryches, whereof she made all the Romayne people partakers. Wherefore in memoire of her the Romaynes bilt ther a temple, and made her Goddesse of all the common women in Rome. Cloatina was Goddesse of the scoole, and to this goddesse all those commended them selues whiche were troubled with the Collycke, to thend she would heape them to purge their bealies. Quies was the goddesse of rest, and to her the Romaynes did great sacrifices, because she should gyue them pleasour and rest, especialy one that day, when there was any triumphe in Rome, they gaue in this Temple many gyftes, because she should preserue the gloire and ioye of the triumphes. Numa Pompilius (second kyng of the Romaynes) builte the temple of this Goddesse, and it was without the citie, for to note that durynge the lyfe of man in this worlde, he coulde neyther haue pleasoure nor reste. Theatrica was a goddesse, that had the charge to kepe the Theatres & Stages, when the Romaynes celebrated their playes: and thoccasion of inuenting of this Goddesse was, because when the Romaynes woulde set forth their tragedies, they made so solempne theatres, that there myghte wel stand xx. thousand men aboue, & as manye vnderneath for to beholde the spectacle. And sometime it happened, that for the greate wayghte of them aboue, the wode of the theatres and stages brake, & killed all those which were vnderneath: & so after this sorte all their pastime turned into sorrow. The Romaynes (which wer prouided in al thinges) agreed to do sacrifice vnto this Goddesse Theatrica, to thende she should preserue them from the daungers of the Theaters,

ters, and built her a temple in the nyynth ward, in the Market place of Cornelia, neare to the house of Fabij Domitian the xii. Emperour of Rome destroyed this Temple, because in his presence one of the Theaters brake, and killed many men. And for that the goddesse Theatrica dyd not preserue them, he made the Temple to be beaten downe. Peraduenture those that haue red lytle shal find these things new inoughe: but let theym reade Cicero, in his booke *De natura Deorum*: John Bocchas, of the genealogie of gods: and Pulio of the aunciente Gods: and Saint Augustine in the firste .x. and the xliii. booke of the cytie of God, and they shall fynd a great number more then is spoken of.

How Tiberius the knyghte was chosen gouernour of the empire, and afterwards created Emperoure, only for being a good Christian. And how God depriued Iustinian the yonger, both of his empire and senses for being an heretike.

Cap. xiii.

The fiftie Emperour of Rome, was Tiberius Constantinus, who succeeded Iustinian the younger which was a cruell Emperoure. And Paulus Diaconus sayeth, that he was an enemye to the poore: a thefe to the rich, a great louer of riches, and an enemy to him selfe in spending them. For the propertie of a couetous man is to liue like a begger all the dayes of his lyfe, and to be founde riche at the houre of his deathe. This Iustinian was so couetous, that hee commaunded coffers and chestes of iron to bee made, and brought into his palayce to kepe the treasours whiche he hadde robbed. And of this you ought not to meruel, for Seneca sayth, that couetous Princes doo not onely suspect their subiectes, but also theym selues. In those dayes the church was greatly defyled, by the heresye of the Pelagians, and the maynteyner of that sect was this wicked Prince Iustinian: so that for him selfe he procured riches, and for the Deuill he cheapned soules. For those that are once forsaken of the hande of God, do not only become seruantes of the deuill, but also labour to allure others to hell. Wherefore sith the sinnes of men are dyuerse, and the iudgements of God kept secrete, and that yet the lyving God is so merciful, that not withstanding his mercy would saue the soules, he wil also with iustyce chastise the bodie. And therfore seing the obstinacye of this Emperour to be such that the lenger he lyued the more he augmented his damnacion, the wyathe of God lighted vpon him, and sodainly without any grudge or toke of sicknes, this Emperour Iustinian was derriued of his senses & became a foole: & because the matter was so sodaine, it caused in Rome great feare, and admiracion, for that the Prince was a foole, and all the Empire chaunged. And in dede this Emperour was so stryken, that his life and follye ended both in one day. For the dysseales which God sendethe to Princes, commeth not through faulte of humours, but through the corruption of maners. Also ther is no medicyne that can resist it, nor yet anye other thing that can remedye it. The people perceiuyng howe the Emperour through hys synnes was (according to the diuine pleasoure) become a foole, agreed (sith there was no remedye for his dysseale) to chuse some good person to whom the charge of the publyke weale myght be gyuen.

For

O F P R I N C E S

for trulye a man needeth greater pacience and wysedome to gouerne another mans, then for that whiche is his owne proper. The lotte befell to a knyghte Tiberius so called, a man for a truthe bothe chaste, iuste, profitable, sage, vertuous, hardy, merciful, charitable, in seates of armes aduenturous, and aboue all a good Christian. And let not this thyng be lytle regarded that the Prince be a good Christian. For there is no state so happy as that, whiche is gouerned by a Prince of a good and faithfull conscience, and because he wanted no vertues to adorne a Prince, he was both feared of manye, and beloued of all. Whiche thinge oughte not lyghtlye to be esteemed, for it is the chiefest thinge that belongethe to Princes, that is to wete, for their gentle conuersacion to be beloued, and for their bypghte iustice, to be feared. This Emperour Iustinian had a wyfe, whose name was Sophia Augusta, whych was beautifull and sage, and as touchynge her person, of good renowne sufficient. For women must take great respect, least they giue strangers occasion to speake of them, but notwithstanding al these thinges, this dame was noted of couetousnes. For she toyled alwayes to houre by monye, and delighted to see and tell it, but to spende or giue it, was alwayes her greatest griefe. For couetous parsones lytle regarde to shorten their lyfe, so that they maye augment their ryches. Tiberius Constantine, as gouernour of the Empire (seinge the Emperesse Sophia Augusta ryche, and desiring more the profite of the common wealthe, then the entychement of hym selfe or of any other) did nothyng els but builde monasteryes, repayre hospytalles, marye Orphanes, and redeme captiues. For speakynge accordyng to the Christian lawes, that that a man hath more then necessarye, oughte to be employed to the vse of the poore, and to woorkes of mercy. Finally this vertuous prince did that whiche Christian Princes shoulde doe, and not as tyrantes do, whiche made him of great excellencye. For the propertie of a tyrante is to heape great treasours of other mens goodes, and afterwarde to spend and consume them viciously; but Tiberius founde them gathered together by one and he disparshed them to many; Sophia Augusta, seing Iustinia become a foole, and not knowynge how to get more mony of the people, nor how to robbe the riche, and that Tiberius spent her ryches withoute compassyon, partelye to satisfie her sorowfull hart, & partlye to see if in time to com she could remedy it, called one day Tiberius a part & spake vnto him these wordes in secret.

¶ Of the wordes the Emperesse Sophia spake vnto Tiberius Constantinus then beyng gouernour of the Emppre, whych only tended to reprove hym for that he laushcly consumed the treasure of the Empire gotten by her. Cap. xliiii,

THow remembrest wel Tiberius, that though thou art now after Iustinian gouernour of the Empire: yet whan thou wast in Alexandrie, thou thoughtest litle to deserue it, and if thou diddest, thou thoughtest thou couldest not attayn vnto it. For thou art a wise man, & the sage man (accordyng to the litle or muche which fortune giueth him) doth rayne or slacke alwayes the bydell of his thoughtes. Those whiche haue a vaine hope, and thorough power onely wyll enforce fortune to be fauourable vnto them, shall lyue alwayes a troublesome life.

for

For there is nothyng that shorteneth more the life of man, then bayne hope, and ydle thoughtes. Thou beinge such a man as thou arte, and so wel willed and beloued of Iustinian my husband, art demaunded of the Romaine people, and chosen by the Senate, receiued by the souldiours, and al the Empire reioyce at thy election.

And thou oughtest not a litle to regarde it. For the willes of all doe not alwaies fauour one. I let the to vnderstand Tiberius, that it did not displease me thou shouldest be Emperour of Rome, sith Iustinian was deposed: and if I had perceyued that whiche I doe perceyue, or had knowen that which I doe knowe, I am certaiue that I had neyther sayd with it nor againste it. For we women are of so litle credite, that it preuaileth vs more to approue the leaste of that which other saye, than it doth to speake very well our selues. Sith fortune hath brought the to so high estate, I beseeche the, admonish the, and aduise the, that thou knowe howe to keape and gouerne thy selfe therein. For to arise to honour, it sufficeth the bodye to sweate water: but to mainteine it, it is necessary that the hart weepe bloude. Thou knowest righte well, that to commaunde more, to doe more, and to haue more then other (as touching the affayres of Princes) oftentimes is giuen more thorough worldly care, then for the deserte of the personne. And this God suffereth very ofte, to the ende we may see those discende and fall through infamy: whom we saw mounte and prosper by pryde. Thou art a man, and I a woman, Thou hast wisdom and knowledge, but I haue large and long experience, and if thou knowest much, I haue seene in the world enough, but in faith for that I haue sayd I tell the, that men of thy sorte are vndone in the palaice of princes by 2. waies. The one, if they thinke they deserue much, and they can doe litle. For hauty mindes byynge alwayes alteration in the harte. The other is, that one alone will commaund the Emperour and the empire: whereunto if any man come, it is by greate trauaile, and he shall sufferayne it with daunger, and shall possesse it but a shorte time. For it is impossible for to a man of much arrogancie, fortune should be so long faithfull.

Though thou be wyse and sage, I counsell the alwayes to profite with an other mans counsaile, chiefly in thinges concerninge the gouernemente of the state. For to know to obey, and to know to commaunde differ much.

For to know to obey, commeth by nature: but to knowe to commaunde, commeth by long experience. Take this of me for a generall rule, that wheras thou seest they praier to be acceptable, neuer take vpon the commaundement: for by commaundement thou shalte be feared, and by prayer thou shalte be beloued. Know thou Tiberius, the thinges that content the worst, which ar in y court of Princes: are to do litle, to haue litle, and to be litle worth.

For the man that is without fauour, in his heart is halfe dead. For the contrary, the thing whiche most perilleth the fauored of Princes & maketh them lose their frendshipp, is to be of great power, and great in autoritie, & more ouer than this, to profite more of will then of knowledge, of auctoritie than of reason. For a man can not lyue long in frendshyppe, whych dothe what he wyll in the comon wealth. I haue spoken all thys to thende thou shouldest knowe that I greaulye maruaile at thy prudence, and haue no lesse wonder of my patience. To see that the treasours whych Iustinian heaped

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heaped together by great trauaile, kept and preserved with great care, thou wastest without respect what thou doeste. And doe not maruaile at this: For ther is no pacience can suffer to se the proper gods wasted and spent by the hands of an other, which wth so great care hath ben gathered together. I let the know Tiberius, that now we haue neyther money to kepe, nor to geue to others, which thing is very peryllous for the palace of Princes. For the same to haue great treasours, causeth Princes to keape their enemyes in feare. It is necessarie for princes to bee stoute, and also riche, for by their stoutnes they maye gouerne their owne, and by their riches, they may re- presse their enemyes. It is not only necessarie that the Prince be not poore, but also it is requisite that his common wealth be rich. For where the people are poore, of their enemyes they are nothinge regarded: and where the common wealth is riche, the Prince can not be greatly poore. I will not deny but that it is wel done to help the poore, and succour the needy. But yet I say, that no man ought to giue the treasure to any one particularly, which is kepte for the preservation of al. For oftentimes the prince which is to lyberal in geuing his owne, is after wardes through necessitie compelled to be a Tyranne, and take from others. I let the wete Tiberius, that thou shalte finde few Princes but are proude, magnifiaunt, or vicious. For of a frouth wantonnesse, lybertie, pouthe, and riches, are cruell enemyes to honestie, I wyll not say that all princes haue bene euil, but I wil say ther hath bene but few good, and those which are or wil be good, ought to be greatly honoured. For no time ought to be called happie, but that wherin vertuous Princes do reygne.

And I say to the further Tiberius, if Princes become Tyrants for want of riches, so do they become vicious through aboundaunce of treasurs, and in this case, vicious princes are chastened in the same byce. For auarice hath such power ouer them, & it suffereth them not to taste their owne Delight.

And I let the wete Tiberius, that there are many Princes whiche are of good nature, and yet become Tyrants, for nothing els but because they be oppressed with pouertie. For truly the noble hart refuseth no daunger, seing him selfe assaulted with pouertie.

Therefore I Demaund of the which is better, or otherwise which of these two euilles is leaste: that the Prince be poore, and with that a Tyranne: or that he be riche, and ther with vicious.

In mine opinion it wer much better to be riche and viciouse, then a tyranne and poore: for in the end if he do euil by byce, he should be euil to no man but to himselfe: by riches he should profit al the people. And if he be poore and a tyranne, he should do great euil to many, and by pouertie he could profit no man. For the poore prince cannot maintaine the riche, and much lesse succour the poore, without comparison it is moze profitable to the common wealth, and moze tollerable to men, that the Prince be an euil man, and ther withall a good prince: than an euil Prince, and ther withal a good man. For as Plato saithe, the Athenians wold alwayes rather seeke a profitable, then a stoute Prince: and the Lacedemonians dyd erre, in willing rather a stoute Prince then profitable. Therefore see Tiberius, it is moze sure and profitable for the common wealthe, that Princes haue treasours to giue lyberalpe amonge their

their seruantes: then that they should be poore and enforced to oppresse their people with taxes and subsidies. For princes oftentimes throughe pouertie, take occasion to leauy great subsidies in their realmes and seignories.

The aunswere of Tiberius vnto the Emperesse Sophia Augusta: Wher in he declareth that noble Princes neede not to houre by great treasures: And of the hidden treasure this good Emperour found by reuelacion, in the Palace wher he remayned.

Cap. xv.

Tiberius heard very patiently the admonicion of the Emperesse, wherfore with great reuerence he aunswered, and with swete & gentle words he spake to her in this sorte. I haue hearde and vnderstode what you haue tolde me (moste noble Princesse Sophia, alwayes Augusta): and do receyue your gentle admonicions, moste humblye thankinge you for your louing counsaile, which principally you giue me in so hyghe a style. For oftentimes sicke men abhorre meates, not for that y meates are not good, but because they are not wel dressed. If it were gods pleasour, I would I knewe as wel how to do these thinges, as you know how to speake theim. And do not maruaile though I make hereof a doubt, for we greatly desyre to praise vertuous workes: but to put them in vze we are very slow. Speaking therfore with such reuerence (as is due vnto so hyghe a Ladie) to euerye one of these thinges which your excellencie hath tolde me, I wil aunswere in one word. For it is reason, lithe you haue spoken that which you perceyue of my deedes: that I speake that which I gather of your words. You tell me that when I was in Alexandrie I thought not to be gouernour of the empire after Iustinian, and that I thought not my selfe worthy to deserue it, nor yet looked to come vnto it. To this I aunswere, that though by reason I gouerned my selfe at that tyme, yet I ought not to thinke to deserue such a dignitie, nor to come to so highe an estate. For those whiche by vertues deserue great dignities are but few: and fewer are those which attayne vnto them though they deserue them. But if this matter be iudged accordyng to sensualitye, I tel you truly (Dame Augusta,) that I thought not only to deserue it, but also I thought to come vnto it. And hereof marueyle not, for it is an vnfallible rule, wher leeste desert is, ther is most presumption. You saye you esteemed me for a wise man, and that by wisdom I could ouercome any disordinate appetite. To this I answere, that you knewe my wisdom eynther in mine owne busines, or els in other mens affayres. If in other mens affayres, (where it dyd coast me nought) I was alwayes a louer of iustice. For there is no man in the world so euyl, that doth not desire (if it be without his owne coast) to be counted lyberall. But if you iudge me (Dame Augusta) on mine owne busines, giue not to lyghte credite. For I will that you knowe, ther is no man so iuste, nor of so clere a iudgement, that doth not shew him selfe frayle in matters which touche his owne interest. You say that men which haue their thoughtes hyghe, and their fortune bale, lyue alwayes a pensyfe lyfe. Truly it is as you say. But in mine opiniõ, as the members of the bodyes are but instrumentes of y mind, so is it necessary for men to haue quicke and sharpe wittes, if they wil not be neglygente. For if

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Alexander, Pyrrus, Iulius Cesar, Scipio, and Hanniball, had not bene hyghe myn-
ded, they had not bene (as they were) so noble and stout Princes.

I let you vnderstand, most noble Princesse, that men are not lost for ha-
uing their thoughtes hygh, nor for hauing their hartes couragious, neyther
for being hardie and stout: but they are vndone, because they begin thinges
throughe folie, pursue them without wisdom, and atchieue them without
discreSSION.

For noble men enterprising great things, ought not to employ their force
as their noble hart willeth, but as wisdom and reason teacheth. You say,
you meruaile why I wast the treasours without care, which Iustinian and
you gathered togethers with great paine. To this I aunswere, you oughte
not to meruaile if all the treasours you heaped together of so longe tyme,
were spent and consumed in one day. For ther is an auncient malediction
on riches hydde, and treasours buried, which Epimenides casteth out sayinge
these wordes. All the treasours hurded by by the couetous, shal be wasted by
the prodigall. You say throughe that I wast in few dayes, you shal haue nei-
ther to giue, to wast, nor yet to eate at the yeres ende. To this I aunswere
most gracious princesse, that if you had bene as ready to releue the poore, as
you & Iustinian were diligent to robbe the riche: then you should iustly haue
complained, and I worthely might haue repented. Cyll now we haue not
sene, but that of the riche you haue made poore, & notwithstanding this, yet
you haue not gotten enoughe to buyd an Hospital for the poore. You say y
Princes to resist their enemyes haue neede of greate treasours. To this I
aunswere, if Princes be proud, greedy, and of straunge realmes ambitious,
it is most certaine that they nede great treasours to accomplishe their disor-
dinate appetites. For the end of a tyrannous prince is, by hooke or by crooke
to make him selfe riche in his lyfe. But if the Prince be or wil be a man repo-
sed, quyte, vertuous, patiente, peaceable, and not couetous of the good of
an other man, what nede hath he of great treasours? For to speake truly, in
princes houses ther is more offence in that y auunceth, then in that that
wanteth. I wil not wast many wordes in aunsweringe, sike I am muche
more liberal of dedes then of wordes: but I conclude, that ther is no Prince
whiche in vertuous dedes wasteth so much, but if he wil, he may spend much
more. For in the end, princes become not poore spending their goodes vpon
necessaries: but for wasting it vpon things superfluous. And take this word
for al, y for this he shal not be the poorer, but rather y richer: For it is a general
rule in Chustian reglion, y god wil giue more to his seruants in one houre,
the they wil wast in 20. yeres. Iustinian was Emperour. 11. yeres, who (being
a foole, and obstinate in the heresye of Pellagien) died to the great offence of
the Romaine people, whose death was as much desired, as his life abhorred.
For the tyrannous prince, that maketh many wepinge eyes in his life, shal
cause many reioysing harts at his death. Iustinian being dead, Tiberius was e-
lected Emperour, who gouerned y empire throughe so great wisdom and ius-
tice, y no mā was able to reprove him if y histories in his time did not deceiue
vs. For it seildō hapeneth to a prince to be as he was, byright in iustice, pure in
life, & cleane in conscience. For few are those princes which of some vices are
not noted. Paulus Diaconus in his 18 booke of y Romain gestes, declare a thing
mercifullous

merueilous which he sell to this emperour at that time, and very worthy to know at this present. And it is, that in the Citie of Constantinople the Romanine Emperours had a palace very sumptuous, and besempng the auctoritie of the imperiall maiesty, which was begonne in the time of Constantine the greate, and afterwardes as the succession of good or euill Emperours was, so were the buildings decayed or repayed. For it is the deepe of a vertuous Prince, to abolshe vices of the common wealth, and to make greates and sumptuous buildinges in his country. This Emperour Tiberius hadde spent treasours to redeme poore captiues, to build hospitallcs, to erect monasteries, to marie and prouide for the Orphanes and widowes, in this he was so prodigall, that it came almost to passe that he had nothing to cate in his palace. And truly this was a blessed necessitie. For catholike Princes ought to thinke that well employed, which in the seruice of Christ is bestowed. And hereof the Emperoure was not ashamed, but thought it a great glory, and that which onely greued him was, to see the Empresse reioyce so much at his miserie. For the high and noble hartes which feeles them selues wounded, do not so much esteeme their owne paine, as they do to see their enemyes reioyce at their grieve. God neuer forsake them that for his sake became poore, as it appeareth by this: It chaunced one day that euen as the Emperour Tiberius walked in the middelt of his palace, he saw at his feete a marble stone, whiche was in founne of the crosse, of the reademer of the world. And because it had bene to vniuste a thing (as he thoughte) to haue spurned that with his feete, wherewith we trust from our enemyes to be defended: he caused the stone to be taken vp, (not thinking any thing to be ther vnder) and immediatly after they found an other, wherin likewise was the forme of the crosse, and this beyng taken vp, they founde an other in lyke manner, and when that was pluckt vp from he bottome, there was found a treasure which conteyned the some of 2. millions of Duckettes, for the which the good Emperour Tiberius gaue vnto all mighty god most high thanks, and wheras before he was lyberal, yet afterwardes he was much more bountifull: For all those treasours he distrybuted amongst the poore and needye people. Let therfore mighty princes, and great lordes see, reade, and profit by this example, and let them thinke them selues assured, that for geuing almes to the poore, they nede not feare to become poore: for in the end the vicious man cannot cal him self rich, nor the vertuous man can counte him selfe poore.

C How the Chefetaine Narcetes ouercame manye battalles, only for that his whole confidence was in god. And what happened to him by the Empresse Sophia Augusta: wherin may be noted the vnthankfulness of Princes towarde their seruantes. Cap. xvi.

In the yere of the incarnation of Christ. 528 (Iustinian the great being Emperour, who was the sonne of Iustines after his predecessour in þe Emprye) the histories say, in especially Paulus Diaconus in the 18. booke *De gestis Romanorum*: that ther was a knyghte of Greece in Rome, who from hys tender yeres hadde bene broughte vpp in Italie. He was a man of meane stature of a colericke complexion, and in the Lawe of Christe verye deuoute, whiche was no small thinge. For at that tyme not onely manye knyghtes, but almoste all the Bishoppes of Italie were Arrians,

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This knightes name was Narsetes, and because he was so valliant in armes and so aduenturous in warres: he was chosen Chefeteyne generall of the Romaine Empire. For the Romaines had this excellency, that when they had a valiaunt and skoute captaine (although they might haue his weighte of gold giuen them) they would neuer depart from his person. He enterprised so great thinges, he ouercame such mighty realmes, and had suche notable victories ouer his enemyes, that the Romaines said he had in him y strength of Hercules, the hardinesse of Hector, the noblenes of Alexander, the policie of Pirrus, and the fortune of Scipio. For many of the vaine gentils held opinion, that as the bodyes dyd distribute their goodes in the lyfe: so did the soules parte their giftes after the deathe. This Narsetes was a pitefull captaine, and very constant in the faith of Christ, lyberall to giue almes, effectuous to build new monasteries, and in repairing churches a man very carefull. And truly it was a rare thing. For in great warres (vpon smal occasiōs) captaines vse to beate downe Churches, and that which was greatest of all, was y hee serued god deuoutlye, visited the hospitalles, saide his deuotions wryth great teares, and aboue al, resorted very oft to the churche in the night. And this excellency was no lesse then the other. For that captaynes in suche an houre, are readier to kyll men in their campe then to be waile their sinnes in the church. Fynally he was a christian and so deuoute, that god gaue hym the victories more through the prayers which he vled, than through the weapons wherewith he fought. For there was neuer man that sawe him shedde y bloud of his enemyes in bataile, before he had shedde the teares of his eyes in the temple. And to the end Christian princes and captaynes may see howe muche better it is, to pacifye god by teares and prayers, then to haue their campe ful of souldiours and riches, of many of his doinges I wyll declare part as here foloweth.

Iustinian the Emperour being in Alexandrye, Totila king of the Gothes, dyd many mischeues and great domages through out all Italy, so that the Romaines durst not go by the way, nor could be in safegard in their houses. For the Gothes in the day kept the wayes, and in the night robbed and spoyled all the people, wherfore Iustinian the Emperour not knowinge the matter, sent the noble Narsetes as captaine generall against the Gothes, who beinge arryued in Italye immediatly confedered with the Lumbardes, the which at that tyme had their mansion in Hungarie, and sente his messangers to kyng Alboinus, (at that tyme their king) for ayde against the Gothes, and in so doinge he saide he should see howe faithfull a frende he would be to hys frendes: and how cruell an ennemy to his enemyes. Alboinus hearinge the message of Narsetes was very glad, and without delay immediatly armed a great & puissant army, which by the Adriaticale sea came into Italy: so y the answer and the offer came both at one time with effect, and so together arrived in one daye (for the succour of Narsetes) the 2. armies: y is to say, that of the Romaines and of the Lumbards, the which assembled al in one & marched vnder the banner of their captaine Narsetes. wherfore Totila, king of the Gothes being aduertised, (as one that had not proued the happie fortune of Narsetes, nor the force of the Lumbardes) sent to offer them y battayle, which was giuen in the fieldes of Aquileia: and it was of bothe partes so fierse and cruel, that infynyte were they that dyed: but in the end Totilla kyng of the

the Gothes wasouercome, and neyther he nor any of his host escaped alieue. The good captayne Narfetes, after the battaile gaue manye a noble giftes to the Lumbardes, and so with riches and vyctorie, they returned into Hurrie towards their king Alboinus. And truly this Narfetes did as he was bound to do. for the frend cannot be recompenced by ryches, when for his frend he putteth his lyfe in ieopardy. When the Lumbardes wer gone, Narfetes caused al the spoyle of his campe to be deuided amongeste his souldyers, and that which belonged vnto him, he gaue it wholly to the pooze monasteries: so that by this vyctorie Narfetes gotte triple renowne. That is to wete, very bountifull in that he gaue to the Lumbardes, charitable in that hee gaue to the pooze, and valyant in that he vanquished so puissant enemyes. Dagobert king of fraunce beyond the alpes, beyng a coragious younge Prince, and verye desirous of honoz (for no other cause but to leaue of him some memory) determined him selfe in parson to passe into Italie, althoughe he had no iuste title therunto. for the hartes puffed vp with pried lytel passe though they warre of an vniust quarrell. His myshape was suche, that the same daye he passed the riuer of Rubico (wher the Romaynes in old time limpyed the marches of Italye) newes came to him that his owne countrey was vp, and those which were there, one rebelled against the other, the whiche was not without the greate sufferance of God. for it is but reason that that king shoulde loose his owne realme by deuine iustice, which wil take other mens only through mans folly. The kyng Dagobert assembling all the chiefe of his realme to counsaile, it was agreed and concluded by all, that hee alone in personne should returne into fraunce, and for his reputacion should leaue all the armye in Italy. wherof remayned captaynes, Buccelinus, and Amingus. for it is better for a prince to defend his country by iustice, then to conquere another by tirany. As this armie of Buccelinus was great, so was he couragious, and wrought many a great domages in Italie, especiall ye in the land of Campagnia. And worse then that, al the riches y he had sacked, & al the captiues he had take, he wold neyther restore nor yet suffer them to be raunomed: but so sone as he toke them he sent theym vnto the king, as one that shewed him selfe more desirous to robbe and spoyle, then to fight and wage battaile. This captaine Buccelinus the being in Campagnia, retired into a place called Carētum with al his army because of winter, Narfetes sodainly came vpon him & gaue him battaile, That was betwene theym very cruell, wherin Buccelinus was vanquished and left deade in the field, amongest the other captaynes of the Gaules. which newes brought to Amingus eares being the other captaine of y Gaules. And seing his companion dead, he confedered with Auidinus captaine of the Gothes, & they together came against the Romaines (which thing was not vnknown vnto Narfetes) to giue the battaile, neare to Gaietto wheras those captaynes were conquered and taken alyue. Of whom Amingus was beheaded by the comaundemēt of Narfetes: and Auidinus was sent by him prisoner to the emperoure to Constantinople. The captaine Narfetes wanne another battaile against Syndual, king of Bytong, which came into Italye with a huge multitude of people to recouer the Realme of Partinopolis, which now we call Naples, for he sayde it apperteyned vnto him of righte, as to one of the lynage of Hercules, who in aunciente tyme was kynge of

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that Realme. This king Synduall within a while became frend vnto Narsetes, and behaued him selfe outwardly as a frend and confederate: but in secreete, conspired against the Romaines, and would haue bene king of the Romaines, and rained alone in Italye: through the whiche there sprange betwene hym and Narsetes cruell warres, wherein fortune was a long time variable. For ther is not so aduenturous a captaine, to whom in long warres fortune is alwayes prosperous. Finally the king Syndual and Narsetes, agreed to hazard their men, and also their liues in one day vnto the discretion of fortune, soo that both the armies toynd together, and fought betwene Verona, & Trento, wher king Syndual was conquered, and taken aliue, and the same day without any delay was hanged openly. And because that Narsetes was not accustomed to vse such cruelty against those that were ouercome, & especially against kings and worthie knightes, he commaunded his title to be set on the gibbet, wheron the kinge hanged, which said this.

¶ A simple corde, here stopt king Synduals breath.

By faultles doome, of hye Narsetes best.

Not that he sought, by warlike deedes his death.

But that in peace, he dyd a Traitor rest.

Such and many other battailes and victories had this aduenturous and good captaine, not only in the borders of Italye, but also in Asia, where for many yeres he had the gouernement of the country. And as he was a good christian, so almighty god in all his affaires did prosper him. After all these warres past, Iustinian the younger sent him to the kyngdome of constantinople, to be chiefe gouernour of al those prouinces, and although he dyd wel in warlike affaires: yet he did much better in the administracion of the common wealth. For men that are accustomed to trauaile in warres, haue a good lerning howe to gouerne the people in peace. For this occasion (amongest all mortall men) Narsetes was praysed and esteemed, that is, for his valyauntnes in the batailes which he onercame, for his riches through the spoyle that he toke, and for the iustice he ministred to all men where he ruled. Narsetes because he was a Gretian borne was enuied of the Romaines, & chiefly because he dayly encreased both his honour and riches. For truly vertue, honour, & riches in a mā, are but a brynd to light enuy to al the world. And thus was the case. One daye ther came many noble Romaines to the emperour Iustinian, & to the Emperesse Sophia Augusta, to complaine of Narsetes, and of his behauiour & gouerning, & said these wordes vnto them. We let you to wete, most noble prince, & soueraigne lady, if we had rather (of the two) to serue the Gothes, then to obey the Greekes: & we speake this, because that the Eunuch comaunded vs more to his owne seruice, then hee dooth to the of yours, and the worst is that you know it not, & if you know it, at the lest you do not remedie it. Chose therfore one of these two things, whether you will deliuer vs fro the gouernment of the greke, or suffer if we put Rome & our selues into the hands of the Gothes. For it is lesse grieve for the Romaines, to be subiect to a puissant king: then to an effeminate Eunuch, & a tiraunt Narsetes being present, hearing these quarells as they say said thus. O noble prince, if I haue committed any euil, it is impossible for me to find one that wil do me good: but if I haue done wel, no man shalbe able to do me wrong. The emperesse Sophia

of

of long time before had hated Narfetes, some saide it was because he was an Eunuch, other thinke it was because he was rich, & some other iudge because he was in greater authoritie in the empire then shee. Wherfore perceuing she had good occasion, & oportunitie for y^e same, she spake a word much to his reproche: which was this. Sith thou art an Eunuch Narfetes, & not a man, it is not fit for the to haue a mans office: therfore, I comaund the to worke with my handmaidens, and ther thou shalt serue to spin and weaue clothes, Narfetes toke this word heauily, & truly it was wth great spight spoken. Wherfore he stoutly & couragiously spake vnto the Emperesse Sophia these words, & said: I had rather (most excellent Princesse) thou haddest chastised me as a noble Dame, then to haue reproued me wth a word as a simple womā: but since it is so that you haue liberty & authoritie to comaund me, know you also, that I haue y^e selfe same to obey you, and therfore I take my leaue, & now I go to weaue my webbe which perhappes your self whilest you liue, shall neuer vntwine. Narfetes immediatly went his way & came into Italye, into the citie of Naples (chiefe and head of Campagnia) and from thence he depeached his ambassadors immediatly to the king of Hungarie (wher the Lumbardes at y^e time had their mansion place) counsailling them to forsake that land, so euyl tilled, so barren, cold and litle, & that they shold come & enhabite Italye, which was a plaine countrie, fertile & ample, temperat & very riche, and that now or neuer they should conquere it. And Narfetes therewith not contented (but to prouoke his frends the more, & make them the more couetous) sente theym part of euery good thing y^e was in Italy, that is to wete, lyght horses, riche armour, swete pleasant & dainty fruits, fine mettailes, & many kinds of orntments very odiferous, silkes & marchaūdises of many & diuers sortes. The embassadors ariued in Panony (which now is called Hungarie) were honorably receiued, & the Lumbardes seing that ther wer suche, & so many goodly things in Italie, determined to leaue Pannonia, & go spoile & conquere Italy, although it beloged to Rome, & were at y^e season frends with the Romaines, yet notwithstanding they had litle respect to this. And hereat no man ought to merueile, for in y^e place ther is neuer perfite frendshippe, wher he that commaundeth is constrained to demaund helpe of others. The Lumbards determined to passe into Italy: & at y^e time ther was sene of the Italians visibly in y^e ayer, sondry armies of fire, the one cruelly killing the other. Whiche thinges greatly feared the hartes of the people. For by this they knew that with in a short space, much of their bloud & of their enemies also should be shed. For it is an old auncient custome, y^e when any great matter doth chaunce to anye Realme, first y^e planetes & elements do declare y^e same by secret tokens. The ingratitude of y^e Emperour Iustinian against Narfetes his captaine, & the euyl words which Sophia spake vnto him, wer thocasiō that the Lumbardes inuaded, & destroyed al Italy. which thing valiant Princes ought wel to note, to kepe them selues from ingratitude towards their seruantes, who hath don them great seruice. For it is a general rule, y^e the ingratitude of a great benefite, maketh y^e seruants dispaire of recompence, or of a faithful seruant, maketh him become a cruel & mortal enemy. And let not Princes trust men, because they be natife of their realmes, brought by & nourished in their palaces, & alwaies haue bene faithful in their seruices, that therfore they wil not

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of good subiectes be turned to euill, nor yet of faithfull become disloyall. For suche imagination is vaine. For the Prince that in his doings is vnthankfull, cannot keape nor reteyne anye honest man longe in his seruice. One thyng the noble Iustinian did with Narsetes, whereof all noble and sage Princes ought to be ware, that is to know, he did not onely giue care vnto his enemyes and beleued them: but also before them he did dishonour hym, and shame him to his power, whiche thinge made him vtterly to dispaire. For there is nothing that spiteth a man more, then to haue before hys enemyes any iniurie or dishonoure done vnto him of his superiour. The emperresse Sophia therfore deserued great reproche for speakinge suche dishonest wordes to Narsetes, to send him to thred the nedels in that occupation where the damfels wrought. For it is the duty of a noble princeesse, to mitigate the ire of Princes when they are angry and not to prouoke them further to anger. Narsetes then alwaies docting y^e emperresse Sophia, neuer after retourned into Naples where she was, but rather came from Naples to Rome, a yeaere before the Lumbardes came into Italy: where he receiued all the sacramentes, and like a deuout Christiā dyed. His body was caried to Alexandria in a coffine of siluer al sette with precious stones, and ther was buried. And a man cannot tel whither the displeasour were greater that all Asia had not to see Narsetes aliue, or the pleasour that Sophia had to see him deade. For the vnpacient hart (especially of a woman) hath no rest, vntill she see her enemye dead.

¶ Of a letter the Emperour Marcus Aurelius sente to the kynge of Sicile, in which he recozderth the trauailes they endured togethers in their youth, and reproueth him of his small reuerence towarde the temples.

Chapter xlii.

MARCUS Aurelius sole Emperour of Rome, borne in mounte Celio, called the old tribune, wissheth health and long lyfe to the Gobin, Lord & kynge of Sicile. As it is the custome of the Romaine Emperoures, the firste yeaere of my reigne I wrote generallye to all that Ile: the seconde yeaere I wrote generallye vnto thy courte and palace, and at this presente I write more particulerlye to thy parson. And although that Princes haue greate Realmes, yet they ought not therfore to cease to communicate with their old frendes. Since I toke my penne to write vnto the, I stayed my hande a great while from writing, and it was not for that I was slouthfull, but because I was ashamed to see all Rome offended with the. I let the to wete (most excellent prince) that in this I say I am thy true frend, for in my hart I fele thy trouble and so sayd Euripides, that whiche with the harte is loued, with the hart is lamented. But before I shew thee the cause of my writing, I will reduce into thy memory some thinges past of our youth, and thereby we shall see what we were then, and what we are now: for no man dothe so muche reioyce of his prosperitie present, as he whiche calleth to minde his miseries past. Thou shalt call to minde (most excellent Prince) that we two togethers did learne to reade in Capua, and after we studyed a litle in Tarentum: and from thence we went to Rhodes, where I redde Rhetorike, and thou hardest philosophie. And afterwarde in the ende of x. yeres, we went to the warres of Pannonia, where I gaue my selfe to musike: for the affectiōs of yong men is so variable, that daily they would know straunge realmes, and

and chaunge offices. And in all those iourneis, with the foise of youth, the swete company, with the pleasaunte communicacion of sciences, and with a baine hope we did dissemble our extreme pouerty, which was so great, that many times and ofte we desired not that whiche manye had, but that litle which to few abounded. Dost thou remember, that when we sayled by the goulfe Arpin to goe into Helesponte, a long and tempestuous torment came vpon vs, wherein we were taken of a pirate, and for our raunsome he made vs rowe about .ix. monethes in a gally, wheras I cannot tell whiche was greater, either the wante of bread, or the abundaunce of stripes whiche we alwaies endured? Hast thou forgotten also that in the citie of Rhodes, when we were beleaged of Bruerdus, puissaunt kyng of Epirotes, for the space of fourene monethes, we were tenne withoute eatyng fleshe, saue onely .ii. cattes, the one whiche we stole, and the other whiche we bought? remember that thou and I (being in Tarent) were desired of our host to go to the feast of the great goddess Diana: into the whiche temple none coulde enter that day, but those which were new apparelled. And to say the trouthe, we determined not to go thither: thou because thy garmentes were torne, and I because my shoes were broken: and that bothe the tymes we were sicke in Capua, they neuer cured vs by dyet: for our dysleases neuer proceeded of excess but of extream hunger. An often times Retropus, a phisician, for his pleasour spake to vs in the vniuersitie and sayd. Alas children, you dye not through surfeiting and muche eatinge. And truly he sayde trouthe, for the contrey was so dere, and our mony so scarle, that we did neuer eate vntyl the time we could endure no lenger for famine. Dost thou not remember the great famine that was in Capua, for the which cause we were in the warre of Alexandria, wherin my fleshe dyd tremble, remembryng the great perilles whiche we passed in the goulfe of Theberynthe. What snowes all wynter, what extreme heate all sommer, what general famine in the fieldes, what outrageous pestilence amongst the people, and worste of all, what persecution of straungers, and what euill will we had of ours? remember also that in the citie of Naples, when we made our prayer to the profetesse Flauia, she told vs what shoulde become of vs, after we lefte our studies. She tolde me that I shoulde be an Emperour, and sayde that thou shouldest be a kyng.

To the whiche aunswere we gaue suche credite, that we toke it not onely for a mocke: but also for a manifest iniurye. And now I doe not merueile, in that then we bothe marueled wonderfull muche. For enuyous fortune practised her power more in pluckyng downe the ryche, then in setting by the poore. Beholde (excellent Prince) the greate power of the goddess, the whele of fortune, & the variety of times: who would haue thought when I hadde my handes all rough and scurvy with rowing in the galley, that betwene those handes the scepter of the Romaine Empire shoulde haue ben put? who would haue thought when I was so sicke for lacke of meat, I shoulde euer haue surfited by to muche eatinge? who would haue thought when I could not be satisfied with cattes fleshe, that I shoulde haue then glutted with to moch dainty meates? who wold haue thought at that time when I left going into the temple because my shoes were broken, that another tyme shoulde come when I shoulde ryde triumphyng in chariotes, and vppon

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vpon the shoulders of other menne? who woulde haue thought that that
 which with my eares I hard of the prophetesse in Campagnia, I should see
 here with my eyes in Rome. O how many dyd hope (at the time we were in
 Asia) to be gouernours of Rome, and lords of Sicille, which not only sayled of
 the honour that they desired, but also obtayned the death which they neuer
 feared: for oftentimes it chaunceth to ambitious men, that in their greatest
 ruffe, and when they thinke their honour sponne and wouen, then their
 estate with the webbe of their lyfe in one moment is broken. If at that time
 one had demaunded the Tiraunt Laodicius (aspiring to the kingdome of Sicilia)
 & Ruphus Caluus who looked to be Emperour of Rome, what they thought
 of them selues: assuredly they wolde haue sworn their hope to haue bene as
 certaine, as ours was doubtful. For it is naturall to proude men, to delight
 them selues, and to set their hole mynd vpon vaine deuises. It is a straunge
 thing and worthy memozy, that they hauing the honour in their eyes sayled
 of it, & we not thinking therof in our harts should obtaine it. But herein for-
 tune shewed her mighte, that she prouided hope for those whiche looked for
 least: and dispaire for others that hoped for most: which thing greaued them
 at the very hart. For no pacience can endure to se a man obtaine that with-
 out trauaile, which he could neuer compasse by much labour. I cannot tell
 if I should say lyke a simple Romaine, that those thinges consist in fortune:
 or if I should say like a good philosopher, that all the gods do ordeine them.
 For in the ende, no fortune nor chaunce can do any thing without the gods
 assent. Let the proude and enuious trauaile asmuche as they will, and the
 ambitious take asmuch care as they can, I say and affirme, that lytle auay-
 leth humaine dilygence to attaine to great estates, if the gods be their enne-
 mies Suppose that euil fortune do ordeine it, or that the god and gods do
 suffer it, I see those which haue their thoughtes highe, oftentimes are but of
 vaine estate: and so in fine to come to mischiefe or extreme pouertie, and those
 that haue their thoughtes low, are humble of hart, and for the more part are
 greatly exalted by fortune. For many oftentimes dreame that they are lords,
 and men of great estate, which when they are awake, fynd them selues sla-
 ues to all men. The condicion of honor is such, as I neuer read the lyke: and
 therfore such as haue to do with her, ought to take good hede. For her condi-
 tions are such, she enquireth for him whom she neuer saw, & she renneth af-
 ter him that flyeth from her, she honoreth him that esteemeth her not, and she
 demaundeth him which willeth her not, she geueth to hym that requyrez
 her not, & she trusteth him whom she knoweth not. Finally honor hath this
 custome, to forsake him that esteemeth her: and to remaine with him whych
 litle regardeth her. The curious trauelliers aske not what place this or that
 is, but do demaund what way they must take to lead them to the place they
 goe. I meane, that princes & noble men ought not directly to cast their eyes
 vpon honour: but in the way of vertue, which bringeth them to honour. For
 dayly we se many remaine defamed, only for seeking honour: and others also
 exalted and extened for flying from her. O myserable world, thou knowest
 I know the wel, and & which I know of the is: that thou art a sepulcher of
 dead, a pyson of the luyng, a shop of vices, a hangeman of vertues, obliu-
 ion of antiquitye, an enemye of thinges presente, a pitfall to the riche, and a
 burden

burden to the poore, a house of pilgrames, and a denne of theues. Finally **O** world, thou art a sleaunderer of the good, a rauemour of the wicked, and a deccuer and abuser of al, and in the **O** world, to speake the truth, it is almost impossible to liue contented, and muche lesse to lyue in honour. For if thou wilt geue honor to **h** good, they thinke them selues dishonored, & esteeme thy honour as a thing of mockerie. And if perchaunce they be euyl & light, thou suffrest them to come to honour by way of mockery, meaning infamy and dishonour vnto them. **O** immortal gods, I am oftentimes troubled in my thought whose case I should more lament, eyther **h** euyl man auanced wth out deserte, or the good mā ouerthrowen without cause. And trulpe in this case, the pitiful man wil haue compassiō on them both. For if the euil liue, he is sure to fal: and if the good fal, we doubt whether euer he shall rise againe. If al falles were alike, al woulde be healed and cured with one salue: but some fal on their feete, some on their sides, others stumble and fall not, and other fal downe right, but some do giue them a hād. I meane some ther are which fal from their estate, & lose no more but their substance: others fal, and for very sorow lose not onely their goodes, but their life with all. **O** ther ther are that fal, who neither lose their life nor goodes, but their honor onely. So according to the discreciō of fortune, the more they haue, **h** more stil he taketh from them, and I greatly muse why the gods do neuer remedy it, for whē fortune once beginieth to ouerthrow a poore mā, she doth not only take al he hath from hym, but all those which may & wil succoure him.

So that the poore man is bound more to lament for another mans euil: then for his owne proper. There is a great dyfference betwene the mishappes of the good, and aduentures of the euill. For of the ill we cannot saye that he descendeth, but that he falleth: and of the good we may only say that he descendeth and falleth not. For in the end, the true honour doth not consist in the perfection and dignity that a man hath, but in the good life that he leadeth. It is a miserie to se the vaine men of this worlde, when they go about to get any thing, and to compasse any great matter of importaunce, to marke their earely ryng in a morning, their late going to bed at night, and the loke which they cast vpon other men, to note howe importunate they are to some, and how troublesome they are to others, and after ward (notwithstandinge their longe sute and great paine) an other man whiche lyttle thought thereof, contineth to that honour reioysing and without trauaile: which he before by so greate paines, and with soo greate expenses of money hath sought: so that in seeking houour by trauaile, he commeth to infamy with shame. For I my selfe haue sene sondry things lost by negligence, and many moe by to much dilpgence.

The Emperour procedeth in his lettter, to admonishe princes to be feareful of their gods, and of the sentence which the Senate gaue vppon this king: for pulling downe the Churche. Cap. rbiij.

A these things (most excellēt prince) I haue told **h** for none other cause, but to agrauate this case, & to shew **h** peril therof. For the good phisition (to take away **h** bytternes of **h** pille) ministreth some swete suger, to delight the pacient withal. The xx. day of **h** moneth of January (here before **h** Senate) was presētēd a long & large informaciō of **h**, & it was sent by **h** Consul, which went to visite that Ile of Cicillia, which (as thou knowest) is an old order of Rome

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Rome, from thre monethes to thre monethes, to visite all the lande & countrey subiecte to the same. For those princes are vniust, which haue more care to take by their rentes, then dyligence to know if their people be well ordered by iustice. Of the informacion taken of the and thy personne (if my memory deceyue me not) this was the effect, that thou art temperate in eating, moderate in expenses, pitiefull to widowes, father to orphanes, gentle to those that serue the, pacient with those that offende the, dyligent to kepe and maintaine peace, and faithfull to obserue league, and thou art accused onely to be negligent in the seruice of God.

By one litle gate left open, oftentimes a great Citie besieged is lost: by one onely treason, the infinite seruices past are not esteemed. I meane (most excellent prince) that it litle preuaileth to thinke much of worldly matters, and to forget all deuine seruices. For the good Prince ought first to shut the gates against vices, that they enter not into his subiectes: before he doth fortifye the walles against his enemyes. Let euery man be as he wil, & say what he list, I for my part thinke it sure, that the man whiche is not a studious seruer of the goddes, all his vertues shalbe turned into vices, and esteemed as sclauanders.

For it is a general rule in hye Philosophie, that a worke is not called vertuous, because I worke it only, but it is vertuous because it is acceptable to the gods.

O excellent prince, dost not thou know that ther is no man so wise, neyther so sage, but erreth more through ignorance, than he doth good by wisdom? And dost not thou know that there is no man so iuste, but wanteth much to execute true iustice? And finally I say that ther is no vertue so vertuous, but it wanteth more then it hath to be perfite. Wherefore al our iustice ought to be made perfite to the deuine iustice: and the vertue which we lack, ought to be supplied vnder the great perfection wherewith the gods abound. Amonges vs Romaines we haue this law, (which is the chiefe of al the philosophers) that here amongst mortal men, nor of mortall men, nor with mortall men any thinge is perfyte, vnlesse it be by the Gods confirmed. Synce men are feeble & frayle, it can not be chosen but they should comynyt many frapleties. And in such case, the sage Princes ought and should beare with all the frapleties that men comynyt, those excepted whych are not iniurious to the gods, whom (if it were possible) vnwares ought to be punished.

For the Prince should not be called a Prince but a Tyrant, that is desirous to reuenge his owne iniurye, and in chasteninge those whiche are agaynst the gods sheweth him selfe negligente.

Let them thinke what they lyst, and complaine what they wyll, that Prince which wyll enlarge his dominions, and grue occasion that the seruice of God be diminished, such a man we wyll not call a king that gouerneth, but a Tyrante. If we call him a Tyrante that spoileth the people, sleeth the men, persecuteth the innocente, dishonoureth virgynnes, and robbeth realmes: Tell me excellent Prince, what lacketh he of a Tyrant, that plucketh downe Churches, and lytle esteemeth the gods: There is no token more manifest that the Prince is a tyrant, then when he taketh vpo hym any thyng which is contrary to the wyl of the gods.

For he hath small regarde towardes menne, that so litle feareth the Gods. Licurgus the famous kyng of the Lacedemonians saith in one of his auncient lawes these wordes. We ordeyne and commaunde, that no Lacedemonian presume to receiue mercie or fauoure of the Prince, whiche wyl not enforce hym selfe to serue the Gods. For he is not onely euill, but of all other moste wicked. O excellent kyng, O glorious world, O fortunate realme, wherein those auncientes woulde their Prince shoulde be so iuste, that the giftes were not esteemed, vnlesse their lyues were honeste: for they thought that of no value, whiche by the handes of euill men was geuen. Thou haste done one thyng very dishoneste (moste noble Prince) the whiche to wyte vnto thee I am ashamed, whiche is: for to enlarge thy newe palace, thou hast plucked downe an olde Temple, the which thing thou shouldest neither haue done nor yet haue thought. For in the ende, though the stones of the temple be of small importaunce, yet the Gods to whome they were dedicated were of muche value. Pardon me (excellent Prince) though I let thee vnderstande that this fact hath bene done in such sorte, that thereby I was amazed, and all Rome also offended, the sacret Senate thou haste greatly vered, and further all iudge thee a dissolute man, and all men procure that thou mayste be extremely punished, and hereof maruayle not. For in Rome they beleue that the Prince whiche dare plucke downe temples, doth lytle feare the Gods. For that thou art a noble Prince, and an olde friend of mine, I haue trauailed to byrge thee in fauoure with the Senate, and because thou haste no meanes to excuse thy errour committed: they doe not determine to forgyue thee this faulte, before they see in thee a token of amende-ment. And of truthe me thinketh they haue reason. For there is nothyng that troubleth poore men more, than to see that they and not the ryche for their offences are chastised and punished. That whiche the sacred Senate hath ordeyned is, that forthwith thou beginne to buyde the temple a new, and that it shoulde be more large, hye, beautifull, and rycher, then euer it was. So that thou take as muche of thy pallace to enlarge the temple, as thou to best of the temple to beautifie thy pallace. After thou haste perfourmed this, though now thou thynke thy selfe halfe-dishonoured, thou wylte than thynke thy selfe very happy. For not thou of the Gods but the Gods of thee shall haue taken thy house to make their temple. I beleue well it will bee greate coste and charges vnto thee before thou haste finished the temple. Wherefore I sende thee fourty thousande sexterces to healepe thy buylding, and to the ende it shoulde be more secrete, I sende thee them by my Secretary Panuntius, to whome, in all, and for all, thou shalt gyue credite. I sende the lyke wyse a collar of golde, whiche one broughte me from the ryuer of Nyle, and because it was to narrow for me, I suppose: it wyl be fytte for the.

One hath brought me moyle out of Spayne, wherof I sende the.² Panuntius my secretary bringeth with hym a very good moyle, the whiche he este- meth much: So that theris no man that can eyther by her or borow her. I delyght in her so much, that I desyre thou cause her eyther to be boughte, or stolen, and sent vnto me here in Rome. My wyfe Faustine saluteth the, and to the excellent queene thy wyfe, of her part & myne as muche as is possible doe our commendacions, and these Popingeys, Faustine presenteth vnto her.

THE FIRST BOOKE

Marcus the Romaine Emperour wyrteth to thee with his owne hande.

¶ Howe the Gentils honoured those whiche were deuout in
the seruice of the Gods. Cap. xir.

THE auncient Romayne historiographers agree, that at the beginninge there were seuen kynges, whiche gouerned Rome for the space of. xliiij. yeares. The seconde whereof was named Pompilius, who amongst all the other was moste highly esteemed, for none other cause, but for that he was a great worshipper of the Gods, and a sumptuous buider of the temples. For the Romaine princes were as much beloued for seruing the gods, as they were honoured for vanquishing their enemies. This man was of suche sorte, that he allowed Rome wholly for the Gods, and made a house for hym selfe without the citie. For it was an auncient lawe in Rome, that no man should be so bolde to dwell in any house consecrated for the Gods. The fiftē kyng of the Romaines was Tarquinius Priscus. And as Tarquinius Superbus was vitious and abhorred of the people, so was this vertuous and welbeloued of the gods: and was greatlīe praysed in al his doynges because he feared God, and continually visited the temples, and not contented with those whiche were finished but buylde also in the highe Capitoll the sacred temple of Iupiter. For that no Prince could buylde any house in Rome for hym selfe, vnlesse firste he made a temple for the Gods, of the common wealth. This temple was had in so greate reuerence, that as the Romaines honoured Iupiter for the God aboue all other Gods, so was that temple esteemed aboue al other temples. In the warres betwene the Falisques and the Carpenates, two Romaine captaines were vanquished, of the whiche the one named Gemetius died: whereupon rose suche a great feare among them, that many flyeng from the warres, came backe agayne to Rome. For the victorious hath alwayes this priuiledge, that though they be fewe, yet they are alwayes feared of them that be ouercome. This occasion moued the Romaines to chosse newe captaines, and trulī they did lyke wyse men. For oftentimes it happeneth by alteringe the captaines of the warres, fortune like wyse chaungeth her doinges. And the captayne that was elected for the warres, was Marcus Furius Camillus, who though he were stoute and hardy, yet before he went to the warres he offered great sacrifices to the Gods, and made a vowe that if he returned to Rome victorious, he would buylde a solemne temple. For it was the custome in Rome, that immediatly when the Romaine captaine would enterpryse to doe any notable thinge, he shoulde make a vowe to buylde temples. Nowe when Camillus returned after wardes victorious, he did not onely buylde a temple, but also furnished it with all maner of implemētes thereunto belongyng, whiche he gotte by spoyle, and vanquishing his enemies. And sithe he was for this reprehēdid of some, saying that the Romaine captaines shoulde offer their hartes to the Gods, and deuide the treasours among the Souldiours, he answered these wordes. I like a mā did aske the gods but one triumph: and they like gods gaue me many. Therfore considering this, it is but iust sithe I was brieue in promysinge, that I shoulde be large in perfourmyng. For euen as I did thanke the for that they gaue me double, in respect of that I demaunded: so likewise shal they esteeme & which I do giue, in respect of & which I promised.

At

At that time when the cruel warre was betwixt Rome & the citie of Neye, the Romans kept it besieged five yeres together, & in the end by policy toke it. For it chaunceth sondry times in warre, that that citie in shorte time by pollicy is won, which by great strength a long time hath bene defended. Marcus Furius Dictator of Rome, & at that time captaine, commaunded a proclamation to be had through his hoste, that incontinently after the citie was taken, none should be so hardy as to kyll any of the citezens, but those which were found armed. Which thing his enemies vnderstanding, vnarmed them selues all & so escaped. And truly this example was worthy of noting. For as the captaines ought to shew them selues fierce, & cruell at the beginning: so after the victorie had of their enemies, they should shew them selues meke & pitifull. This Dictator Camillus, for an other thing he did, was much comended aboue the residue. That is to wete, he did not only not consent to robbe the temples, nor dishonour the gods: but he him selfe with great reuerence, toke the sacred vessels of the temples, & the gods which wer therein, (especialy the goddesse Iuno) & brought the al to Rome. For amongest the auncietes there was a law, that the gods of them which were vanquished, shoulde not come by lot to the captaines being conquerours. Therefore he made in the mount Auentino a sumptuous temple, wherin he placed al the gods together, with all the other holy reliques which he wan. For the greater triumphe the Romans had ouer their enemies, so much better they hadled the gods of his people vanquished. Also you ought to know, that the Romans after many victories, determined to make a crowne of gold very great and ryche, and to offer it to the god Apollo. But sith the common treasour was poore (because there was but litle siluer, & lesse gold to make that crowne: the Romaine matrons defaced their Jewels & ouches of gold & siluer to make his crowne with all. For in Rome there neuer wanted money (if it were demaunded) for the seruice of gods, to repaire temples, or to redeme captiues. The Senate esteemed the well willing hartes of these women in such sort, that they graunted them thre thinges: that is to wete, to weare on their heads garlandes of flowers, to go in chariottes to the common places, & to go openly to the feastes of the gods. For the auncient Romans were so honest, that they neuer ware gold on their heads, neither went they at any time to the feastes vncouered. A man ought not to maruaile, that the Romaines graunted such priuileges vnto the auncient matrones of Rome. For they vsed neuer to be obliuious of any benefite receyued, but rather gentill, with thankes and rewardes to recompence the same. An other notable thing chaunced in Rome, which was that the Romans sent two tribunes, the which were called Caius & Sergius, into the Ile of Delphos with great presentes, to offer vnto his god Apollo. For as Titus Liuius saith, Rome perely sent a present vnto the god Apollo, & Apollo gaue vnto the Romaines counsaile. And as the Tribunes went out of the way, they fell into the handes of pirats & rouers on the sea, which toke them with their treasours, and brought them to the citie of Liparie. But the citezens vnderstanding that those presentes were consecrated to the god Apollo, did not onely deliuer them all their treasure againe: but also gaue the much more, and guydes therewith to conuicte them safely (both going and coming) from all perill and daunger. The Romaines being aduertised of their

THE FIRST BOOKE

gentlenes by the messengers, which were come safe & aliue, did so muche reioyce, that they ordeined in Rome, that the nobles of Liparie shuld be made Senatours of Rome, & all the others shoulde be confederate & of aliaunce vnto the. And they caused further that two priestes of Lipari shoulde alwayes remain in the temple of Iupiter, whiche priuilege was neuer graunted to any other straungers but to them only, for the Romaines had so great zeale, & loue to their gods, that in the seruices of the temples they trusted none, but those which were natie & auncient of Rome, and also were both wyse and vertuous. When Quintus Fabius & Publius Decius, were in the warres against the Samnites & Toscanes, and likewise against the Vmbres, many marueulous & terrible signes were sene in Rome, which thinges did not onely feare those that sawe them, but also those which heard of the. Upon which occasion the Romaines and the Romaine matrones (both night and daye) offered great sacrifices to the gods. for they saide, if we can once pacifie the wrath of the gods in Rome, we shall neuer neade to feare our enemies in the fiede. The thing was this, that as the Romaine matrones went visiting the temples, to appease the ire of the gods, many Senatours wyues came to the temple of chastitie to offer sacrifice. for in the time of the puissant power of the Romaines, the women did sacrifice in the temples of the gods. At that tyme came Virginea, the daughter of Aureus Virgineus, the Consul Plebeian, the which was forbidde to do sacrifice, for that she was none of the Senatours wiues but a Plebeian, as much to saie as a craftes womā, & no gentilmans daughter borne. for the noble women were had in so great veneration, & so highly esteemed, that al the other seemed (in respect of the) but handmaidens, & sclaues. The noble Romaine Virginea, seing her to be so repulled & disdained of the other matrons, made of her own propre house a temple to the goddesse of chastitie, and with much deuotion & reuerence honoured her. The whiche thing being published abroade throughout Rome, many other women came thither to doe sacrifice likewise. for fortune is so variable, that oftentimes those which of pryde haue forbidden vs their houses, come after by humilitie, to serue vs at ours. for this cause this Virginea the foundresse was so greatly praysed, that the Romaines in her life made her patrice (that is a noble Romaine) and after her death caused her image and statue to be made and set vp in the high Capitoll: and aboute this image were grauen certaine Greeke letters, the effecte whereof was this.

Patrice the great, this Image doth present
That in her life, did giue with mynde deuout
The Gods her house, and therfore to them went
When liuely byeth, by death was chased out.

Of all these hystories aboue named, Titus Liuius maketh mencion in his first decade, the seconde fift, and ninth booke, & though he declareth the more at large, yet this shal suffice for my purpose. I haue sought among y^e gentils these few exāples to reprove christiaⁿ princes, to thend they might se how studious & seruent our fathers were in the seruice of their Idols: & cōtrariwise how cold & negligēt we are, to honour & serue our true & liuing god. It is a shame to tell how the auncient Romaines wth all their hartes did serue y^e gods without any vnderstanding, & how those which are christiaⁿs (for y^e most part) serue

serue the true God, not in truthe, but with hypocrisie and dissimulation. For the children of this worlde will take no paynes, but for to prouoke the pleasures of the body. Many wondred for what occasion God did so muche for them, and they did nothing for God. To this may be answered, that if they had knowen one true God, all the sacrifices they hadde done to their other gods, they would haue done to him only: and as God is iust, so he rewarded them in their temporall prosperities, not for that they did well, but for that they desired to doe well. For in our deuine lawe, God doth not regard what we are, but what we desire to be. Christian princes maruayle muche what the occasion should be, that they are not so fortunate as the Gentils were. To this may be answered, that either they be good or euill. If they be good, truly God should do them wrong, if for the paiment of their faithfull seruices, he should recompence the with those worldly vanities. For without doubt one onely louing countenaunce of god in the worlde to come is more worth, then all the temporall goods of this worlde present. But if these suche great lordes be euill in their personnes, ambitious in gouerning their dominions, not pitifull to wydowes and fatherlesse, not fearfull of god nor of his threatenings, and moreouer neuer to haue mynde to serue him, but only when they see them selues in some great ieopardie, in suche case God will not heare them, and muche lesse fauour them. For without doubt the seruice is more acceptable, whiche of free wyll proceadeth: than that whiche of necessitie is offered.

¶ For five causes princes ought to be better Christians then their subiectes. Cap. rr.

In myne opinion, Princes ought and are bounde to be vertuous for five causes. I saie vertuous, in that they should loue, and feare God. For he onely may be called vertuous, which in the catholique faith of the church, and in the feare of God hath alwayes remayned constant. First, princes should feare, loue, serue, and loue one onely god to whom they worshippe, for that thei acknowledge him onely and none other to be the head both of heauen and earth. For in the ende there is nothing so puissaunt, but is subiecte to the diuine power. And truly the prince is in great perill of damnation of his soule, if in his gouernemēt he hath not alwayes before his eyes, the feare and loue of the supreme prince, to whom we must render of all our doynge an accōpt. For the prince hath great occasion to be vicious, thinking that for the vice he shall not be chastised. I haue redde in diuerse & sundry writings, and I neuer fonnde one auncient prince to be contented with one only god, but that they had & serued many gods. Iulius Cæsar caried five gods painted in a table, and Scipio the great caried seuen portered in mettall. And furthermore they were not contented to haue many: but yet in sacrifices, and seruices, they offered vnto them all. The Christian princes whiche kepe and haue but one very true and omnipotent god, are so vnthankfull, that they thinke it muche to serue and giue acceptable seruice vnto him. And though peradventure some saie, that it is more painefull to serue one true god, then all these false gods, to this I aunswere. That to serue them, it is both trauaile & paine: but to serue our god, it is both ioye and felicitie. For in seruing those, it is costly, and without profite: and in seruing God great profite ensueth.

E. iij.

For

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For those goddes require great and ryche sacrifices, and our God demaundeth nothinge but pure and cleane hartes. Secundarely princes shoulde be better Christians then others, because they haue more to lose then all. And he that hath more to lose then any other, ought aboue al other to serue god. For euen as he alone can gyue hym, so likewise he alone and none other can take from hym. And if a subiecte take any thyng from his neighbour, the prince whom he serueth maketh him render it agayne: but if the Prince be iniuried with any other tyrante, he hath none to complayne vnto, nor to demaunde helpe of, but onely of his mercifull God. For in the ende, one that is of power can not be hurt, but by an other that is lyke wyse mighty. Let princes beholde howe the man that wyl make any great assaulte, first cometh runninge as farre of as fast as he can. I meane, that the prince whiche wyl haue God mercifull vnto him, ought to be content with his onely god. For he in vayne demaundeth helpe of him, to whome before he neuer dyd serue. Thirdly princes ought to be better Christians then others, and this shalbe seen by that they succoure the poore, prouyde for those that are vnprovyded, and visite the temples, hospitalles, and churches, and endenour them selues to heare the diuine seruite, and for all these thinges they shal not onely receiue rewardes, but also they shal receiue honour. For through their good example, others wyl doe the same. Princes not fearging God, nor his commaundementes, cause their Realmes and subiectes to fall into great misery. For if the fountayne be infected, it is vnpossible for the streames (that issue therof) to be pure. We see by experience that a byrdell maistereth a horse, and a sterne ruleth a shippe. I meane, that a prince (good or bad) wyl leade after him all the whole Realme. And if he honour God, all the people doe likewise, if he serue God, the people also serue him, if he praise God, the subiects also praise him: and if he blaspheme god, they likewise will doe the same. For it is vnpossible for a tree should bring forth other leaues or frutes, then those whiche are agreeable to the humour that are in the rootes. Princes aboue all other creatures haue this preeminence, that if they be good Christians, they shal not onely receiue merite for their owne woorkes, but also for all those whiche others shal do, because they are occasion that the people worke wel. And for the contrarie, they shal not onely be punished for the euill whiche they shal doe: but also for the euill whiche by occasion of their euill examples others shal commit. O ye princes that nowe be aliue, howe greatly do I wysh that ye should speake with some one of those princes whiche nowe are dead, especially with those that are cōdemned to the eternall fire flames: then ye should see that the greatest tormentes whiche they suffer, are not for the euils that they did commit, but for the euils whiche through their occasion were done. For oftentimes princes and prelates sinne more, because they dissemble with others, then for that they do committe them selues. O howe circumspect ought princes and great lordes to be in that they speake, and howe diligently ought they to examine that whiche they doe. For they serue not God onely for them selues, but they serue hym also in generallye for their subiectes. And contrariwyse princes are not only punished for their owne offences, but also for the sinnes of their people. For the sheperd ought greuously to be punished, when by negligence the rauening wolfe deuoureth the

reth the innocent lambe. Fourthly princes ought to be better Christians the others, because that to God onely they must render accompt of their estates, for as muche as we are sure that god, to whom we must render accompte is iust, so muche the more we should trauaile to be in his fauoure: because whether he finde or not finde in our life any faulte, yet for loue & pitie sake he may correcte vs. When one with another make their accomptes in this life because they are men, and in the ende counte they well or euill all passeth amonges men, because they are men: but what shall the vnhappy Princes do, whiche shall render no accompte but to God onely, who wyl not be deceiued with wordes, corrupted with giftes, feared with threatninges, nor answered with excuses. Princes haue their Realmes full of cruell iudges, to punish the frailtie of man: they haue their courtes full of aduocates, to pleade against them that haue offended: they haue their pallaces full of loyterers, & promoters, that note the offences of other men: they haue throughe all their prouinces auditours, that ouersee the accomptes of their rentes: and besides all this, they haue no remembraunce of the day so streighte, wherein they must render accompte of their wicked life. He thinkes (since all that whiche princes receiue, commeth from the handes of God) that the greatest parte of the time whiche they spend, should be in the seruice of God, and all their trade in God, and thei ought to render no accompt of their life but vnto God: then sithe they are gods in thauthoritie whiche they haue ouer temporall thinges, they ought to shewe them selues to resemble god more then others by vertues. For that Prince is more to be magnified, whiche reformeth two vices among his people: then he which conquereth. x. realmes of his enemies. But we will desire them from henceforth they presume not any more to be gods on the earth, but that they endeuour them selues to be good Christians in the common wealth. For all the wealth of a Prince is, that he be stoute with straungers, and louing to his own subiectes. Fifthly Princes ought to be better Christians then others. For the prosperitie or aduersitie that chaunceth vnto them, commeth directly from the handes of god onely, and none other. I haue seen sondry times Princes, whiche haue put their whole hope & confidence in other princes, to be on a sodeine discomfited: and for the contrary, those which haue litle hope in men, and great confidence in god, haue alwayes prospered. When man is in his chiefeest brauery, and trusteth most to mens wisdom, then the secret iudgement of God lonest discomfoureth him. I meane, that the confederates & frendes of princes might helpe & succour the, but god will not suffer them to be holpen nor socoured, to the end they should see that their remedie proceedeth not by mans diligence, but by deuine prouidence. A prince that hath a realme, doth not suffer any thing to be done therein without his aduise: therefore sithe god is of no lesse power in heauen, then princes are on the earth: it is reason that nothing be done without his consent, sins he taketh account of al mens deades, & as he is the end of al things, so in him, & by him, al thinges haue their beginning. O Princes, if you knewe howe small a thing it is to be hated of men, and howe great a comfort to be beloued of god, I sweare that you woulde not speake one worde (although it were in ieste) vnto men, neither woulde you cease night nor day to commend your selues vnto god: for god is more mercifull to succour vs, then we are diligent to call vpon hym.

O F P R I N C E S

For in conclusion, the fauour whiche men can giue you, other men can take from you: but the fauour that god will giue you, no man can resiste it. All those that possesse muche, should vse the company of them whiche can doe muche: and if it be so, I let you princes wete, that all men can not thynke so muche, togethers, as god him selfe is able to doe alone. For the crye of a Lye is more fearefull then the howling of a woulfe. I confesse that princes and great lordes maye sometimes gayne, and wyngne of them selves: but I aske them whose fauoure they haue neade of, to preserue and kepe them? we see oftentimes that in a short space many come to great authoritie, the whiche neither mang wisdomes suffiseth to gouerne, nor yet mang force to kepe. For the authoritie whiche the Romaines in sixe hundred yeares gayned, fighting against the Gothes: in the space of three yeares they loste. We see dayly by experience, that a man for the gouernement of his owne house onely, nedeth the counsell of his friendes, and neighbours: and doe princes & great lordes thinke by their owne heades onely, to rule and gouerne many realmes and Dominions?

What the Philosopher Byas was: of his constancie whan he lost all his goodes, and of the ten lawes he gaue worthy to be had in memorie. Cap. rri.

Among all nations and sortes of men, whiche auant them selues to haue had with them sage men, the Gretians were the chiefest, whiche had and thought it necessary to haue not onely wyse men to reade in their scholes: but also they chose them to be princes in their Dominions. For as Plato saith, those whiche gouerned in those daies were Philosophers, or els they sayde and did like Philosophers. And Laertius wyrteth, in his second booke De antiquitatibus Grecorum, that the Gretians auanted them selues muche in this, that they haue had of all estates persons moste notable, that is to wete: seuen women very sage, seuen Queenes very honest, seuen kings very vertuous, seuen Captaines very hardy, seuen cities verie notable, seuen buildinges very sumptuous, & seuen Philosophers well learned: whiche Philosophers were these that folowe.

The first was Thales Milesius, that inuented the Carde to sayle by.

The secorde was Solon, that gaue the first lawes to the Athenians.

The thirde was Chilo, who was in the Orient for Embassadour of the Athenians.

The fourth was Pittacus Quintilenus, who was not only a philosopher, but also Captaine of the Mitelenes.

The fift was Cleobolus, that descended fro the auncient linage of Hercules.

The sirte was Periander, that long tyme gouerned the realme of Corinth.

The seuenth was Bias Prieneus, that was prince of the Prieneans.

Therefore as touching Bias, you muste vnderstande that when Romulus reigned at Rome, and Ezechias in Iudea, there was great warres in Grecia betwene the Metinenses, and the Prieneans: and of these Prieneans, Bias the philosopher was prince and Captaine, who because he was sage, read in the vniuersitie: and for that he was hardy, was chiefetaine in the warre, and because he was wyse, he was made a Prince, and gouerned the common wealth. And of this no man ought to marueile: for in those dayes the Philosopher that had

had knowledge but in one thing, was little esteemed in the common wealth. After many contentions had betwene the Metinenfes, and Prienenfes, a cruell battayle was fought, wherof the philosopher Bias was captaine and had the victorie: and it was the first battayle that euer anye Philosopher gaue in Grece. For the whiche victorie Grece was proude, to see that their Philosophers were so aduenturous in warres, and hardy of their handes: as they were profound in their doctrine, and eloquent in their toungues. And by chaunce one brought him a number of women and maydens to sell, or if he listed to vse them otherwyse at his pleasure: but this good philosopher did not defile them nor sell them, but caused them to be apparailed, and safely to be conducted to their own natie countries. And let not this liberalitie that he did be had in little estimation, to deliuer the captiues, and not to defloure the virgins. For many times it chaunseth, that those whiche are ouercome with the weapons of the conquerours, are conquered with the delightes of them that are ouercome. This deede amongst the Grekes was so highly commended, and likewise of their enemies so praysed, that immediatly the Metinenfes sent Embassadours to demaunde peace of the Prienenfes. And they concluded perpetuall peace vpon condition, that they shoulde make for Bias an immortall statue, sith by his handes and also by his vertues, he was the occasion of the peace and ending of the warres betwene them. And trulpe they had reason, for he deserueth more prayse which wynneth the hartes of the enemies in his tentes by good example: then he whiche getteth the victorie in the fild by shedding of bloud. The hartes of men are noble, and we see daily, that oftentyme one shal soner ouercome many by good, then many ouercome one by euill: and also they saye, that the Emperour Seuerus spake these wordes. By goodnes the least slaue in Rome shal leade me tied with a heere whether he wyll: but by euill, the most puissaunt men in the worlde can not moue me out of Italy. For my harte had rather be seruaunt to the good, then Lorde to the euill. Valerius Maximus declareth, that when the citie of Priene was taken by enemies & put to sacke, the wyfe of Bias was slayne, his children taken prysoners, his goodes robbed, the citie beaten downe, and his house set on fire, but Bias escaped safe and went to Athens. In this pytifull case the good philosopher Bias was no whit the sadder but rather sang as he went by the way, and when he perceiued that men maruelled at his mirth, he spake vnto them these wordes. Those whiche speake of me for wantinge my citie, my wyfe, and my children, and losing al that I had, truly such know not what fortune meaneth, nor vnderstande what philosophie is. The losse of children and temporall goodes, cannot be called losse, if the life be safe and the renoune remaine vndefiled. Whether this sentence be true or no, let vs profoundly consider, if the iust god suffer that this citie should come into the handes of the cruell tyrantes, then this prouision is iuste: for there is nothing more conformable vnto iustice, then that those whiche receyue not the doctrine of the Sages, shoulde suffer the cruelties of the Tyrantes. Also though my enemies haue kyled my wyfe, yet I am sure it was not withoute the determination of the Gods, who after they created her bodye, immediately appoynted the ende of her lyfe.

Therefore

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Therefore why should I bewaile her death, since the gods haue lent her life but vntill this daye? The greates estimation that we haue of this life, causeth that death seemeth vnto vs sodayne, and that the lyfe vnwares with death is ouertaken: but these are wordes of the chylzen of vanitie, for that by the wyl of the gods, death visiteth vs, and against the wylles of men, lyfe forsaketh vs. Also my chylzen be vertuous philosophers, and albeit they be nowe in the handes of tyrantes, we oughte not therefore to call them captiues, for a man may not call him a captiue whiche is laden with irons: but him whiche is ouerwhelmed with vices. And although the fire haue burnt my house, yet I knowe not why I ought to be sad, for of truthe it was now olde, and the wynde did blowe downe the tyles, the wormes did waste the woode, and the waters that ran downe perished the walles, and it was old and lyke to fall, and perchaunce would haue done greater displeasure. For most commonly, enuy, malice, and olde houses, sodainely without any warning or knocking at the doore assaulteth menne: finally there came the fire whiche quited me of many troubles. First of the trouble that I should haue had in repairing it, secondarely it saued me money in pluckinge it downe, thirde it preserued me and myne heires from muche cosse and many daungers. For oftentimes that whiche a man consumeth in repayinge an olde house, would with auantage by hym a newe. Also those whiche saye that for the taking away of my goodes, I lacke the goodes of fortune, such haue no reason so to thinke or saye. For fortune neuer geueth temporall goodes for a proper thing, but to those whome she list, and when she will dispose them: therefore when fortune seeth that those men whome she hath appointed as her distributers, doe hurde by the same to them and to their heires: then she taketh it from them to geue it to an other. Therefore by reason I should not cōplayne that I haue lost any thing: for fortune recommendeth vnto an other the temporall goodes: but I cary pacience and Philosophie with me, so that they haue discharged me from all other, and haue no more charge but for my selfe alone. Laertius declareth in his fift boke of the sayings of the Gretians. That this Bias Determined to goe to the playes of Mounte Olimpus, whereunto resorted people of all nations: and he shewed hym selfe in this place of so highe an vnderstanding, that he was counted supream and chiefe of all other philosophers, and wonne the name of a true philosopher. Other philosophers then beinge in the same playes Olimpicalles, asked him many questions of sondry matters, whereof I will make mention here of the chiefest.

The questions demaunded of the Philosopher Bias.

The first question was this. Tell me who is the vnhappiest man in the worlde? Bias answered. He is moste vnhappy that is not paciente in aduersities. For men are not killed with the aduersities they haue: but with the impacience whiche they suffer.

The second was, what is most hardest & troublesome to iudge: he answered. There is nothing more difficulte, then to iudge a contention betwixte two friendes. For to iudge betwene two enemies, thone remaineth a frend: but to be iudge betwene two friendes, the one is made an enemy.

The third was, what is moste hardest to measure? whereunto Bias answered.

swered. Ther is nothing that needeth more circumspection then the measuring of time: for the time shold be measured so iustly, that by reason no time should want to do wel, nor any time should abound to do euill. The fourth was, what thing is that that nedeth no excuse in the accomplishment thereof? Bias answered the thing that is promised must of necessity be performed: for otherwise he that doth lose the credit of his word, shoulde lose more then he that should lose the promise to him made. The 5 was, what thinge that is wherin the men aswell good as euill should take care? Bias answered, men ought not in any thinge to take so greate care, as in seeking counsayle, and counselours: for the prosperous times cannot be maintayned, nor the multitude of enemyes resisted, if it be not by wise men and graue counsayles. The sixte was, what thing that is wherin men are praised to be negligent: he answered: in one thinge only men haue lycence to be neglygente, and that is in chosing of frendes. Slowly ought thy frendes to be chosen, and they neuer after for any thing ought to be forsaken. The seuenth, what is that which the afflicted man doth most desire? Bias answered. It is the chaunge of fortune: and the thing which the prosperous man doth most abhorre, is to thinke that fortune is mutable. For the vnfortunate man hopeth for euery chaunge of fortune to be made better, and the wealthye man feareth through euery chaunge to be depriued of hys house. These wer the questions which the philosophers demaunded of Bias in the playes of the mount Olympus, in the 60 Olimpiad. The philosopher Bias liued 95. yeres, and as hee drew nere his death, the Prieneses (shewing them selues to be maruelous sorrowfull for the losse of suche a famous man) desired him earnestly to ordeine some lawes, wherby they myght know howe to chose captaynes or some Prince, whiche after hym mighte gouerne the Realme. The philosopher Bias vnderstandinge their honeste requestes, gaue theym certaine lawes in fewe woordes whiche folowe. Of the whyche the deuine Plato maketh mencion in his booke De legibus, and lykewise Aristotle in the booke of Oeconomices.

¶ The Lawes whych Bias gaue to the Prieneses

WE ordeine and commaunde that no man be chosen to be prince amonge the people, vnlesse he be (at least) 40 yeres of age. For gouernours ought to be of such age, that nether youth nor small experience should cause theym to erre in their affaires: nor weakenes through ouermuch age should hinder them from taking paines. We ordeine and commaund, that none be chosen amongest the Prieneses gouernour, if he be not wel learned in the greke letters. For there is no greater plague in the publik weale, then for him to lack wisdomes whych gouerneth the same. We ordeine and commaunde that ther be none amongest the Prieneses chosen gouernour, vnlesse he hath bene brought vp in the warres 10. yeres at the leaste. For he alone dothe knowe howe precious a thing peace is, whych by experience hath felte the extreme miseries of warre. We ordeine and commaund that if any haue bene noted to be cruel, that he be not chosen for gouernour of the people. For that man that is cruel, is likely to be a tyrant. We ordeine & comaund if the gouernour of the Prieneses be so hardy or dare presume to breake the aunciēt lawes of the people,

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people that in such case he be depriued from thoffice of the gouernour, and lykewyse exiled from the people. For there is nothing that destroyeth soner a publike weale, then to ordeine new and fond lawes, and to breake the good auncient customes. We ordeine and commaund that the gouernour of the Prieneses do worship and honour the gods, and that he be a louer of the sacred temples. For otherwise he that honoureth not god, wil neuer mynister equal iustice vnto men. We ordeine & commaund that the prince of Prieneses be contented with the warres which his auncetours leste him, and that he do not forge new matters to inuade any other straunge countreis: and if perchaunce he would, that no man in this case be bounde neyther with money nor in person, to follow or serue him. For the god Apollo tolde me, that that man whiche will take another mans goods from hym by force, shall lose his owne by iustice. We ordeine and commaunde that the gouernor of the Prieneses go to pray and worship the gods twise in the weeke, and lykewise to visite them in the temples, and if he do the contrarie, he shal not only be depriued of the gouernment, but also after his death he shal not be buried. For the prince that honoureth not god in time of his lyfe: Deserueth not his bones should be honored with sepulture after his death.

How god from the beginning punished men by his iustyce, and speciallye those Princes that dispise his Church, and howe all wicked Christians are parishioners of hell. Cap. xxi.

When the eternall creator (who measureth the thinges by his Omnipotencye, and wayeth them by his effectuall wisdom) created al things, aswel celestiaall as terrestiall, bysible as inuisible, corporate as incorporate, not only promised to the good whyche serued him, but also threatened the euill with plagues whych offended hym. For the iustice and mercy of god go alwayes together, to thintent the one should encourage the good, and the other threaten the euil. This thinge semeth to be true: for that we haue but one god, which hath created but one word, wherin he made but one garden, in the whiche garden ther was but one fountaine, and neare to that fountayne he appointed only one man, one woman, and one serpente, nere vnto which was also one tre only forbidden, which is a thinge meruelous to speake, and no lesse feareful to see: how god dyd put into the terrestiall paradysse (the same daye that the creation of the worlde was synished) booth a sword, and gibet. The gibet was the tree forbidden, wherof they dyd eate: wherfore our fathers were condemned. And the sword was the punishment, wherwith we al (as miserable chyldren) at this day are beheaded. For truly they dyd eate the bytternes of their fault: and we do feele the grieve of the paine. I meane not to shewe howe our God by hys power doothe raise vpye that whyche is beaten downe, howe wyth his wysedome he guideth those which are blind, how by his wyl he dissembleth wyth the euil doers, neyther wil I tel how he through his clemency pardoneth the offences, and through his light lyghtneth the darknes, nor how through his ryghteousnes he amendeth that whych is broken, and through hys liberality paieth more then we deserue: But I wyll here declare at large, howe our omnipotent god

God through his iustice chastiseth those whiche walke not in his pathes. O Lorde god howe sure may thy faithfull seruauntes be, for their small seruices to receiue great rewardes: and contrary the euill ought alwayes to lyue in as great feare, lest for their heynous offences thou shouldest geue them cruel punishmentes. For though god of his bounty will not leaue any seruice unrewarded, nor of his iustice will omitte any euill unpunished: yet for all that we ought to knowe, that aboue all, and more than all, he wil rigorously chastise those, which maliciously despise the holy catholyke faith. For Christe thinketh him selfe as much iniured of those, whiche persecute his church: as of those that laide handes on his persone, to put him to death. We rede that in times past god shewed sondry greuous and cruel punishmentes, to diuerse high lordes and princes, besides other famous and renowned men. But rigour had neuer such power in his hande, as it had against those whiche honoured the infamed Idoll, and violated the sacred temples. For to god this is the most heinous offence, to forsake the holy catholyke faith in his life, and to dispaire in his mercy at the houre of his death. Woulde to god we had so much grace to acknowledge our offences, as god hath reason to punishe our sinnes. For if it were so, the we would amend in time to come, & god would graunt vs a generall pardon for al that is past. I see one thing wherin (as I thinke) I am not deceiued, which is this: that the frailnes & miseries which we commit we thinke them naturall, and in the satisfaction and amendingment of the same we say they are straunge: so that we admit the fault, & condemne the paine which therby we do deserue. The secret iudgements of god do suffer it, and our offences do deserue it: I do not deny but that the euill may hold & possesse this life at their pleasour: but I sweare vnto them, when they shal lest thinke of it, they shal lose their life to their great displeasour: for the pleasurs of this life are so vnconstant, that we scarce begin to taste the, when they bade out of their sight. It is a rule infallible, whiche bothe of the good & euill hath bene proued: that all naturally desire rather to abound than to want: and all that which greatly is desired, with great diligēce is serched, and through great trauaile is obtained: and that thing which by trauaile is attained, with loue is possessed, & that which by loue is possessed, with much sorow is lost, bewailed, & lamented. For in the end we can not deny, but that the watry eies do manifestly shewe the sorowfull hartes. To the fine wittes and stout hartes this is a continuall torment, and endlesse paine, & a worme that alway gnaweth: to cal to mind that he must lose the ioyfull life, whiche so entierly he loued: and taste the fearfull death, whiche so greatly he abhorred. Therfore to proue this matter, which I haue spoken of before, it is but reason that princes know, if they do not know, that euen as the diuine prouidence exalteth them to high estates, they not deseruing the: so likewise his rigorous iustice will bring them to nought, if they be vnthankeful for his benefites. For the ingratitude of benefittes receiued, maketh the man not worthy to receiue any mo. The more a man through benefites is bound, the more greuous punishment (if he be vnthankfull) he deserueth. All wyse men shuld finde (if they apply their mindes therunto) that in chastising god calleth those offences first to his mind, which are furthest from the thoughtes of men. For before the tribunal of god, our secret faultes are alwaies casting out bloud, to the end he shoulde execute of our persons open iustice. And further I saie, &

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in this case I doe not see that the prince is exempted more, though he liue in great felicitie: than the poore labourer, who liueth in extreme misery. And also we see it eftsones by experience, that the sodaine lightning, tempestes and the terrible thonder, forsaketh the small & lowe cotages, & battereth forth with the great & sumptuous buildinges. Gods wil & determination is, that for as much as he hath exalted them aboue al others, somuch y more they should acknowledge him for lord aboue all others: for god did neuer create high estates because they should worke wickednes: but he placed them in that degree, to thend they should therby haue more occasion to do him seruice. Eue- ry prince that is not a good Christian, a seruente louer of the catholike faith, nor will haue any respect to the deuine seruice: let him be assured that in this world he shall lose his renoume, and in the other he shall hazarde his soule. For that all euill Christians are the parishioners of hell.

¶ The authour proueth by twelue examles that princes are sharply punished when they vsurpe boldly vpon the churches and violate the temples. Cap. xxiij.

¶ Why the children of Aaron were punished.

It is now time that we leaue to perswade with wordes & reasons, and to begin to proue that which we haue said, by some excellēt histories & notable examles. For in thend, the hartes of mē are stirred more through some litle examles, then with a great multitude of wordes. In the first booke of the Leuitici, the x. chap. is declared, how in the time of Moyse, the sonne in law of Iethro priest (that was of Media) who was chiefe prince of all the lineage of Seph, with whom the brother of Mary the lepre had charge of the high priest- hood. For among al the lawes where god at any time put his handes vnto, he provided alwayes that some had the gouernement of ciuile affaires: and others thadministration of the deuine misteries. This high priest had then two children, whose names were Nadab, & Abihu, which two were yonge & beautiful, stout & sage, & during their infancy serued their father, & helped him to do sacrifice. For in the old law they suffred that priestes should not onely haue wiues & children: but also that their children should succede thē in their temples, and inherite their benefices. There came a great mischaunce, for the two child.ē being apparailled in whyte, their bodie bound with stoels, their handes naked, in one hand holding a torche, & in thother the senser, being negligent to light the new fyre, & contrary to that the law had ordeined, & taking coles which were prohibited, a marueilous thing was sene in the sight of the people, which was, that sodainly these two children fel flat on y earth dead, & al their sacrifice burned. Truly y sentēce was marueilous, but it was iust enough. for they wel deserued to lose their liues, sithen they durst sacrifice y coles of an other. This thing seemed to be true, for those yonge children saued their soules, & made satisfaction of the fault with their liues: but other wicked men god permitteyth to liue a shoyt time, because they shall lose their soules for euer.

¶ The cause why the Azotes were punished.

The realme of Palestine being destitute of a kyng, at that time an honourable old man gouerned the realme, whiche was father to two knightes, named Albino, and Phinides, for at that tyme the children of Israell were not gouerned by kinges that did moleste them by iniuries: but by sage men whiche did mainteine theym by iustice. It chaunced that the Azotes made warre against the Palestines, and were a kynde of the Arabians, stout,

and

and warrelpeke: the whiche fought so couragiously, that the Palestines and Hebues were constrained to bringe their Arke into the middes of the battaile: whiche was a relicke (as a man should haue put the holy sacrament) to deuide a great multitude of people. But fortune shewed her countenance vnto them so frowningly, that they were not onely ouercome, but also were spoyled of the Arke, whiche was their chiefe relicke. And besides that, there were. 400. Palestines slayne. The Azotes caried awaye the Arke full of relicks vnto their temple, in the cite of Nazote, and set it by Dagon their cursed Idoll. The true God (whiche wyl not suffer any to be coequall with him in comparison, or in any thing that he representeth) caused this Idoll to be shaken, throwen downe, and broken in pieces no man touching it. For our god is of suche power, that to execute his iustice he nedeth not worldly helpe. God not contented thus (though the Idoll was broken in pieces) caused those to be punished likewise whiche worshipped it, in suche sorte that all the people of Azote, Afcalon, Geth, Acharon, and of Gaza (whiche were five auncient and renowned cities) were plagued both man and woman inwardly with the disease of the Emerodes, so that they could not eate sitting, nor ryde by the wayes on horsebacke. And to thende that al men might see that their offences were greuous (for the punishment they receiued by the deuine iustice) he replenished their houses, places, gardeins, seedes, and fieldes full of rattes. And as they had erred in honouring the false Idoll, and forsaken the true god, so he would chastise them with two plagues, sending them the Emerodes to torment their bodie, and the rattes to destroye their goodes. For to him that willingly geueth his soule to the deuill, it is but a small matter that god (against his wyl) deprive him of his goodes. This then being thus, I would now gladly knowe, whether of them committed moste offence, eyther the Azotes whiche set the Arke in the temple, whiche (as they thought) was the moste holiest: or the Christians, whiche (without the feare of God) robbe and pyle the Church goodes to their owne priuate commoditie in this worlde. Truly the lawe of the Azotes differed as muche from the Christians, as the offence of the one differeth from the other. For the Azotes erred not, beleuing that this Arke was the figure of the true God, but we beleue it, and cofesse it, and without shame committe against it infinite vices. By this so rare & sodaine a punishment, me thinkes that Princes and great Lordes should not onely therfore acknowledge the true god, but also reuerence and honour those thinges which to him are dedicated. For mans lawes (speaking of the reuerence of a Prince) doe no lesse condemne him to die, that robbeth his house: then him whiche violently layeth handes on his persone.

¶ The cause why Prince Oza was punished.

In the booke whiche the sonne of Helcana wrote, that is the seconde booke of the kynges, and the sixt Chapter he saith: that the Arke of Israell with his relickes (which was Manna, the rodde, and two stones) stode in the house of Aminadab, whiche was the next neighbour to the cite of Gibeah, the sonne of Esaye (who at that tyme was kyng of the Israelites) determined to transpose the relickes into his cite and house, for it semed to him a great infamy, that to a mortall Prince, a house should abounde for his pleasours: and to the immortall God there should wante a temple for his relickes.

f. ij.

The

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The daye therefore appointed when they should carie the relicke of Gibeah to Bethleem, there mette thirty thousand Israelites, with a great nombre of noble men which came with the king, besyds a greater nombre of straungers. For in such a case those are mo which come of their owne pleasure, then those which are commaunded. Besides al the people, they say that all the nobilitie of the realme was there, to thend the relicke should be more honoured, & his persone better accompanied. It chaunced that as the lordes and people wēt singing, and the king in persone dauncing, the whele of the chariot began to fall, and goe out of the waye: the whiche prince Oza seing, by chaunce set to his hand and his shoulder against it, because the Arcke (wher the relicke was) should not fall nor breake: yet notwithstanding that, sodainly and befoze thē all he fell downe dead. Therfore let this punishmēt be noted, for truly it was fearfull, and ye ought to thinke, that since god (for putting his hande to the chariot to holde it vp) stroke him with death, that a prince shoulde not hope (seeking the destruction and decaye of the churche) that god will prolong his life. O princes, great lordes, and prelates, sith Oza with suche diligence losse his life, what do ye hope or loke for, sith with such negligence ye destroy and suffer the churche to fall? Yet once againe I doe retourne to exclaime vpon you, O princes, and great lordes, sith prince Oza deserued such punishment, because without reuerence he aduanced him selfe to stape the Arcke which fell: what punishment ought ye to haue, whiche through malice helpe the churche to fall.

¶ The kyng Balthasar was punished.

DArius kyng of the Perfes and Medes besieged the auncient citie of Babilon in Chaldea, wherof Balthasar sonne of Nabuchodonosor & great was kinge and lord. Who was so wicked a childe, that his father being dead, he caused him to be cut in. 300. pices, & gaue him to. 300. haukes to be eaten, because he should not reuiue againe to take the goodes and riches from him which he had left him. I knowe not what father is so folishe, that letteth his sonne liue in pleasures, & after wardes the intrelles of the hauke wherewith the sonne hauked, should be the wofull graue of the father, which so many men lamented. This Balthasar then being so besieged, Determined one night to make a great feast and banket to the lordes of his realme that came to ayde him, and in this he did like a valiaunt and stoute prince, to thende the Perfes and Medes might see that he litle esteemed their power. The noble and high hartes do vse when they are enuironed with many trauaples, to seeke occasions to inuent pleasours: because to their men they may giue greater courage, and to their enemies greater feare. He declareth of Pirrus kyng of the Epirotes, when he was besieged very streightly in the citie of Tharenta, of & Romain captaine Quintus Dentatus, that then he spake vnto his captaines in this sort. Lordes & frendes be ye nothing at al abashed (since I neuer here be fore sawe ye afraide) though the Romaines haue compassed our bodies, yet we haue besieged their hartes. For I let you to wete, that I am of such a complexion, that the streighter they kepe my body, the more my hart is at large, And further I say, though the Romains beate down & walles, yet our hartes shall remaine inuincible. And though there be no wall betwene vs, yet we wyll make them knowe that the hartes of Greekes are harder to overcome then

then the stones of Tarentine are to be beaten downe. But retourninge to king Balthasar. The banquet then being ended, and the greatest parte of the night spent, Balthasar the kyng being very well pleased that the banquet was made to his contentation (though he was not the sobrest in drynking wyne) commaunded all the cuppes of golde and siluer with the treasour he had, to be brought and set on the table, because all the bidden gesses shoulde drinke therein. King Balthasar did this, to that ende the princes and lordes with all his captaines, shoulde manfully helpe him to defende the siege, and also to shewe that he had muche treasour to pay them for their paynes. For to save the truthe, there is nothing that encourageth men of warre more, than to see their rewarde before their eyes. As they were drynking merily (at the banquet) of these cups which Nabuchodonosor had robbed from the temple of Hierusalem, sodenly by the power of God and the deserte of his offences, there appeared a hand in the wal without a body or arine, which with his fingers wrote these wordes. Mane, Thetel, Phares, which signifieth. O kinge Balthasar, god hath sene thy life, and findeth that thy malice is now accomlished. He hath commaunded that thou and thy realme shoulde be wayed, and hath found that ther lacketh a great Deale of iust weight, wherfore he comaundeth, that thy life for thine offences be taken from thee: and that thy realme bee put into the handes of the Perfes and Medes, whiche are thine enemies. The vision was not frustrate, for the same night without any lenger delay, the execution of the sentence was put in effect by the enemies. The king Balthasar died, the realme was lost, the treasours were robbed, the noble men take, and al the Chaldeans captiues. I would now knowe, sith Balthasar was so extremely punished only for geuing his concubines and frindes drinke in the sacred cuppes, what payne deserueth princes and prelates then, which robbe the churches for prophane thinges? How wicked so euer Balthasar was, yet he neuer chaunged, gaue, sold, nor engaged the treasours of the Sinagoge: but wat shall we say & speake of prelates, whiche without any shame, wast, chaunge, sell, and spende the churche goodes. I take it to be lesser offence, to giue drinke in a chalice as king Balthasar did to one of his concubines: then to enter into the churche by symony, as many do now a daies. This tyrant was overcome more by folie, than by couetousnes: but these others are banquished with folie, couetousnes, and simony. What meaneth this also, that for the offence of Nabuchodonosor in Hierusalem, his sonne Balthasar shoulde come and be punished. For this truly me thinke not consonant to reason, nor agreable to mans lawe: that the father should commit the theft, and the sonne should requite it with seuen double. To this I can answer: that the good childe is bounde to restore all the good that his father hath lefte him e- uill gotten. For he that enioyeth the thefte, deserueth no lesse punishment, then he that committeth the theft. For in thend both are theues, and deserue to be hanged on the galowes of the deuine iustice.

¶ Why kyng Ahab was punished.

In the first booke of Malachie, that is to wete, in the third booke of kinges, the. viii. chap. It is declared, that Aza being king of Iudea, and prophecieng in Hierusalem, at that time Omri was king of Israel, and after him succeeded Ahab his sonne, beyng of the age of. xxi. yeares. This Ahab was not on-

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by young of yeares but yonger of vnderstanding, and was nombred among the wicked kings: not onely euil, but to euil: for the scriptures vse to cal them by names infamed, whose liues deserued no memoire. The vices of this kyng Ahab were sondry and diuerse, whereof I wyll declare some as hereafter foloweth. First of all he followed altogether the life and steppes of the kyng Iheroboam, who was the first that entised the children of Israel to committe Idolatrie: whiche thing turned to his great reproche and infamie. For the Prince erreth not in immitinge the pathes of the good: but offendeth in folowynge the wayes of the euill. Secondly this kyng Ahab married the daughter of the kynge of the Idumeans, whose name was Iesabel, whiche was of the stocke of the Gentyls, and he of the Hebrues. And for a trouth the mariage was vnaduisedly considered. For sage Princes shoulde take wifes conformable to their lawes and condicions, vnllesse they wyll repent them selues afterwarde. Thirde he buylt againe the citie of Hierico, whiche by the commaundement of God was destroyed, and commaunded that vpon greauous paynes it should not be reedified againe: because the offences that were therein committed were so great, that the inhabitantes did not onely deserue to lose their lyues: but also that in Hierico there should not one stone remayne vpon an other. Fourthly kyng Ahab buylte a sumptuous temple to the Idol Baall, in the citie of Samaria, and consecrate a wood vnto him whiche he had very pleasaunt, and set in the temple his image of fyne gold: so that in the reigne of this cursed kynge, Baal the wicked Idol was so highly esteemed, that not onely secretly, but also openly they blasphemed the true and lyving God. The case was suche, That one daye Ahab going against the kyng of Siria, to take him and his citie called Ramoth Galaath, being in battayle was shot into the breaste with an arrowe, wherewith he not onely loste his lyfe, but also the Dogges did lappe by his blood that fell to the earth. O Princes and great Lordes, if you wyll geue credite vnto me, you shal haue nothing more in recommendation then to be good Christians. Syth ye see that as this Prince in his life did serue straunge Idols: so it was reason that after his death, his blood should be buried in the intrelles of rauenous dogges.

¶ By kyng Manasses was punished.

THE king Manasses was the sonne of Ezechias, and father of Amon, which were all kynges. And truly they differed so muche in maners, that a man could scarcely iudge, whether the vertues and prowesses of the father were more to be desired: or the vice and wickednes of the children to be abhorred. This Manasses was a wicked Prince, for as muche as he builde new temples to Baal, and in the cities made heremitages for the Idols, and in the mountaines repayred all the aulters that heretofore were consecrated to the deuyll. He consecrated many forestes and woodes to the Idols, he honoured the starres as the gods, and did sacrifice to the planets & elementes. For the man that is abandoned by the hand of God, there is no wickednes that his obstinate harte doth not enterpryse. So that he had in his Palace al manner of false prophetes, as southsaiers, propheters, witches, sozerers, enchaunters, & coniurers, the which daily he caused to giue sacrifice to the idols: & gaue such credit to sozerers, & enchaunters, that his seruauutes were all
for

for the most part sorcerers, and in them was his chiefe delight and pleasure. And lyke wise he was skilful in all kinde of mischief, and ignoraunte in all vertues. He was so cruel & spilt somuch innocent bloud, that if it had bene water put together and the bodyes of them that he slewe layde on heapes, it would both haue couered their cartases and also haue drowned the liuing. Yet he not contented with that I haue spoken of, set in the Temple of oure Lorde an old idoll, that stode in the woode, for the punishmente of whiche facte, God suffered his seruantes to kill his eldest sonne. Afterwarde God would not suffer these such sondrye myscheues of mans malice, but of hys deuine iustice caused these wordes to be proclaimed in Hierusalem. Sithe the king Manasses hath bene so bold to contemne me, & himsele alone to commit thoffences of al, I wil chastice him alone with the same correction that he hath shewed vnto others. By these wordes let Princes note here, howe the deuine vengeaunce extendeth no further, then our offences deserue: soo that if our fault be lytle, the punishment which he giueth vs is very temperate, but if the prince be stubburne and obstinate in his wyckednes, let hym be sure that the punishment shalbe extreme.

¶ Whiche Iulys, Pompeius, Xerxes, Catilina Germanicus, and Brennus were punished.

When pompeius the great passed into the Orient, with all the hoste of the Romaine people, and after he had subdued al Sirie, Mesopotamia, Damasco & Arabia: he passed into the realme of Palestina, which other wise was called Iudea, wher he committed diuerse and sondrye euilles, so that many of the Romaines and Hebrues dyed ther. Finally by force of armes he toke the puissant cite of Hierusalem, whych as Plynie sayth, was the best of al Asia: And Strabo saith of the situation of the world, that Rome was the chiefe of al Italy, & of Affrike y^e principall was Carthage: of Spaine, Numantia: of Germanie, Argentine: of Caldea, Babilone: of Egypt, Thebes: of Grece Athens: of Phenice, Tira: of Cappadocea, Cefarea: of Thrace, Constantinople: and of palestine, Hierusalem. Pompeius therfore not contented to kil al the auncientes in that warre, to impryson the youth, to behead the elders, to force the mothers, to defile the virgines, to teare in peces the childzen, to beate downe buildinges, and to robbe the tresours: but encreasing euyl vpon euyl, and putting all the people to destruction, he made of the Temple a stable for hys hoxles: which befoze god was abhominable, that wher alwayes heretofore he had bene a conqueroure, & had triumphed ouer 22. kynges, euer after he was vnluckye and ouercome in battayle. The famous rebell Catilina (as Saluste affirmeth) had neuer bene ouercome, if it had not bene for the robbing & destroying of the Temples, which were consecrated to the gods. The noble Marcus Marcellus (to whom no Romaine is to be compared in vertues) the same day that he caused the Temple of the goddesse Februa to be burnt, was himsele slaine in battayle. The noble Romaine captaine Drusus Germanicus that was so wel wylled and beloued, because he gaue a calfe meat to eate, (which was the god of the Caldeans) being prohybited & forbidden within a moneth after dyed, whose death was greatly lamented in Rome. Suetonius saythe, that after Iulius Cesar, had robbed the Temple of the Saboles, the gods alwaies made him afraide

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In the night. And Xerxes, which was the sonne of kyng Darius, when he passed into Italye to wage battaile, befoze all other thinges he sente forwer thousand horsemen to Delphos (wher the Temple of God Apollo was) to beate it downe: for the pryde of Xerxes was so great that he would not onlye subdue men, but also conquere the gods. It chaunfed that euen as they approached nere the Temple to beat it downe, a sodaine tempest fell vpon them, so that with stones and thunder boltes they were all killed in the fields, and so dyed.

Brennus was one of the renowned Captaynes of the Gothes, who sithe he had conquered and subdued the Greekes, determined also to robbe the treasours of the temples, saying that gods should gyue vnto men, and not men vnto gods, and that it was greate honoure to the goddes, that with their goodes men should be made riche. But as they beganne to robbe the Temple, there fell a multitude of arrowes from heauen that the Captaine Brennus dyed there, and all his men with him, not one left alpye. After that Sextus Pompeius was vanquished in the battaile by sea, neare vnto Scicile, by Octavus Angustus, he retired him selfe into the Arkes Lacinii, where there was an auncient Temple consecrated to the godesse Iuno, endewed with maruelous treasours. And it chaunfed one day that his souldyers asking him money, and he beinge then withoute, he commaunded theym to beate downe the Temple of the goddesse Iuno, and to paye them selues with the spoile of her treasure. The historiographers saye, that within a whyle after it chaunfed Sextus Pompeius to be taken of the knightes of Marcus Antonius, and when he was broughte befoze Titus generall of the armye, he spake vnto him these woordes.

I wil thou know Sextus Pompeius, I do not condemne the to dye for those fences thou hast committed against my Lord Marcus Antonius. But because thou hast robbed and beaten downe the Temple of the Goddesse Iuno.

For thou knowest, that the good Captaynes oughte to forget the offences against men: and to reuenge the iniuries done vnto the Goddes.

How Valentine the Emperoure because he was an euyl Christian,
loste in one day both the Empire and his lyfe, and was burned alpye
in a shepecote. Cap. rxiij.

When Iulian the Apostate was Emperour of Rome, he sente to conquere Hongarie, of no iust title hee had to it, moze then of Ambicion to vnite it, to the Romaine Empire. For tyrannous princes vse all their force to vsurpe others realmes by crueltie, and lytle regard whether they maye do it by iustice. And because the Romaine Empire was of great force, this Ambitious Emperour Iulian, had in that warres a mighty and puyssant Armie, which did wonderfull muche harme throughe al the countreyes they came. For the frutes of warres is, to bereue the enemyes of lyfe, and to spoyle the men of their goodes. It chaunfed one day as .5. knyghtes wente out of the campe to make a rode, they found a young man that caried a halter in hys hande, and as they would haue taken it awaye from hym to haue tyed their horses to let them feede, he was so hardy and stout that he defended hym selfe from them all: so that he had moze strength alone then they fyue altogethers. The Romaine knyghtes amazed to see this younge man defend hym selfe from them

them all so stoutly, very instantly desired him to go to the Romaine campe with them, and they promised him he should haue great intertynment, for the Romaines were so dyligent, that they woulde omit no good thinge for want of money, so that it wer for the publike weale. This ponge man was called Gracian, and was bozne and brought vp in the country of Pannonia, in a citie they called Cibata: his lynage was not of the lowest sort of the people, nor yet of the most esteemed Citizens, but were men that lyued by the swete of their browes, and in loue of the common people. And truly it is no small benefite that God had made him of a meane estate: for to be of base linage, maketh men to be despised and not regarded: and to come of a noble bloud and high lynage, maketh men to be proud and lofty. This ponge man being come into the Romaine campe, the same was immediatly spred, how that he alone had vanquished fīue knyghtes. And his strength and courage was so highely esteemed, that wythin a while after he was made Pretour of the armie. For the Romaines, not according to fauour, but according to habilitie of men, deuoyded the offices and degrees of honoure in warres. Tyme therfore working his nature, and manye estates beinge decayed, after thys ponge Gracian was made Pretour of the armie, and that he was sufficiently tryed in the warres, fortune, which many times bringeth that to passe in a day: that mans malyce cannot in many yerres, raised this Gracian to be Emperoure of Rome. For trulye one howe of good successe is more worthe, thenne al worldly fauour.

This Gracian was not onely singuler in strengthe, couragious in battaile, fortunate in all his affaires: but also he was luckye of children. That is to wete, he had two sonnes which were Emperours of Rome, the one was called Valente, the other Valentinian. In this case the children mighte gloiue to haue a father so stout: but the gloiue of the father is greater to haue sonnes of such nobilitie. For there is no greater felicitie in this world, then duringe life, to come to honour and riches: & after death, to leaue good children to enioy them. The eldest of y two sonnes was the Emperour Valente, who ruled in the Orient for the space of .iiii. yerres, & was the xxxix. Emperour of Rome, from Iulius Cesar: though some do beginne at the tyme of Octavian, sayeng that he was vertuous, and that Iulius Cesar vsurped the Empire lyke a tiraunt. This Valente was beautifull of personne, but poore of vertues: so that he was more beautifull thenne vertuous, more couragious thenne mercifull, more riche thenne charitable, more cruell then pitefull. For there are manye Princes, that are verpe expert to deuise newe orders in a common wealthe: but there are few that haue stoute hartes to put the same in execution. In those dayes the sect of Arrian the cursed heretike flosished, and the Emperour Valente was greatly blinded therein: in somuch that he did not onely fauour the Arrians, but also he persecuted the Christiā, which was shewed for somuch as he killed & caused to be killed (for that occasiō) many lay men, & toke many clerkes, & banished many Bischoppes, ouerthrew many Churches, robbed the goods of y Christiā, & dyd infinite other mischeues in the common wealth. For the prince whych is infected wyth heresy, & liueth without feare of the Church, ther is neyther mischiefe nor treasō but he wil comit. In the desertes of Egipte in the mountaynes of Armenia and in the cityes
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of Alexandria, there was a greate multitude of fryers and relygious men, amongest whome were many wise men, and pure of lyfe, constant in the defence of the Church, and pacient in persecutions. For he is a true relygious man, that in tyme of peace is charitable to teache the ignorant: and bold in the tyme of Scismes, to confound the heretyques. The Emperour Valente was not only not a frend to the Arrians, & an enemye to the Christians, but also he was a persecutour of the deuoute and religious fryers. For he commaunded proclamacyons, to be had throughe all his realmes and domynions, that all the relygious that were yonge in yeares, hole of their bodyes, and sound of their lymmes, should immediatly cast of their cowles and hoodes, leauyng their monasterie, and take souldiers wages in the campe. For he said Monasteries were inuented for nothyng els, but to maintaine those that were deformed, blynde, lame, and maymed, and vppon this occasion he shewed great tyrannye. For many monasteries were left naked, many notable constitucions were broken, manye hermites were martyred, manye friers whippyed, many notable barons banyshe, and many good men robbed of their goodes. For the vertuous men desired rather the bytter lyfe of the monastery: then the swete and pleasaunt libertie of the world. This Emperour yet not contented with these thinges, as by chaunce his wife commended vnto him the beautie of a Romaine called Iustina, without any more delaye he married her, not forsaking hys first wyfe, and immediatly made a lawe througheout all his Empire, that without incurring any daunger, eche Christian myght haue two wyues, and mary with them by the lawe of matrimony. For the tyrannous Princes (to cloake their byces) make and enstatlysh the lawes of vices. The shame was not litle that the Emperoure Valente (against the commaundement of the Churche) would marie wyth two women at one time: but the lesse shame he had, the greater was his iniquitye to put it in execution, and to cause it to be publyshed throughe hys realme as a lawe. For a perticuler vyce corrupteth but one alone, but a general lawe distropereth al. At that tyme the puissaunt Gothes were in the parties of the orient, the whych were in feates of armes very valyaunt and couragious: but in thynges of faith they were euyl broughte vp, althoughe the greatestte part of them were baptysed. For then the Churche was very poore of prelates, howbeit those that they had were very notable men. After the Gothes were baptysed, and the furie of the warres some what appeased, they sente Embassadours to the Emperour Valente, desyring hym that immediatly and forthwith he would sende them holy & catholyke Bishoppes, by whose doctrine they myght be instructed and brought to the christian faith. For it was thought that the Emperoures of Rome coulde haue no bishoppes in their countreyes: vnlesse they were vertuous. This wicked Emperour sythe he was now entangled with herselfe, and that he had peruerted the customes of the good Emperours (that is for hauing about hym euil Bishoppes) as he was enuyromed with all euills and myscheues, so he sent to the Gothes a bishoppe called Eudoxius, the whych was a ranke Arrian, and brought with hym many Bishoppes which were heretyques, by the whych the kyniges and Princes of the Gothes were Arrians, for the space of 200 yeares.

The

The catholyke Princes ought to take great care to watch, and in watching to be ware and circumspect, that they, their Realmes, neyther their subiects, should in their time be defiled with heresie. For the plague of heretikes and heresy is not of lyght occasion banished the place, wher ons it hath reigned. We haue declared of the small fayth that thys Emperoure had in Iesus Chyste, and of the greates myscheues he dyd to the Church. Let vs now see what was the ende of hys myserable life. For the man of wycked lyfe seldome commeth to good ende. The matter was this, that as the Gothes were dryuen out of the Realme by some of the Hunnes, they came immediately to the Realme of Thracia, which then was subiecte to the Romaynes. And the Emperour Valente without anye couenaunte receyued theym into hys lande, wherin he commytted great folye, and vsed lytle wysedome. For it is a generall rule, wher rebelles, vacabondes, and straungers come to inhabyte, there alwayes the Realme and Dominions is destroyed.

The Gothes remayned certayne yerres amonge them without anye discencion or quarrellynge against the Romaynes: but afterwarde through the couetousnes of Maximus chiefe Captaine of y^e Romaynes, that demed the Gothes of their prouysion, whych so longe tyme remayned frendes, arose betwene them so cruell warres, that it was the occasion of the losse and vtter vndoing both of Rome and of all Italye. For truly ther is no enmetye doth so much hurte, as that of frendes when they faule out once at dyscorde. The warre now being kindeled, the Gothes were scatered throughe the Realme of Thrace, and they left no forte but they battered, they came to no villagges nor cytyes but they sacked, they toke no women but they forced, they entred into no house but they robbed. Finally the Gothes in short time shewed the porson that they had agaynst the Romaynes. And let no man maruel that the Gothes committed so many cruell and heynous factes, sith we that are Chryistians do commyt dayly greater offences. For among rebelles it is a common errour, that that whych they robbe in the warres, they saye they are not bound to restore in peace. The Emperour Valente was then in the cytie of Antioche, and sith he had assembled there a great army, & had greates ayde out of Italy, he determyned hymselfe in person to go into the campe of the Romaynes, and to gyue thonsset agaynst the Gothes, wherin he shewed hymselfe more bold then wise. For a Prince in battaile can doo no more then one man, nor fighte more then one man, and if he die, he is the occasion of the death and destruction of them all. When both the hostes of the Romaynes and the Gothes ioyned, ther was betwene theym a cruell and mortall fight: so that in the first brunt the Gothes shewed them selues so valiaunte, that they put to flight the Romaynes horsmen, leauing their fotemen alone in great ieopardy, the which in short space after were discomfired and slaine not one left aliue. For the barbarous sware that that day the Gothes should all dye, or els vtterly they would destroy the name of the Romaynes. And in this first charg y^e Emperour Valente was mortally wounded who perceiuing he had his deaths wound & that the battaile was lost, he determined to flye and saue hymselfe. But when fortune beginneth to persecute anye man, she leaueth hym not untill she se him dead, or beaten downe without reco-

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couer. Therfore as this wicked Emperour (thynking to saue him selfe) came into a shepecotte, the enemyes seying him, in the end set fier on the shepecote, and burnt him alpye. So in one day he lost his person, his lyfe, his honoure, and his empire. It is mete that princes and great lordes should lift by their eyes to consyder well thys historie of Valente, that they strape not from the Catholicke Church, that they dyshonour not Gods mynisters, and maintayne heresydes. For as this accursed Emperoure Valente for his wicked doinges was condignely punished by the hands of the almighty God: So let them be assured, the selfe same god wil not pardon their offences. For it is a rule infallible, that the prince which is not a good chrestian, shall fall into the hands of his cruell enemyes.

¶ Of the Emperour Valentinian and Gracian hys sonne, whych reigned in the time of saynte Ambrose: whych because they were good Chrestians, were alwayes fortunate, and that god gyueth victoie vnto Princes, moze throughte the teares of them that pray, then throught the weapons of those that fyght.

I Valentinian and Valent were brethren, and the eldest of them was Valentinian, who succeeded in the Empire (after the death of his father) to be pretor of the armies. For amonges the Romaines there was a lawe in vye, that if the father died in the fauour of the people, of right the sonne without any other demaunde was heire. This Valentinian was a lusty yong man, of a sanguine complexion, and of his body well shaped, and aboue al he was a good Chrestian, and of all the people generallye welbeloued: For nothyng adozneth the noble man moze, then to be counted ciuill and coiteous of behauior. At that time wher the Emperoure Iulian persecuted moste the chrestians, Valentinian was pretor of the armies, and when Iulian was aduertised that Valentinian was a chrestian, he sent vnto him and bad hym do sacrifice to the idols of the Romaine Emperour, or els to forsake the office of his pretorship. Iulian would gladly haue killed Valentinian, but he durst not: For it was a law inuolable amonges the Romaines, that no citizen should be put to death without decre of the Senate. Valentinian receyuing the message of this Emperour Iulian aduertised of his will, (which was to renounce his faith or to leaue his office) he dyd not only resigne his office but therewithal forgaue the Emperour all the money he ought him for arreragies of his seruyce. And because he woulde lyue with a moze quyet conscience, he wente from Rome into a cloyster, where he bannyshed hym selfe for two yeaeres and a halfe, and for this he was hyghlye esteemed and commended.

For it is a good signe that man is a good Chrestian, whych of his owne free will renounceth worldlye goodes. Shortlye after It happened that Iulian the Emperoure wente to conquer the Realme of Persia, wherein a battaile he was very sore wounded, and fell downe deade in the presente place. For to the mishappes of fortune, the Emperour with all his estate & pleasours is as much subiect: as is the poorest man that lyeth in the streates. When the newes came to Rome that Iulian was dead, by the consent of all, Valentinian was created Emperoure, so that he beinge bannyshed for Chrestes sake, was called againe, and crowned Prince of the Romaine empire. Let no man care to lose al that he posselleth, let no man way to see him selfe

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despised for Christes sake: for in the end, no men can in a thousand yeares so much abase vs: as god in one houre can exalt vs. In the same yere, which was from the foundation of Rome a thousand, a hundred, and. xii. in a citie called Atrobata, it rained very fine wull, so that all the citie became riche. In the same yere, in the citie of Constantinople it hailed suche great stones, that they killed many men, & left no herdes in the fieldes aliue. At the same tyme there came an earthquake throughout Italy, & so like wylde in Scicille, that many houses fell and slewe sundry persons, and aboute all the sea rose in suche sorte, that it drowned many cities nigh thereunto. Paulus Diaconus in the. xi. booke De gestibus Romanorum, saith, that the emperor Valentinian was of a subtile witte, of graue countenance, eloquent in speache, yet he spake little, stoute in his affaires, and diligent in his busines, in aduersities patient, and a great enemy of the vicious, temperat in eating and drinking, & a friend of religious persons: so that they saide he resembled the emperor Aurelius. For after that the emperor Marcus Aurelius died (with whom the felicitie of the Romaine empire ended) they euer vsed thenceforth in Rome to compare and liken the young and newe come princes to the auncient emperours their antecessours. That is to wete: if the prince wer couragious, they said he was like Iulius Cesar, if he were vertuous, they saide he was an other Octavian, if he were fortunate, that he was Tiberius, if he were rashe, they sayde he was Caligula, if he were cruell, they compared him to Nero, if he were mercifull, they sayde he was like to Traian or Antonius Pius, if he were beawtifull, they likened him to Titus, if he were idle, they compared him to Domitian, if he were paciēt, they called him Vespasius, if he were tēperat they likened him to Adrian if he were deuoute to their gods, then he seemed Aurelianus, finally he that was sage and vertuous, they compared him to the good Marcus Aurelius. This emperor Valentinian was a good Christian, and in al his affaires touching the empyre very wylde and circumspecte, and yet he was noted for one thyng very muche, and that was, that he trusted and fauoured his seruantes so muche, and was so led by his friendes, that through their occasion (they abusinge his loue and credite) there arose manye dissentions amonges the people. Seneca sayde once to the Emperoure Nero, I wyl that thou vnderstande (Lorde) that there is no pacience can suffre, that twoo or thre absolutly commaunde all, not for that they are moste vertuous: but for that they are moste in fauour with thee. O princes and great Lordes, if you were as I am, I knowe not what you would doe: but if I were as you be, I woulde behaue my selfe in suche sorte to them of my house, that they should be seruantes to serue and obeye me, and not boste them selues to be in suche fauour to commaunde me: for that prince is not sage that to content a fewe, getteth the hatred of all. The Emperour Valentinian died in the fife and fifty yere of his byrthe and eleuen yere of his Empyre, of so longe sickenesse, that his baynes were so dried vp, that they could not drawe one droppe of bloude out of his body. And at the daye of his funeralles, where the dead corps was greatly bewayled. Saint Ambrose made an excellent sermon in commendation of him, for in those dayes, when any pince departed that fauoured muche the Church, all the holy Bysshoppes mete at his buriall.

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The two brethren being Emperours, that is to wete, Valentinian, and Valent, through the desire of the father in lawe of Gracian, that was father to his wyfe, and desirous to haue one of his daughters children, chose Valentinian to bying vp, who had a sonne named Gracian: whiche was created emperour so young, that as yet he had no berde. And truly the Senate would not haue suffered it, if the father had not bene vertuous, and the childe sage. But the Senate would haue done this, and more also for Valentinian, because he did deserue it well of the Romaine people. For it is reason in distributing of the offices, that princes haue more respecte to the desertes of the fathers, then to the tender age of the children. This young Gracian began to be so temperate, and was so good a Christian in fauouring the church, that it was muche quiete, and great pleasure to the Romaine people to haue chosen him, and greater ioye to the father (being aliue) to haue begotten hym: so that he left for him after his death, an immortall memorie of his life. For the childe that is vertuous, is alwayes the memory of the father after his death.

In the yere of the foundation of Rome a thousand a hundredeth thirtie and two, the said Gracian the younger was created sole heire of the whole empire, his vncle Valent and his father being departed the worlde. After Gracian came to the empire, many Bysshoppes whiche were banished in the tyme of his vncle Valent, were restored to the church againe, and banished al the sect of the Arrians out of his region. Truly he shewed him selfe to be a very religious and catholike prince. For there is no better iustice to confounde humane malice, then to establishe the good in their estate. In the first yere of the reigne of Gracian emperour, all the Germanes and the Gothes rebelled against the Romaine empire, for they would not only not obey him, but also they prepared an huge army to enuade his empire, Imagining that sithe Gracian was young, he neither had the wytte nor yet the boldnes to resiste them. For where the prince is young, there oftymes the people suffer muche wrong, and the realme great misery. Hewes come to Rome, howe that the Gaules and Germanes were by, the emperour Gracian wrote to all the catholike byshoppes that they should offer in their churches great sacrifices, with prayers vnto God, and in Rome likewise it was ordeined that generally processions should be had, to the ende almighty god shoulde moderate his ire against his people. For good Christians first pacifie god with prayers, before they resiste their enemies with weapons. This good prince shewed him selfe to be no lesse warlike in his out ward affaires, then a good Christian in his religion. For god geth victories vnto princes, more through teares, then through weapons. These thinges thus finished, and his affaires vnto god recommended, the noble emperour Gracian determined to marche on, and him selfe in person to giue the battaile. And truly as at the first he shewed him selfe to be a good christian: so now he declared him selfe to be a valiaunt emperour. For it were a great infamie and dishonour, that a prince by negligence or cowardnes shoulde lose that, whiche his predecessours by force of armes had gotten. The army of the enemies exceded far y^e Romain army in nombre, and when they met together in a place called Argentaria, the Romaines being inferiour to their enemies in numbre, were afraide. For in the warres the great multitude of ennemies and their puissaunte power,

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maketh oft times the desired victorie to be doubtfull. This thing scene of the Romaines, and by them considered, importunately they besought the Emperour not to charge the battayle, for they saide he had not men sufficiente. And herein they had reason. For the sage prince should not rashely hazarde his person in the warre, nor yet should lightly put his life in the handes of fortune. The Emperour Gracian not chaunging countenance, nor stopping in his wordes, to al his knightes which wer about him answered in this wise.

¶ Of the godly Oracion, which the Emperour Gracian made to his souldiours, befoze he gaue the battaile. Cap. rrbf.

VAliaunt knightes, and companions in warre, moste thankfully I accept your seruice, in that you haue solde your goodes, and doe offer your liues here to accompanie me in the warres, and herein you shewe your duties: for of right you ought to lose your goodes, and to venture your liues, for the defence & suertie of your countrie. But if I geue you some thankses for your company, knowe you that I geue much more for your good counsell which presently you geue me: for in great conflicts seldome is founde together, both good counsell and stoute hartes. If I haue enterprised this battaile in hope of mans power, then you had had reason that we shoulde not geue the battaile, seeing the great multitude that they haue, and the smal numbze that we are, for as you say, the weightie affaires of y^e publike weale should not vniaduisedly be committed, to the incertaintie of fortune. I haue taken vpon me this daungerous and perillous warres, firste trusting that on my part iustice remaineth, and sith god is the same onely iustice, I truste assuredly he will geue me the victorie in this perillous conflict: for iustice auaileth princes more that they haue, then the men of warre do whiche they leade. Wherefore sith my cause is iuste, and that I haue god the onely iudge thereof on my side, me thinketh if for any worldly feare I shoulde cease to geue the battayle, I should both shew my selfe to be a prince of small fayth, and also blaspheme god, saying he were of small iustice. For god sheweth moste hys power there, where the fraylenes of man hath leste hope. Then sith I begiune the warre, and that by me the warre is procured, and for me you are come to the warre, I haue determined to enter into the battaile, and if I perishe therein, I shalbe sure it shalbe for the memory of my personne, and the saluation of my soule. For to die through iustice is not to die, but to chaunge death for life. And thus doing if I lose my life, yet therefore I lose not my honour, and all this considered I doe that whiche for the common wealth I am bounde. For to a prince it were great infamy and dishonour, that the quarell being his owne, should by the bloud of others be reuenged. I wyll proue this day in battaile whether I was chosen Emperour by the deuine wyll or not. For if god this day causeth my life to be taken from me, it is a manifest token he hath a better in store for me: and if through his mercy I be preserued, it signifieth that for some other better thing he graunteth me life. For in the ende the sword of the enemy is but the scourge of our offences. The best that I see therefore in this matter to be done is, that til three daies be passed the battayle be not geuen, and that we confesse our selues this night, and in the morning prepare our selues to receiue our redemer, & besides this that euery man pardon his christian brother, if he haue had any

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wrong or iniury done him. For oftentimes though the demaunde of the warre be iust, yet many mishaps befall therein, through the offences of those which pursue and followe the same. After the thre daies are past, and eche thing according to my saynges before accomplished in euery point as becometh, then let god dispose thinges as he shall see good, for nowe I am fully determined to aduenture my life in battaile. Wherefore my valiaunt and stout warriors, doubt not at all, for this day I must either vanquish mine enemies, or els suffer death: and if I die, I doe that whiche nedes I must. Wherefore I will now cease to exhort you any more, desiring you to consider that, wherunto your dutie leadeth you, remembryng that you are come as knightes, and in the defence of your countrey you wage battaile: for nowe we are come to that pinche, that dedes must more auayle vs then wordes. For peace ought to be mainteyned by the tongue, but warres ought to be atchieued by the sword. All these wordes then ended, and the thre daies past, the emperour Gracian in person gaue the battaile, where the conflict and slaughter on both sides was marueilous terrible: yet in the end the emperour Gracian had the victory ouer his enemies, and there died in that conflict. xxx. thousande Gothes and Almaines, and of the Romaines there were not slaine but fine thousande. For that army onely is preserved, whiche to the deuine will is conformable. Let all other princes take example by this noble prince, let the consider howe muche it auayleth them to be good Christians, and that in great warres & conflicts they nede not feare the great nombre of their enemies, but they ought greatly to see that the wrath of god be pacified. For the harte is more dismayde with the secrete sinnes, then it is feared with the open enemies.

¶ That the captaine Theodosius, which was father of the great Emperour Theodosius, died a good Christian. And of the king Hismarus, and the bishop Siluanus, and of a councell that was celebrated, with the lawes whiche they made and established in the same. Cap. xxviii.

The two brethren being emperours, that is to wete, Valentinian & Valens, in the costes of Affryke, and the realme of Mauritania, a tyrant vsurped the place of a kinge against the Romaines. who was named Thyrmus, a man hardy in trauailes, & in daungers stout: for the aduenturous hartes of times doe commit many tyrannies. This tyrant Thyrmus by much crueltie came possessed of the realme of Mauritania, & not contented therewith but also by tyrany possessed a great part of Affrike, & prepared (as Hannibal did) an huge army to passe into Italy, to die in chalēging the empire of Rome. This was a renowned tyrant that neuer toke pleasure in any other thing so muche, as to spoyle & robbe others of their goodes. The Romaines that in all their doinges were very sage, & of the tyranny of tyrantes sufficiently monished, immediatly prepared a great army to passe into Affryke, & to spoyle his realme, and to destroy the tyrant by the commaundement and decre of the Senate, and that for no pacte or couenaunt the tyrant shoulde lyue. And without doubt this commaundement was iust. For to him that is a destroyer of the common wealth, it is not punishment enough to take away his lyfe. At that tyme there was a knyghte in Rome, whose name was Theodosius, a man well stryken in yeares, and yet better approued in warres, but he was not the richest: howbeit he vaunted him self (as truth was) to be of his bloud of

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Traian the great Emperour, upon which occasion he was greatly honoured and feared in Rome, for the commons were so noble and gracious towards their princes, that all those whiche from the good and vertuous Emperour descended, were of the whole common wealth greatly esteemed. This noble Theodosius was of yeares so auncient, and so honoured in his olde age for his graye heares, so noble of linage, and so approued in warres, that he was by the authoritie of the Emperour Valentinian, by the consent of all the Senate, and by the good wylles of the whole people, chosen to goe to the conquest of Afrike, and truly their reason was good. For Theodosius desired much to fight against that tyrant Thirmus, and all the people were glad that such a captaine led the armie. So this Theodosius imbarked with his armie, departed from Rome, and in fewe dayes arryued at Bona, whiche was a citie greatly replenished with people, situated in a haven of the sea in Afrike. And as he and his armie were landed, the tyrant Thirmus forthwith encamped his armie in the fielde in the face of the Romaines, and so all beinge planted in the plaine, the one to assaulte, and the others to defend: immediatly the two armies ioynd, and the one assaulting the other fiercely, on bothe sydes was great slaughter. So that those whiche to daye were conquered, to morowe did conquere: and those whiche yesterday were conquerours, after ward remained conquered. For in long warres, fortune chaungeth. In the prouince of Mauritania, there was a strong citie called Obelista, and as the captaine Theodosius by his force occupied all the field, the tyrant Thirmus fortified him selfe in that citie, the which valiantly being assaulted of the captaine Theodosius, & almost with his men entring into the same, the tyranne Thirmus (because he would not commit hym selfe vnto the faith of other men) slew him self with his proper handes. For the propertie of proude and disdainfull hertes is rather to die in libertie, then to liue in captiuitie. At that tyme the Emperour Valent, by the arte of Nigromancie, wrought secretly to knowe what lucke should succede in the Romaine Empire. And by chaunce a woman being an enchauntresse had aunswere of the deuill, that the name whiche with these letters should be wyttten, should be successour to the Empire, and the letters were these. T.E.O.D. The Emperour Valent diligently enquired of all the names, which with these foure letters could be named, and they found that those signified the Theodotes, the Theodores, and the Theodoses: wherfore Valent furthwith put all those to the sword that were of that name: Suche was the wickednes of the Emperour Valent, supposing thei would haue taken the Empire from him being alyue. For the tyrannous Prince lyueth euer in gealousie and suspition. The excellent captaine Theodosius (the tyranne Thirmus being dead, and hauing subdued all Affrike to the Romaine Empire) was burdened that he was a secret traytour to the Emppre, and that he compassed to wynde the same by tyrannie, for this cause therefore the Emperour Valent gaue sentence he shoulde be beheaded. And this was done he neuer hearyng of it, and muche lesse culpable thereof: for all Princes that be wylfull in their doynges, are very absolute of their sentence. This come to the eares of Theodosius, and seying that he was condemned to be beheaded, he sent incontinent for the Byshoppe of Carthage, to whome he demaunded the water of the holy Baptisme, and so being baptised, and in the fayth of Christ instructed,

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instructed, was by the hangeman put to execution. Of this so greivous, outrageous, and detestable facte every man iudged this Theodosius to suffer as an innocent, and that the Emperour Valent had iudged euill and like a tyrant. For the innocencie of the good, is the great enemy of the euill. At the same time when Theodosius demaunded baptism (according to þe saying of Prosper in his cronicle) he sayd vnto the bishop, whiche should baptise him, these wordes. O byshop saint Roger, I doe coniure thee by the creatour whiche made vs, and doe desire thee for the passion of Iesu Christe who redeemed vs, to geue me the water of baptism: for I haue made a vow to become a Christian, if god graunted me victorie. Wherefore I will accomplishe my vow, for those thinges whiche necessitie causeth vs to promysse, our owne free will ought to accomplishe. I am sorie with all my heart that beyng a Christian I can liue no longer, and sith it is so I offer my life for his sake, and into his mercifull handes I commende my soule. I leue a sonne of myne, who is called Theodosius, and if the fatherly loue begile me not, I thinke he will be a vertuous and stoute young man, and besides that he wil be wise, and sith by thy handes he hath bene baptised, I require thee holy father that thou through thy wysedome wilt bring him vp in the true faith: for if he be a good Christian, I trust in god he will be a great man in the Empire. This Theodosius was the father of the great Emperour Theodosius, so that the father was a Christian, and the sonne a Christian. Not longe after the Emperour Valent had caused Theodosius (which was father to the great Emperour Theodosius) to be executed, Valent by the commaundement of God was by the Gothes persecuted, and in thend put to death, and truly this was the iust iudgement of god. For he of right should suffer death him selfe, whiche vniustly procureth the death of others. Rufinus in the seconde booke of his histories saith, that after the tyrant Thirmus was put to death by the captaine Theodosius, and that the Emperour Valent had caused this Theodosius to be put to death, and that the same Valent was slaine of the Gothes, the Romans created a king in Afrike, whose name was Hismarus, called for a right Christian in that time, which was from the buylding of Rome. 377. There was in the citie of Carthage a holy byshop called Siluanus, a man in humane and deuine letters excellently well learned, and sith the kyng was so iuste, and the byshop so holy, both the faith encreased, and also the affayres of the common weale prospered. For commonly the warres beginne rather through the pride of the highest, then through disobedience in the lowest. Therefore this holy byshop and good Christian king, being desirous in their tyme to geue good example to the subiectes, and for the time to come to leaue good preceptes, they celebrated in the citie of Bona a counsaile, with all the byshoppes of Affryke, in the whiche kyng Hismarus was in persone. For in auncient times the kynges were not onely there in persones, but also al the lordes and hie estates of their Realmes. Amongest many excellent thinges, which Rufinus mentioneth that were ordayned in this place, it semed good vnto me to remember here these few, to the ende christian princes now present, may see what deuout christians those kinges were in times past.

¶ A collection of Purport of the counsell of Hyponense.

These were the thinges which in the sacred counsaile of Hyponense were ordeined, where there was in persone the catholyke kyng Hismarus, and
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the religious byshoppe Siluanus, and in that whiche was ordeined, the kinge spake in some of theym, and dooth counsaile in other some. Because in suche semblable affayres, it is both mete and requisite, that the royall preheminens be reuerenced: and the auctoritie of the Church not diminished. We ordeine that from two yeares to two yeares all the Byshoppes, Abbottes, and prelates of our Realme doe assemble and celebrate a prouintial counsaile, and that in this counsaile there be no temporall matters spoken of, but of the disorders and misgouernaunce of Churches, for the Church is not lost for the lacke of scarcitie of money: but for the to great aboundance of riches.

We ordeine, and all prelates which are now and shalbe here after we desire that when they will cal any counsaile in our Realmes, that before the celebration of the same they certifye vs lest that vnder the couler or cloke of a holy counsaile, there shoulde some suspicious assembly be had.

We ordaine that from henceforth the Princes and great Lordes be bounde to repaire to the sacred counsaile, wyth all the company of the holy Bishoppes. For it were more mete they should come to destroye false heretikes, in winning their soules: then to fyght agaynst their enemyes, in losinge their lyues. We ordeine that the Prince whych commeth not to the counsailes through negligence, that vnto hym the Sacrament of the body of Christe be not ministred, vntyll the next counsell be celebrated. And if perchaunce he refuse not to come through negligence, but through malice, we will that thenne they proceade against him as a suspect parson in the faith of Christe. For the Christian Prince that of malice onely committeth an offence is not parfitte in the holy catholyke fayth. We ordaine that at the firste assemble of the counsaile, all the prelates togethers openlye, and afterwardeg eche one by hym selfe priuately shall saye the crede singyng, the whiche thinge finished, the kynge hym selfe alone shall saye the crede lykewise. For if the prince be suspected of the holy catholyke fayth, it is vnpossible that hys people should be good Christians. We ordaine that in thys counsaile the prelates haue lybertie and auctoritie to saye vnto the kyng that that is comelye and decenre, and the kyng likewise to saye in the counsaile what hee thinke best, soo that the prelates might tell the king without feare of hys lytell care, he hath in destroyenge the heretikes and heresies of his realme: and likewise the king might tell the prelates their negligence that they vse in the charge of their flocke. For the end and intencion of counsailes oughte not to be any otherwise then a scourge for offences past, and a reformation of the euils to come. We ordaine that all the princes of Affricke, immediately before they do any other thinge in the morning, do openlye and diligently come to morning prayer: and we wil also that ther be present al his courtiers and priuate counsellours, which with them ought to enter into counsaile. For that creature can not giue any good counsaile, who hath not reconciled himselfe vnto god before. We ordeine, that y Archbischoppes, Bischoppes, and Abbottes, continually duringe the time of the counsaile, do euery daye confesse them selues, to almighty god, seruing him deuontly, and that one of them do preach to y people gods word. For if euery prelate be bound to giue good example alone, then being altogether they shal giue it much better. We ordaine y princes (as much as lyeth in them) do giue vnto their subiects good examples, & that on the sabbotte day in especially & other festiuall dayes they

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repaire vnto the cathedral Church to here deuine seruice, & ther reconciling them selues to god, & they publickly in the presence of the congregaciō receiue & holy comunion & supper of the Lord. For it would be a great sleaundler to Princes, which ought to reprehensive others of their faults, that a man should neuer see them come to the Church, and be partakers of that holie Sacrament. We ordeine, that at Easter chiefly Princes do go to the church Cathedrall and that the Metropolitan be there in person to celebrate the holy communion: and the gospel being sayd, the Prince hymselfe shalbe bound to say with a loude voice, the crede confirmed in the sacred counsaile of Nicene. For the good Princes ought not only in their hartes to be faithfull vnto Iesus Christ, but are also bound openly with their mouthes to confesse it before the people. We ordeine, that Princes be not so hardie to haue in their courte aboue two bishoppes, the one to giue him ghostlye counsell, and the other to preache vnto him the word of God. And those we will that the counsell assigne vnto him, and that they be bound to find two personnes of the most auncient and vertuous, which shall remaine in the courte no more but two yeares, and that afterwarde others be placed there in their steades. For there is nothinge more monstrous, then to see the Church longe withoute prelates.

What a goodly thyng it is to haue but one Prince to rule the publicke weale: for there is no greater enemye to the common weale, then he which procureth many to commaund therein, as by reasons folowing it shalbe proued. Cap. xxxiii.

Ofte tymes with my selfe alone I consider, that sithe the deuine prouidence, which doth all thinges by weight and measure, and that of her and by none other all creatures are gouerned, and that furthermore with God there is no acception of personnes, for he maketh the one ryche, and the other poore: the one sage, and the other simple: the one hole, and other sicke: the one fortunate, and the other vnluckye: the one seruant, and the other maister: & let no man merueille though I muse thereat: for the varietie of time, is the beginner of dissensions amonge the people. In mans iudgmēt it semeth that it were better all were alike in apparel, al equal in commaunding, none greater then others in possessions, al to content them selues with one kynde of meate, and that the names of commaunding and obeying were vtterly abolyshed and brought to nought. So that if the myseries of the one, and prosperities of the other were put out, from that day forward I protest there should be no enuy in the world. Laying asyde mans opinion, (which oughte not to be compared to the deuine iudgement) I demaund now what reason sufficed to thincke, that of two brethren (that is to wete Iacob, and Esau, both children of holy and deuout personnes) the deuine prouidence woulde the one shoulde bee chosen, and the other dispised, that the one shoulde commaunde, and the other obeye, the one to be disherited beinge the eldeste, and the other to inherite beinge the yongeste? That whyche chaunced to Iacob with Esau, the same chaunced to the children of Iacob and Ioseph: who beinge patriarches and chosen, God prouided and ordeyned that to Ioseph beinge the yongeste, his brethren should serue and obeye hym. This thinge was repined at of all the eluen

eleuen brethren, how be it their intencions auayled not: for it is vnpossible for mans malice to disorder that, which the deuine prouidence hath appointed: we se daylye nothing els but that which man decreeth in a longe time, god disposeth otherwise in one moment. Truly it is not euill done, but wel ordeined. For in the ende, sith man is man, in fewe thinges he can be cyther certaine or assured: and sith God is God, it is vnpossible that in any thinge he should erre. It is a great benefite of the creator, to be willing to reforme and correct the workes of the creatures. For if God would suffer vs to do after our owne mindes, we should be quyte contrarie to his pleasure. God without a great mysterie did not ordeine, that in one family there shoulde be but one father, amonge one people there shoulde be but one citizen that should commaunde, in one prouynce ther shoulde be but one gouernor alone, and also that one king alone should gouerne a proude Realme, and likewise that by one onely captaine a puissant armie should be led. And furthermore and aboue all, he willeth that there be but one Monarchvall king and Lord of the world. Truly all these thinges are such, that we with our eyes do see them and know them not, we heare them with our eares and vnderstand them not, we speake them with our tongues and know not what we say. For truly mans vnderstanding is so dull, that wythout doubt he is ignorant of moze then he knoweth. Appolonius Thianeus compassing the moste part of Asia, Affricke, and Europe, that is to say from the bydge of Nilus wher Alexander was, vnto Gades where the pillers of Hercules were, he beinge one day in Ephese, in the Temple of Diana, the priestes asked him what thing he wondered at most in all the world: for it is a generall rule, that men which haue sene much, alwayes do note one thing aboue another. Althoughe the Philosopher Appolonius greatlyer esteemed the workes, then the speakinge of them that demaunded this question, yet forthwith he made them this answer, I let you know priestes of Diana, that I haue bene throughout Fraunce England, Spayne, Germany, throughe the Laces, and Lidians, Hebrues, and Greekes, Parthes, and Medes, Phrigians, and Corinthians, and so with the Perles, and aboue all in the great Realme of India: for that alone is moze worthe, then all these Realmes together. I wyl you vnderstand that all these Realmes in manye and sondye thinges do dyffer, as in languages, personnes, beastes, mettals, waters, flethe, customes, lawes, landes, buyldinges, in apparel, and fortes, and aboue all dyuers in their Gods and Temples. For the language of the one dyffereth not so muche from the language of the other: as the Gods of Europe differ from the Gods of Asia, and the Temples and gods of Asia and Europe, differ from them of Affricke. Amonges all thinges which I haue sene, of two onely I dyd meruaile, which is, that in all the partes of the worlde wherin I haue trauailed, I haue seen quyet men troubled by sedycious persons, the humble subiect to the proude, the iust obedient to the tyrant, I haue sene the cruel commaunding the merciful, the coward ruling the hardye, the ignorant teaching the wise, & aboue al, I saw that y most theues hunge the innocent on the gallows. The other thing wherat I marueiled was this, y in al y places & circuite wher I haue bene, I know not, neither could I find any man that was euerlasting, but that all are mortal & in the ende both high & lowe haue an end: for many are layde to nighte into their graue,

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graue, which the next day following thought to be aliue. Leane aside the diuine iudgment, in that he spake he said highly and like a Philosopher, for it seemeth to be a pleasaunt thing, to see how men gouerne the world. Therefore now to the matter, it is but reason we know the cause of this so auncient a noueltie, which is: that God wylleth and ordeineth that one onely commaunde all, and that all together obey one. For there is nothing that God doth (thoughe the cause therof be vnknownen to vs) that wanteth reason in his eternall wisdom. In this case speakyng like a Christian I saye, that if our father Adam had obeyed one onely commaundemente of God, which was forbydden him in the terrestial Paradise, we had remayned in lybertie vpon the earth, and should haue bene Lordes and maisters ouer al. But sith he would not then obey the Lord, we are now become the slaues of so many Lords. O wicked sene, cursed be thou, sith by the onely the world is broughte into suche a bondage: without teares I cannot speake that which I would, that through our first fathers, (which submitted them selues to sinne) we their children haue lost the sygnorpe of the world. For sith they were prisoners to synne in their hartes: lytle auaileth the lybertie of their bodyes. There was great dyuersitie betwixt the oppnyons of Pythagoras, and the opinyons of Socrates, for somuch as those of Socrates scoole saide, that it were better all thinges should be common, and all men equall. Thothers of Pythagoras scoole sayde the contrarie, and that the common wealthe were better wherin eche one had his owne proper, and all should obey one, so that the one of them dyd admit and graunte the name of seruantes, and thothers dyd despise the name of Lordes. As Laetius in his first booke of the life of Philosophers sayth, that the Philosopher Demosthenes was also of the same opinyon, that to the end the people should be well gouerned, he would two names should be utterly abbolished, and taken away: that is to wete, Lords and subiectes, masters and seruants: for the one desirous to rule by fyerlines, and thothers not willyng to obey by tyranny, would shedde the bloud of the innocent, and would be vyolent agaynst the poore: they would destroy the renowned & famous people, and tyrannes would ware stout, the which thyngs should be taken away, if there were no sygnorpe, nor seruitude in the world. But notwithstanding these thinges, the Philosopher in his first booke of his polittiques sayth, that by fower natural reasons we may proue it to be very necessarie, that Princes do commaund, and the people obey. The first reason is of the partes of the Elements, symple, and mixt. For we se by experience, that the Elementes do suffer (to the end they wold be ioyned together) the one to haue more power then al: the whyche is shewed by experience, forasmuch as the Element of the fyer, the Element of the ayer, and the Element of the water do obey, the Element of the earth doth commaund. For against their nature he byngeth them all to the earth. But if all the noble and chiefeest Elements were obedyente to the most vile Element, onely to forme a body myxt: it is a greater reason, that al obeye to one vertuous person, that the common wealthe mighte thereby the better be gouerned. The second reason is, of the bodye & the soule, in the armory wherof the soule is the mistresse which commaundeth, and the body the seruant which obeyeth, so the body neither seeth, heareth, nor vnderstandeth with-
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out y body. The sage Philosopher by this wil infer, that the sage men should naturally be lords ouer others. For in the world ther is nothing more monstrous, then that fooles should commaund, & wise men obey. The third reason taketh his ground on beastes: for we se by experience that diuers beastes by thonely knowledge of men are gouerned, therfore it is but mete that many men, which are more lyker beastes then the beastes theym selues, do suffer them selues to be gouerned and ruled by wise men. For the common weale is more profited by a brute beast, then it is by a witlesse man. The fourth reason proccadeth of women: for we se, that they being created to the image of God, god commaundeth and ordayneth that they should be subiect to man, presupposing their knowledge not to be so great, as the knowledge of men. Therfore if this thing be thus, why could not diuerse mortal men (who without comparison know lesse then women) take theym selues for happie that one alone would commaund & gouerne them: so that such one were a sage & vertuous parson. Sithe man is naturally pollytike, which is to be a frend of company, the company engendyeth enuy, & after wards discorde nourisheth warre, & warre bringeth in tyranny, & tyranny destroyeth the comon wealth, & the comon wealth being lost, all men thinke their liues in peryl. Therfore it is very necessarie that in the comon wealth many be gouerned by one alone, for to conclude, ther is no comon wealth wel gouerned but by one alone. The great trauayles and inconueniencies which the auncientes found in tymes past, were the occasion that it was ordeyned in the publyke weale, that all should obey one. Sythe that in a campe one onely Captaine is obeyed, and in the sea one Pilot followed, in the monasterye all obeie one prelate, and in the Churche all obeie one byshoppe, and syng in a hyue of bees, one bee onely leadeth all the rest: it were not reason that men should be without one king, nor the comon wealth without a gouernour. Those men that will not haue a king in a comon wealth, are lyke vnto drones & waspes which without trauaile eate the swete of others. And mine opinion in this case should be, that euery man that will not be commaunded, as an abiect of the comon weale should be expulsed and cast out therof. For in a comon wealth ther can be no greater enemy then he, that desireth that many should rule therein. In that publyke weale where one alone hath care for al, & al obey the commaundement of one onely, there God shalbe serued, the people shal profit, the good shalbe esteemed, & the euil dispised, and besides that tyrannes shalbe suppressed. For a gouernaunce of many is not profitable, onlesse they referre theym selues to the iudgemente of a fewe, and to the arbitermente of one alone. Oh howe many people and Realmes (because they woulde not obey their princes by iustice) haue since by cruell tyrannes bene gouerned with tyrannye. For it is euen a iuste plage, that they which desire the scepters of righteous Princes, shoulde feale and proue the scourge of cruell tirauntes. Alwayes it was, and shalbe, that in the worlde there was one to commaunde, another to obeie, one to gouerne, and another to bee gouerned. In this case lette no manne saye, I am excepted, for vntyll thys daye there hath noo Prynce nor Knyght bene seene, but hathe trauayled vnder thys pooke, I warne and praye, and importunatelre requyre you all, that you be loyall, and faythefull seruauntes, to the ende
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you may deserue to haue louing Lords. For generally the prince is wicked, causeth his subiects to rebel, & a sedicious subiect maketh his lord to become a tiraunt. It is a great thing to the people, that their Princes be good or euil, For there are no Princes so stable, nor so temperate, that alwayes will dissemble the euil: nor there is no gouernor so very a tyrante, but sometimes will acknowledge the good. Oftimes god suffereth, that ther be Emperours in the Empire, kinges in realmes, and gouernors in the prouinces, Lordes in the cities, and prelates in the churches, not al only as a common wealth desireth, nor as the good gouernmente requyeth: but as the offence of the multitude deserueth. For now a dayes we se many that haue the charge of soules in a church, which deserue not to kepe a sheape in a field. That to be true, plainly it doth appeare. For such do not gouerne but disorder, they do not defend but offend: they do not resist the enemyes, but ingage & sel the innocent: they are no iudges, but tirannes: they are not gentil pastores, but cruel hangmen: they are not increasers of the common wealth, but destroyers of iustice: they are not ordeynors of lawes, but inuentors of trybutes: their hartes wake not to good, but to inuent and worke al mischefe: and finally God sendeth vs such prelates and gouernors, not for that they shoulde be mynisters of his lawes, but for that they should be scourges for oure offences.

That in a publike weale there is no greater destruction: then where princes dayly consent to new orders, and chaunge olde customes. Cap. xxi.

In the first booke of the Kinges, the viii. Chapter, of the holpe and sacred scripture is sayde, that Samuel (when he was old) in his steade placed his two sonnes to gouerne the people, whose names were Iohel, and Abiah for that naturally the fathers are desirous to aduance their children to honor. The sonnes of Samuell were residente and helde the iudgemente in the cite of Beerseba, whiche was the fortheste parte of Iudea, and the olde Samuel wente to dwell in the cite Ramah. The honorable and moste aunciente menne (amonge the people of Ierusalem) assembled together and decreed to send Embassadors to Samuel, which shoulde be the wisest men of all the Sinagoge. For the auncientes in those dayes were so circumspect that they neuer committed any affayres of the common wealth, into the handes of yonge men. The auncientes then being arrived at Ramah: spake these wordes vnto Samuel. Samuel thou art now old, and for thy yeres thou canst not gouerne the people, therfore thou lyke a pyrefull father hast committed the gouernmente of the people into the handes of thy children.

Wherfore we let the know in this case, that thy children are couetous. First they do receiue bybes of the suiters. And secondariely they do great iniurie to the people. Therfore we are come to require the to giue vnto vs a king, that may gouerne vs, and that might leade vs in battaile. For we wil no more iudges to iudge vs, but kinges for to gouerne vs. The aged Samuel hearinge the imbassage, was ashamed of that the auncientes of Iudea had told him. First seing his children to be euil. Secondarily because they would take their offices from them. And truly herein Samuell had iust occasion, both to be ashamed & also sope. For the byces & wickednes of the yong children, are swordes that passe throughe the hartes of the old and aunciente fathers. Samuel seing that the Hebrues were determined to depriue theym of their office, and gouernement of the people, had none other remedye but euen to make

make his mone to god of his grieve, & god hearing his complaintes said vnto him. Samuel be not sad, nor lament not, for their Demaunding a kinge (as they do) they do not mislike thy parson, but they dispraise my prouydence, & maruel not though they forsake thy children. for they are somewhat to yong, sith they haue forsaken me their god, & worship false idolles. Syth they Demaund a king, I haue determined to giue them one, but first tel to the the cōditions of y king, which are these. The king whom I wil geue you, shall take your chyldren, with your chariottes & beastes, & shal sende them loden with burdens. And yet therewith not contented, he shal make your chyldren postes by the wayes, tribunes & cēturons in his battailes, & shal make them laborers and gardyners in his gardins, he shal make them sow his sedes & pass his bread, and furbilhe his harnes, and armour. You shal haue besides delicate & tender doughters, the which you shal litle enioy, for the king that I wil geue you, shal commaund them to kepe & attend those that are wounded in the warres, he shal make them cookes in his pallace, and caters of his expences. The king that I wil geue you, if he hādel your sonnes and doughters euil, much worse he wil handle your goods. For on the beastes & fertile feldes that you haue, his herd shal fede, he shal gather the best grapes of your vines, he shall chose of your oliue trees the best olyues & oyles, and if anye fruit afterwards remaine in your feilds, he wil they shalbe gathered not by you but of his workemen, & afterwards y king that I wil geue you shal oppresse you much more. For of euery pecke of corne you shal geue him one, of tenne shepe you must nedes geue him one, so that of al things which you shal gather, against your wpyles, you shal giue the tenth: of your slaues the king shalbe serued soner then you, and he shal take al your Oren that labour and trauaile in your owne possessions, & shal bring them to ploughe in his owne ground, and tenements. So that you shal pay tribute, and the king shal take his owne profite, for the wealth and commoditie of his pallace. And al thys which I haue reherled before, y king shal haue whom I wil geue you. The historie which here I haue declared, is not Ouide, neither yet the Eglogges of Virgil, ne yet y sayninge of Homer, but it is the sentence & the very worde of god. O mortal ignorance, that we Demaund and know not why nor wherefore, to whom nor wher, neyther when we Demaund: which causeth vs to fall into sondry errors. For few men are so wise that they offend not in choosing, & that they can aske with reason. The Hebrues asked (as they thinke) y better, and god geueth them the worse: they aske one to gouerne them, and god gyueth them a Tiraunt to destroy them: they aske one y should maintayne them in iustice, and he threatneth them with tyranny: they require one that should geue them, & he geueth the one which robbeth the: they require one to deliuer them from bōdage, & he ordaineth one to kepe them as slaues. And finally the Hebrues trusting to be deliuered of their iudges, which ruled not accordyng to theyr appetites, god shal geue them a king y shal take theyr goodes from them by force. O how many times ought we to pray vnto god to giue vs princes in our comon wealth, & prelates in our churches, which do know how to gouerne vs, and minyster vnto vs, not accordyng to the weyght of our soule, but accordyng to the measure of hys mercy. Plato sayth in the first booke of lawes, that one of y most excellent lawes which

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the Sicioncs had in their prouince, was to kepe the Cities, that they shoulde not chaunge nor alter any thing therein. Truly those Barbarous were sage in doing, and Plato was very discrete to commend them therein. For nothing destroyeth a common wealth soner, then to suffer chaunges oftentimes therein. All these things seemed to be true in y^e Hebrues, the which in their gouernment were very rashe, and vndiscrete. For first they gouerned theym selues by Patriarches, as Abraham was. After they were gouerned by prophetes, as Moyles by captaynes, as Iosue: by iudges, as Gedeo: by kyniges, as Dauid, & after they gouerned theymselues by Bysshopes, as Abdias was: and in the end the Hebrues not contented with all these, God suffered that they should fall into the handes of Antiochus, Ptolomeus and Herodes, all tyrantes. This punishment fell (accor dyng to the iust iudgement of God) vppon theym for their offences: for it was euen mete, that they y^e would not entor the pleasaunt lybertie of Iudea, should tast the cruell seruitude of Babylone. The condicion wherch chaunced in the gouernement to the vncoustant Hebrues: the same happened vnto the proude Romaines. The which in the beginning of they^r Empire were gouerned by kinges, after wardes by tenne men, then by the Consulles, soo by the Dictators, by the Censours, and after wardes by the Tribunes, and Senatours: and in the ende, they came to be gouerned by Emperours, and tyrannous princes. The Romaines inuented all these alterations in their gouernments, for none other cause, but to see whether they could be deliuered from the commaundement of an other. For the Romaines in this case were so proude harted, that they had rather dye in lybertie, then liue in captiuitie God had so ordeyned it, and their wofull case dyd soo promyse it, when they were aboue al other kynigs and realmes of the earth, that then the slaue should be obedyent to his prionnes, and the subiect should acknowledge the homage to hys maister. And though the subiects do moue warres, though kinges also do wyne Realmes, and Emperours conquere Emppres: yet wyl they or nyl they (both great & small should acknowledge them selues for seruauntes.

For duringe the tyme of oure fleshye lyfe, wee canne neuer withdraue oure selues frome the pooke of seruitude. And saye not you Princes, for that you are pypssaunte princes, that you are excepted from seruitude of menne. For withoute doubt it is a thinge moze vntollerable, to haue their hartes burdened with thoughtes, then their neckes loden with yrons. If a slaue be good, they take from him some yrons: but to you that are prynces, the greater you are, they greater cares you haue. For the prynce that for hys common wealthe taketh care, hath not one momente of an houre quete. A slaue hopeth to be delpyered in hys lyfe, but you can not looke to be delpyered tyl after poure death.

They laye yrons on the slaue by weyghte, but thoughtes burdenne you wythoute measure. For the wofull heart is moze burdened with one houre of care: thenne the bodye is pressed, wyth twentye pounce of yron. A slaue or pypsonner if he bee alone, manye tymes fylethe of hys yrons, but you Princes that are alone, are moze greuoulye tormented wythe thoughtes: for soletarye places are Arbouris, and Gardeyns to woofull and heauye hartes.

A slaue hath nothing to care for but himselfe alone: but you that be Princes haue to satisfie & please al men. For the prince shuld haue a time for himselfe, & also for those which are about him. The deuine Plato saide wel, that he that shold haue the lest part of a prince, & belonging to a prince, oughte to be the prince himselfe. For to the end the prince should be al his owne, he ought to haue no part in himselfe. Though a slaue worke & trauaile in the day, yet he slepeth without care in the night: but you princes passe the daies in hearing importunate suetes, & the night in fetching innumerable sighes. Finallye I say, that in a slaue (be it wel, or be it euil) al his paine is finished in one yere, or is ended at his death: but what shal a woful prince do when he dyeth. If he were good, ther is but a short memorie of his goodnes: and if he hath bene euil, his infamy shal neuer haue end. I haue spoken these things to the ende, that great & small, lordes and seruauentes should confesse and acknowledge, the true signory, to be onely vnto him, who for to make vs lordes aboue, became a seruauent here beneath.

¶ When the tirannes beganne to reigne, and vpon what occasion commaunding and obeying first began. And how the autozpye, which the prince hath, is by the ordinaunce of God.

Cap rrr.

Ceasing to speake any further of þ poetical histories, & aunciēt feynings, and speaking the truth according to the deuine histories, the first that did loue in this world, was our father Adam: who did eate of the fruit forbidden, & that not so much for to trespassse the commaundement of one, as for not to displease his wife Eue. For many now a dayes, had rather suffer their conscience a long time to be infected: then one only day to se their wiues displeased. The first homicide of the world was Cayn. The first that died in þ world was Abel. The first that had .ii. wiues in þ world was Lamech. The first citie of the world was by Enoch built in the fields of Edon. The first musician, was Tubalcaim. The first which sayled in þ world was Noe. The first tirant of þ world was Nembroth, The first priest was Melchysedeck. The first king of þ world was Anraphel. The first duke was Moyse. The first which was called Emperour in þ world, was Iulius Cesar. For vntil this time they which gouerned, wer called Cōsulles, Censors & Dictators. And from Iulius Cesar hitherto haue bene called Emperours. The first battaile þ was giuen in the world (as we rede) was in the wild balleis, which now they cal þ Dead & salt sea. For a great part of that, þ then was the maine land, is now þ Dead sea. The holy scriptures cannot deceue vs, for it is ful of al truth, & by them it is declared, that a thousand & eyght hundred yeres after the world began, there was no battaile assembled, nor company that met to fight in the field: for at that tyme whan they had no ambition nor couetousnes, they knewe not what battaile mente. It is reason therfore that in this wytynge we declare the cause, why the first battaile was fought in the world, to the ende princes may therof be aduertised, and the curious reader remaine therein satisfied. The maner was thus, that Bassa being king of Sodome, Berfa kyng of Gomorrhe, Senaab kyng of Adamee, Semebar king of Seboime, and Vale king of Sedor, were al syue tributaries to Chodor laomor kyng of the Elamites, which syue kynges conspired agaynst hym because they woulde paye hym no tri-

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bute, and because they would acknowledge no homage vnto hym. For the Realmes payng tribute, haue alwayes rebelled and sowed seditions, This rebellion was in the 13 yere of the reigne of Chodor Laomor king of the Elamites, and immediatly the yere following, Anraphel king of Sernaar, Arioch kinge of Ponte, and Aradal kinge of the Allotah, ioyned with Chodor Laomor. The which altogether beganne to make warres, to destroy cities & countreys vppon their enemyes. For the olde malice of the warre is, that where they cannot haue their enemyes whiche are in the faulte: they put to sacke and destroy those which are innocent and guiltlesse. So the one assaul- ting, and the other defending, in the end all come to the field, they gaue bat- tle as two enemyes, and the greatest part was overcome of the fewest, and the fewest remained victorious ouer the greatest, which thing **G O D** would suffer in the first battaile of the world, to the end princes might take example, that all the mishappes of the warres come not, but because they are begon of an vniust occasion. If Chodor Laomor had held himselfe conten- ted as hys predecessours dyd, and that he had not conquered Realmes in makinge theym subiect, and had not caused theym to paye tribute: neither they vnto him, would haue denied reason: nor he with theym would haue waged battaile. For throughte the couetousnes of the one, and the ambition of the other, enmities grewe betwene the people. This considered whiche we haue spoken of synnys, and of those which came into contentions for signoryes, Let vs now se from whence the first oryginal of seruitude came, and the names of seruantes and lordes whiche were in the olde tyme, and whether seruitude was by the discord of vertuous men, firste brought into the world: or els inuented by the ambicion of Tyrantes. For when the one commaundeth, and the other obeyeth, it is one of the nouelties of the world as the holy scripture declareth vnto vs in this maner. The patriarche Noah had 3. sonnes, which wer Shem, Ham, and Iaphet, and the second sonne (whiche was Ham) begotte Cush, and this Cush begot Nimrod. Nimrod made him selfe a honter of wild beastes, in the woodes and mountaines, he was the first he began to play the tyrant amongeste men, inforcynge theyr personnes, and taking theyr goodes, and the scriptures called him Oppressor hominum, which is to say, an oppressor of men. For men of euyl life, alwayes comit much euill in a common wealth. He taught the Chaldeans to honour the fyre, he was the first that presumed to be an absolute lord, and the firste that euer requyred of men homage and seruice. This cursed tyrante ended his lyfe in the gol- den world, wherin al thinges were in common, with the common wealth. For the auncientes vsed their goodes in common: but their willes onelye they reserued to them selues. They ought not to thinke it a lighte matter, for his person to haue bene a Tyrant: but they ought to thinke it a greater ma- ter, to haue bene a rebell in a common wealth. And muche moze they oughte to take and esteame it as an euill matter in hym, whiche hath bene (as he was) a disturber of the good customes of hys countrey: but the mooste vniuste of all is, to leaue behynd hym anye euyl custome brought into the common wealth. For if hee deserue greate infamye whiche woorketh euyl in hys lyfe: trulye hee deserueth muche mooze, whych tra- uapleth to byng that euyl in hys after hys death. Eusebius semeth to affirme
that

that after this Nimrod had destroyed the realme of Chaldea by his plagues, he came to dwel in Italy with viii. sonnes, & built the citie of Camefa, which afterwards, in Saturnes time was called Valentia, & in the time of Romulus it was called as it is at this present, Rome. And sith this thinge was thus, a man ought not to maruaile that Rome in auncient tyme was possessed with tyrants, and with tirauntes beaten downe, since by so famous & renowned tyrants it was founded. For euen as Hierusalem was the doughter of the pacient, & the mansion of the quyet kinges in Asia: so was Rome the mother of proude princes in Europe. The histories of the gentiles (which knew not the holy scripture) declare in an other sort the beginninge of Signorrie and seruitude, & when they came into the worlde: for the Idolatrers not onely did not know the creatoure of the worlde: but also they were ignoraunte of many things which beganne in the worlde. They therefore say, that the Tyrannie Nimrod (amongest the others) had a sonne called Belus, & that this Belus was the first, & raigned in the land of Syria, & that he was the first that inuented warres on the earth, & that he set vp the first monarchie among the Assirians & in the end he died after he had reigned 60 and 5. yeres in Asia & left the worlde in great warres. The first monarchie of the worlde, was that of the Assirians, & continued 122. yeres. The first king was Belus, & the last king was Sardanapalus, whom (at that tyme when he was slaine) they found spinninge with women hauing a distaffe in his hand, wherewith they vse to spinne: & truly this vile death was to good for such a cowardly king. For the prince ought not to defend that with the distafe, that his predecessours had wonne with the sworde. As we haue said Nimrod begat Belus: who had to wife Semiramis, which was the mother of Ninus, which Ninus succeded his father in tyranny, & in the empire also: and both the mother & the sonne not contented to be Tyrants, inuented statues of newe gods. For mans malice pursueth rather the euil, which the wicked do inuent: then the good which vertuous men beginne. We would haue shewed you how the graundfather & the father, & mother & the sonne, were Idolatrers & warlike, to the end princes and great Lords might se, that they beganne their Emppres, more for that they were ambitious parsonnes, then for that they were good paciente: or vertuous men. Albeit that Nimerod was the first that euer committed anye tyranny, & whether it be true or not, that Belus was the firste that inuented warres, and that Chodorlaormor was the first that inuented battayles, and that ther be others, wherof the writings make no mencion: euery man taking for himselfe, & afterwards all together: those were occasions of euill enough in the worlde, to agre vnto those things. Our inclinacion is greatly to be blamed, for those which haue credit for their euil, are many: and those which haue power to do well, are very fewe.

¶ Of the golden age in times past, and worldly miserie which we haue at this present. Cap. rrrr.

In the first age & golden world, all liued in peace, ech man toke care for his owne lands, euery one planted & sowed their trees & cozne, euery one gathered his frutes and cut his bynes, kned their breade, and brought vp their children, and finally all liued by their owne proper swette & trauaile, so that they all liued without the preiudice or hurt of any other. ¶ Worldly malice,

¶ ui

¶ cursed

THE FIRST BOOKE

Cursed a wicked world, that thou neuer sufferest things to remaine in one estate, and thought I cal the cursed, maruaile not therat: for when we are in most prosperitie, then thou with death persecutest vs most cruelly. With out teares I say not that I wil say, that 2000 yeres of the world wer past before we knew what the world ment, god suffering it, and worldly malice inuienting it, ploughes were turned into weapons, oren to hoxses, goades to lances, whippes to arrowes, slinges to crosbowes, simplicitie into malice, trauaile into Idlenes, rest to paine, peace to warre, loue to hatred, charitie to crueltie, Justice to tyranny, profite to domage, almes to theft, & aboue al, sayth into Idolatrie. And finallye the swete they had to profite in their owne goods, they touned to bloud sheading, to the domage of the comon wealth. And herein the world sheweth it selfe to be a world, herein worldly malice sheweth it selfe to be malicious, in somuch as the one reioyceth, & the other lamenteth: the one reioyceth to stonble, to the end the other may fall & breake his necke, the one reioyceth to be pooze, to the end the other maye not be riche: the one reioyseth to be dispraised, to the end the other may not be honored: the one delighteth to be sad, to the ende the other shoulde not be merie: & to conclude we are so wicked, that we banishe the good from our owne house, to the end that the euill might enter in at the gates of an other man. When the creator created the whole world, he gaue to eche thing immediately his place: that is to wete, he placed intelligence, in the vppermoste heauen: he placed the starres, in the firmament: the planettes, in the orbes: the byrdes in the ayre: the earth on the center: the fyshes in the water: the serpentes, in the holes: the beastes in the mountaines: and to al in generallye he gaue place to reste them selues in. Now let princes and great Lordes be vaine glorious sayenge that they are Lords of the earth, for truly of all that is created, god only is the true Lord therof, because the miserable man for his part, hath but the vse of y^e frut, for if we thinke it reasonable that we should enioy the profite of that which is created: then were it more conuenient we should acknowledge god to be the Lord therof. I do not deny, but confesse, y^e God created al things, to the end they should serue man by^o condicion, that man shold serue God like wise: but whē the creature riseth against god, immediately the creator resisteth against man. For it is but reason y^e he be disobeyd, who one only cōmaundemēt wil not obey. What euil fortune hath y^e creature, only for disobeying y^e comaundement of his creator. For if man had kept his cōmaundement in Paradise, god had conserued to the world y^e signozie: but the creatures whome he created for his seruice, are occasion to him of great troubles: for the ingratitude of benefit, heapeth great sorow to y^e discret hart. It is great pitie to behold the man that was in paradise, & y^e might haue bene in heauen: & now to se him in the world, & aboue al to be interred in y^e intrailes of the earth. For in terrestriall paradise, he was innocent, & in heauen he had bene blessed, but now he is in the worlde, enuironned with cares, and afterwarde he shalbe throwen into hys graue, and gnawen of the wormes. Let vs now see the disobedience wee hadde in the comaundemente of GOD, and what fruite we haue gathered in the world. For he is very simple, that dare commit any vice, taking no delight nor pleasure therof in his body. In my opinion, through the sinnes whiche our fore-
father's

fathers committed in paradise, the seruitude remaineth in vs their children which are on the earth. For so much as if I entre into the water I drowne, if I touche the fire I burne, if I come neare a dog he biteth me, if I threaten a horse he casteth me, if I resiste the wynde it bloweth me downe, if I persecute the serpent he poysoneth me, if I smite the beare he destroyeth me, and to be brief I saie, that the man that without pitie eateth men in his life: the wormes shal eat his intralles in the graue after his death. O princes & great lordes, lode your selues with cloth of gold, heape vp your great treasours, assemble many armies, inuente Justes & Cornes, seke your pastimes, reuege your selues of your enemies, serue your selues with your subiectes, marrye your children to mighty kinges, & set them in great estate, cause your selues to be feared of your enemies, imploye your bodie to al pleasures, leue great possessions to your heires, rapse sumptuous buildinges to leaue memory of your persons, I sweare by him that shal iudge me, that I haue more compassion to see your sinfull soules, then I haue enuy to see your vicious liues. For in the end all pastimes will vanishe away, and they shal leaue you for a gage to the hungry wormes of the earth. O if princes did consider (though they haue bene borne princes, created & nourished in great estates) that the day they are borne, death immediatly cometh to seke the end of their life, and taketh them here and there when they are whole, & when they are sicke, now to mbling, then rising, he neuer leaueth them one houre untill their woeful burial. Therefore sith it is true (as in dede it is) that that whiche princes possesse in this life is but small, & that which they hope in the other is so great: truly I marueile why princes, the which shal lie so straight in the graue, dare liue in such & so great largenes in their life. To be riche, to be lordes, & to haue great estates, men should not therof at al be proude, since they see how fraile mans condicion is: for in thend life is but lone, but death is enheritage. Death is a patrimonie & heritage, which successiuelly is inherited: but life is a righte, which daily is surrendred. For death counteth vs somuche his owne, that oftines vnwares he cometh to assault vs: & life taketh vs such straungers, that oftentimes we not doubting therof it vanissheth away. If this thing the be true, why wil princes & great lordes presume to comaunde in a straunge house, which is this life: as in their own house which is the graue? Leauing aside the said opinions, I say that for sinne only seruitude came to dwell in vs, & entered into the world: for if there had ben no sinners, we ought to beleue there had bene no lordes, nor seruautes. For as much as seruitude generally entred into the world through sinne, I say that the signorie of princes is by the deuine commaundement, for he saith: by me the king doth gouerne, and by me the prince doth minister iustice. I conclude in this sorte, with this reason, that since it is true princes are sent by y^e handes of god for to gouerne vs, we are bounde in all and for all to obey them: for there is no greater plague in a publike weale, then to be disobedient to the prince.

¶ How king Alexander the great after he had overcome king Darius in Asia, went to conquere the great India, and of that whiche happened vnto him with the Garamantes, and howe the good life hath moze power then any force of warre. Cap. xxxii.

H. iiii.

In the

OF PRINCES

In the yeare of the creation of the worlde . 4970. in the firste age of the worlde, and in the. 4027. yeares of the foundation of Rome, Iaco being highe priest in Hierusalem, Decius and Mamilius at Rome consules, in the thirde yeare of the monarchie of the Greekes, Alexander the great sonne to Philipe of Macedonia king gaue the laste battayle to Darius kinge of Persia, wherein kyng Alexander escaped very sore wounded, & Darius slayne, so that the whole Empire of the Perles, came vnder the gouernance of the Grekes. For the vnforsunate princes doe not onely lose their lyues with which they came into the worlde: but also the realmes whiche they did inherite. After that Darius was dead, and Alexander sawe him selfe lord of the fielde, & that the Perles and Medes were become subiecte to the Gretians: thoughe manye kynges and lordes died in those cruell battayles, yet it semed to Alexander a trifle to be gouernour of all Asia, wherefore he determined in persone to goe conquere the great India. For proude and stoute hartes, obtaining that which they desire, immediatly begin to esteeme it as litle. All his armies repaire d, & placing gouernours in all the realmes of Asia, Alexander departed to conquer the great India: for he had promised and swozne to his gods, that through al the world there should be but one Empire, and that that shoulde be his: and more ouer that he would neuer passe through any straunge realme or countrey, but it should geue obedience vnto him, or els forthwith he woulde destroye it. For tyrannous hartes haue neuer any regarde to the damage of another, vntill they haue obtained their wicked desires. Alexander then going to conquere realmes, and destroye prouinces, by chaunce one said vnto him, that on the other syde of the mountaines Riphei (towards the partes of India) was a barbarous nation whiche were called Garamantes, as yet neuer conquered, neither by the Perles, Medes, Romaines, nor Grekes, neither any of the euer triumphed ouer them. For they had no weapons, nor esteemed them not, sicke they had no ryches. Kinge Alexander (who for to subdue realmes and straunge countries was very diligente and hardy, and to see newe thinges very desyrous) determined not onely to sende to see that countrey: but also to go him selfe in persone, and in that place to leaue of him some memozye, which thing forthwith he accomplished. For he left them Alters, as Hercules left in Gades pillars. For mans harte is so stoute, that it trauayleth not onely to compare with many, but also to excell all. The Embassadours of Alexander were sent to Garamantes, to aduertise them of the comming of kyng Alexander the great, and of the terrible and cruell battayles whiche he in warres had ouercome, and to declare vnto them howe the puissaunt kyng Darius was slayne, and that all Asia was vnder his subiection, and howe euery cite did yelde them selues, against whome he neither lifted spere nor sworde, because all yelded to his commaundement. With these and sicke other lyke thynges they would haue feared them, for wordes oftymes maketh meene more afraide, specially when they are spoken of stoute menne: then doe the swordes of cowards. Lucius Bosco saith, in his thirde booke of the antiquities of the Gretians (of whom the originall of this histoure is drawen) that after the Embassadours of Alexander had spoken to the Garamantes, they were nothing at all troubled for the message, neither did they fle from Alexander, nor they prepared any warre, neither toke they in hande any weapons, nor yet they

they did resiste him. Mea and the chiefeft of all was, that no man of all the countrey euer departed out of his house, finally they neither aunswered the Embassadours (of Alexander) to their message, nor yet spake one worde vnto them. And truly the Garamantes had reason therein, and did in that right wysely: for it is a folly for a man to perswade those men with wordes, whiche enterpryse any thing of will. It is a marueilous matter to heare tell of the histories of those Garamantes (that is to saye) that all their houses were of equall height, all men were appareled a lyke, the one had no more authoritie then another, in sedyng they were no gluttons, in drynking wyne they were temperate, of plees and debates they were ignoraunt, they would suffer no idle man to lyue among them, they had no weapons, because they had no enemies, and generally they spake fewe wordes, but that whiche they spake was alwayes true. Kyng Alexander being somewhat informed of those Garamantes, and their lyfe, Determined to sende for them, and called them before his presence, and instantly desired them, if they had any wyse men amonge them, to byng them vnto hym, and by wyrtinge or by worde of mouth to speake somewhat vnto him. For Alexander was suche a frende to sage men, that all the realmes whiche he ouercame, immediately he gaue to his men, excepting the sages whiche he kepte for his owne persone. Quintus Curtius, by kyng Alexander sayeth, that a prince doeth well spende his treasours to conqueure many Realmes, onely to haue the conuersation of one wyse man. And truly he had reason, for to princes it is more profite, in their lyfe to be accompanied with sages: then after their death, to leaue great treasures to their heires. Certayne of those Garamantes then beinge come before the presence of Alexander the greate, one amonge them (as they thought the moste auncientest) him selfe alone (the residue keapyng silence) in the name of them all spake these wordes.

¶ Of an oration whiche one of the sages of Garamantia made vnto kyng Alexander. A goodly lesson for al ambitious men. Cap. xxxviii.

IT is a custome kyng Alexander, amongest vs Garamantes, to speake sel dome one to another, and scarcely neuer to speake with straungers, especially if they be busy and vniquiet men: for the tongue of an euill man is no other, but a playne demonstration of his enuolous harte. When they tolde vs of thy coming into this countrey, immediately we determined not to goe out to receyue thee, nor to prepare our selues to resiste thee, neyther to lyfte by our eyes to behold thee, nor to open our mouthes to salute thee, neither to moue our handes to trouble thee, ne yet to make warre to offende thee. For greater is the hate that we beare to ryches and honors, whiche thou louest: then the loue is that thou hast to destroye men, and subdue countreys, which we abhorre. It hath pleased thee we should see thee, not desiring to see thee, and we haue obeyed thee, not willing to obey thee, and that we shoulde salute thee, not desirous to salute thee, where with we are content, vpon condicion that thou be pacient to heare vs. For that whiche we will saye vnto thee, shall tende more vnto the amendement of thy lyfe: then to diswade thee fro conquering of our countrey. For it is reason that princes whiche shall come hereafter do know, why we liuing so litle esteeme & which is our own: & why thou dyng takinge such paynes to possesse that whiche is an other mans.

¶ Alexan-

OF PRINCES

O Alexander, I aske thee one thing, and I doubt whether thou canst answer me thereunto or no: for those hartes which are proude, are also most commonly blinded. Tell me whether thou goest? from whence thou comest? what thou meanest? what thou thinkest? what thou desirest? what thou sekest? what thou demaundest? what thou searchest? and what thou procurest? and further to what realmes and prouinces thy disordinate appetite extendeth? without a cause I doe not demaunde thee this question, what is that thou demaundest, and what it is that thou sekest: for I thinke thou thy selfe knowest not what thou wouldest. For proud and ambitious hartes knowe not what will satisfie them. Sith thou art ambitious, honoz deceueth thee: sith thou art prodigall, couetousnes begileth thee: sith thou art younge, ignoraunce abuseth thee: and sith thou art proude, all the worlde laugheth thee to scorne: in suche sorte, that thou followest men and not reason, thou followest thyne owne opinion and not the counsel of another, thou embratest flatterers, and repuldest vertuous menne. For princes and noble men had rather be commended with lies, then to be reprovued with truth. I can not tell to what ende you princes lyue so disceiued, and abused, to haue and kepe in your pallaces mo flatterers, iuglers, and fooles: then wyse and sage me. For in a princes pallace if there be any which extollet their doings, there are tenne thousand which abhorre their tyrannies. I perceiue by these dedes (Alexander) that the gods wyll soner ende thy lyfe, then thou wilt ende thy warres. The man that is brought by in debates, discentions, and strife, al his felicitie consisteth in burning, destroying, and bloudshedding. I see thee defended with weapons, I see thee accompanied with tyrantes, I see thee robbe the temples, I see thee without profite wast the treasours, I see thee murder the innocent, and trouble the pacient, I see thee euill willed of all, and beloued of none, whiche is the greatest euil of al euilles. Therfore how were it possible for thee to endure suche and so great traуayles, vnlesse thou art a foole, or els because god hath appointed it to chastise thee. The Gods suffer oftentimes that men being quiet, should haue some weighty affaires, & that is not for that they should be honozed at this present, but to the end they should be punished for that which is past. Tell me I praye thee, peradventure it is no great folly to empouertise the many, to make thy selfe alone riche? it is not (peradventure) folly that one should commaunde by tyranny, and that al the rest lose the possession of their signorie? It is not folly perchaunce to leue (to the damnation of our soules) many memories in the world of our body? It is not folly perchaunce that the Gods approue thy disordinate appetite alone, and condemne the wil and opinion of all the worlde besyde? peradventure it is not folly to winne (with the teares of the poore, and comfortlesse wydowes) so great and bloudie victories? peradventure it is no folly, willingly to wette the earth with the bloud of innocentes, onely to haue a bayne glory in this world? Thou thinkest it no folly peradventure, god hauing deuided the worlde into so many people, that thou shouldest vsurpe them to thee alone? O Alexander, Alexander, truly such workes proceade not from a creature noryshed among men on the earth: but rather of one that hath bene broughte by among the infernall furies of hell. For we are not bounde to iudge men by the good nature they haue: but by their good and euill

enyll workes whiche they doe. The man is cursed (if he haue not bene cursed he shalbe cursed) that liueth to the preiudice of all other in this world present: onely to be counted couragious, stoute, and hardy in tyme to come. For the gods seldome suffred them to enioye that quietly in peace, whiche they haue gotten vniustly in the warres. I would aske the, what insolency moued the to rebel against thy lord king Darius after whose death thou hast sought to conquere all the worlde, and this thou doest not as a kyng that is an inheritor: but as a tyrant that is an oppressor. For him properly we call a tyrant, that without iustice and reason taketh that which is an other mans. Either thou searchest iustice, or thou searchest peace, or els thou searchest ryches, and our honoz, thou searchest rest, or els thou searchest fauoure of thy frendes, or thou searchest vengeaunce of thyne enemies. But I sweare vnto thee (Alexander) that thou shalt not finde any of all these thinges if thou sekest by this meanes, as thou hast begonne: for the swete suger is not of the nature of the bitter guinne. Howe shall we beleue thou searchest iustice, sithe against reason and iustice, by tyranny thou rulest all the earth? howe shall we beleue thou searchest peace, sithe thou causest them to paie tribute which receiueth thee: and those which resist thee, thou handlest them like enemies? howe can we beleue that thou searchest reste, sithe thou troublest all the worlde? How can we beleue thou searchest gentlenes, sithe thou arte the scourge and sworde of humaine frailnes? howe can we beleue that thou searchest ryches, sithe thine owne treasure suffiseth thee not, neyther that whiche by the vanquished cometh vnto thy handes, nor that which the conquerours offer thee? how shal we beleue thou searchest profite to thy frends, sithe that of thyne olde frendes thou haste made newe enemies? I let thee vnderstande Alexander, that the greatest ought to teache the leaste, and the leaste ought to obeye the greatest. And friendship is onely amongst equals. But thou, sithe thou sufferest none in the worlde to be equall and lyke vnto thee, loke not thou to haue any frende in the worlde. For princes oftymes by ingratitude lose faithfull frendes: and by ambition wyne mortal enemies. Howe shall we beleue thou searchest reuenge of thine enemies, sithe thou takest more vengeaunce of thy selfe being aliue: then thyne enemies woulde take of thee if they toke the prysoner? though perchaunce in times past they vsed thy father Philip euill, and haue now disobeyed thee his sonne. It were better counsell for thee, to make them thy frendes by gentlenes: then to confirme them ennemies by crueltie. For the noble and pitifull hartes, when they are reuenged of any, make of them selues a butcherye. Wee can not with trouthe saye, that thy traunples are well implored to wyne suche honour, sithe thy conuersation and lyfe is so vnconstaunt. For trulye honour consisteth not in that flatterers saye, but in that whiche Lordes doe. For the great familiaritie of the wycked, causeth the lyfe to be suspected. Honour is not gotten by lyberall geuinge of treasures at hys death, but by spendynge it well in his lyfe. For it is a sufficient profe, that the man whiche esteameth renoume, dothe lytle regarde money: and it is an apparaunte token, that man, who lytle esteameth money, greatly regardeth his renoume.

A man wynneth not honour by murdering innocentes, but by destroying tyrantes:

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tyrauntes: for all the armonie of the good gouernement of princes is, in the chastising of the euill, and rewarding the good. Honour is not wonne in taking and snatching the goodes of an other, but in geuing and spendinge his owne. For there is nothing that beautifieth the maiestie of a prince more, then to shewe his noblenes in extending mercy and fauour to his subiectes: and geuing giftes and rewardes to the vertuous. And to conclude, I will let the know who he is, that winneth both honour in this life, and also a perpetuall memozy after his death: and that is not he whiche leadeth his lyfe in warres, but he that taketh his death in peace. ¶ Alexander, I see thou arte younge and that thou desirest honour, wherfore I let thee vnderstande that there is no man farther from honour, then he whiche procureth and desireth the same. For y^e ambitious mē not obtaining that which they desire, remaine alwayes defamed: and in wyning and getting that whiche they searche, honour notwithstanding will not followe them. Beleue me in one thyng Alexander, that the true honour ought through worthy deades to be deserved, and by no meanes to be procured: for all the honour that by tyranny is wonne, in the ende by infamy is lost. I am sorry for thee Alexander, for I see thou wantest iustice, since thou louest tyranny. I see thou lackest peace, because thou louest warre. I see thou art not ryche, because thou hast made all the worlde poore. I see thou lackest rest, because thou sekest contention and debate. I see thou hast no honour, because that thou winnest it by infamy. I see thou wantest frendes, because thou hast made them thyne ennemies. Finally I see thou dost not reuenge thy selfe of thy ennemies, because thou arte (as they would be) the scourge to thy selfe. Then since it is so, why arte thou aloue in this world, si the thou lackest vertues for the which life ought to be desired? For truly that man, whiche without his owne profite, and to the Damage of another leadeth his life: by iustice ought forthwith to lose his breath. For there is nothing that soner destroyeth the weale publyke, then to permit vnprofitable men therein to liue. Therefore speaking the trouthe, you lordes and princes are but poore. I beleue thou conquerest the worlde because thou knowest not thy superiour therein, and besydes that thou wylte take lyfe from so many, to the ende that by their death thou maiest wyne renoume. If cruell and warrelike princes (as thou arte) should inherite the liues of them whome they slaye, to augmente and prolonge their liues, as they doe inheritie goodes to maintayne their pryde, although it were vnnemeate, then warre were tollerable. But what profiteth the seruaunt to lose his life this day, and his maisters death to be differred but vntil the morowe? ¶ Alexander, to be desirous to commaunde muche, hauinge respite to liue but litle: me thinketh it were a great folie and lacke of wysedome. Presumptuous and ambitious men whiche measure their workes not with the fewe daies they haue to liue, but with the arrogant and haughty thoughtes they haue to commaunde. They leade their lyfe in trauayle, and take their death with sorowe. And the remedy hereof is, that if the wyse man cannot obtayne that which he would, he should content him selfe with that which he may. I let thee knowe Alexander, that the perfection of men is not to see much, to heare much, to knowe much, to procure much, to come to much, to trauayle much, to possesse much, and to be able to doe much: but it is to be in
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in the fauour of the gods. Finally I tell thee that that man is perfecte, who in his owne opinion deserueth not that he hath, and in the opinion of another deserueth muche more then that he possesseth. We are of this opinion amonge vs, that he is vnworthy to haue honour, who by suche infamous meanes seareth for it. And therefore thou Alexander deseruest to be slaue to many, because thou thinkest to deserue the signorie ouer all. By the immortal gods I sweare, I can not imagine the great mischiese which entred into thy breast, so vnrighteously to kill kyng Darius (whose vassale and frende thou wert onely) because thou wouldest possesse the Empire of the whole worlde: for truly seruitude in peace is more worth, then signorie in warre. And he that shall speake against that I haue spoken, I saye he is sicke and hath losse his taste.

The sage Garamante continueth his oration, shewing that perpetuallie of life can not be bought with any worldly treasure. Among other notable matters he maketh mention of the seuen lawes which they obserued, Cap. rrriii.

Thou wilt not deny me Alexander, that thou wert more healthfull when thou wast kyng of Macedonia, then thou art now being lord of all the earth: for the excessiue trauaile byngeth menne out of all order. Thou wilt not deny me (Alexander) that the more thou gettest, the more thou desirest: for the hart which with couetousnes is set on fier, cannot with wood and bowes of riches, but with the earth of the graue be satisfied and quenched. Thou wilt not deny me (Alexander) but the aboundaunce that thou thy selfe hast, semeth vnto thee litle, and the litle whiche an other man possesseth, semeth vnto thee muche: for the gods, to the ambitious & couetous hartes gaue this for penaunce, that neither with enough nor with too muche they should contente them selues. Thou wilt not deny me (Alexander) if in dede thy harte be couetous, that first the pleasures of life shall ende before thy couetousnes: for where vices haue had power long time in the harte, there death onely and none other hath authoritie to pluck by the rootes. Thou wilt not deny me (Alexander) that though thou hast more then all, yet thou enioyest least of any: for the prince that possesseth muche, is alwayes occupied in defending it: but the prince that hath litle, hath time and leasure in quiet to enioy it. Thou wilt not deny me (Alexander) though thou callest thy selfe lord of all, yet thou hast but onely the name thereof, and others thy seruantes & subiectes haue all the profites: for the greedy and couetous hartes do trauaile and toyle to get, and in wasting that whiche they haue gotten they paye awaye. And finally (Alexander) thou wilt not deny me, that all that whiche thou hast in the longe conquest gotten, is litle: and that whiche of thy wysdome and quietnes thou hast lost, is much. For the Realmes whiche thou hast gotten are innumerable, but the cares, sighes, and thoughtes whiche thou hast heaped vpon thy harte are infinite. I let the knowe one thing, that you princes are poorer then the poore subiectes: for he is not ryche that hath more then he deserueth, but he that desireth to haue lesse then that he possesseth. And therefore princes you haue nothing, for though you abound in great treasures: yet you are poore of good desires. Nowe Alexander let vs come to the pointe, and caste accompte, and let vs see to what ende thy conquest wil come. Either thou arte a man, or thou arte a God. And if thou be any of the
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gods, commaunde or cause that we be immortall: and if thou canst doe any suche thing, then take vs and our goods withall. For perpetuities of the lyfe, by no riches can be boughte. ¶ Alexander, I let thee vnderstande, that therefore we seke not to make warre with thee: for we see that bothe from thee and also from vs, death will shortly take away the life. For he is a very simple man, that thinketh alway to remayne in an other mans house, as in his owne. If thou Alexander couldest geue vs as god euerlastinge life, eche man would trauayle to defende his owne house: but sithe we knowe we shal die shortly, we care litle whether to thee or any other our goods & riches remaine. For if it be folly to dwell in an other mans house as in his owne, it is a greater folly to him that loseth his life, in taking thought and lamenting for his goodes. Presuppse that thou art not god but a man, I coniure the then by the immortal gods, and do require the that thou lyue as a man, behaue thy selfe as a man, and couet no more then an other man, neither desire more nor lesse then a man: for in the end thou shalt die as a mā, and shal be buried as a man, and thowen into the graue, & then there shalbe no more memorie of thee. I tolde thee before that it greued me to see thee so hardy & couragious, so apte and so younge, and now it greueth me to see thee so deceiued with the world: and that which I perceiue of thee is, that then thou shalt knowe thy folly, when thou shalt not be able to finde any remedy. For if the proude younge man before he feleth the wound, hath all redy the oymment. You whiche are Grecians call vs Barbarous, because we enhabite the mountaines. But as touching this I say, that we reioyce to be Barbarous in our speache, and Greekes in our doinges: and not as you which haue the Grecians tongue, and doe Barbarous workes. For he that doth well, & speaketh rudely, is no barbarous man: but he which hath the tongue good, and the life euill. Sithe I haue begonne to that ende nothing remaynd vs spoken, I will aduertise thee of our lawes and life, and marueile not to here it, but desire to obserue and kepe it: for infinite are they whiche extolle vertuous workes, but fewe are they whiche obserue the same. I let thee wete (Alexander) that we haue short life, we are fewe people, we haue litle landes, we haue litle goodes, we haue no couetousnes, wee haue fewe lawes, we haue fewe houses, wee haue fewe frendes, and aboue all we haue no enemies. For a wyse man ought to be frende to one, and enemy to none. Besides all this we haue amongst vs great frendshippes, good peace, great loue, much reste, and aboue all we holde our selues contented. For it is better to enioy the quietnes of the graue, then to liue a discontented life. Our lawes are fewe, but in our opinions they are good, and are in seven wordes enely included as here foloweth. We ordaine that our children make no more lawes then we their fathers doe leaue vnto them: for newe lawes maketh them forget good and olde customes. We ordayne that our successors shall haue no mo Gods then twoo, of the whiche the one god shalbe for the life, and the other for the death: for one God well serued is more worth, then many not rewarded. We ordaine that all be appareled with one cloth, and holed of one sorte, and that the one haue no more apparell then the other: for the diuersitie of garmentes edgendyeth folly among the people.

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we ordeine that whan any woman which is married hath had thre childre, that then she be separated from her husband: for the aboundaunce of children causeth men to haue couetous hartes. And if any woman hath brought forth any mo children, then they should be sacrificed vnto the gods before her eyes. we ordeine that all men and women speake the truthe in all thinges, and if any be taken in a lie, committing no other fault, that immediatly he be put to death for the same. For one lyer is able to vndo a whole multitude. we ordeine that no woman liue aboue .xl. yeres, and that the man lyue vntill fiftie, and if they die not before that time, that then they be sacrificed to the gods: for it is a great occasion for men to be vicious, to thinke that they shal lyue many yeres

¶ What princes ought to consider, for what cause they were made princes, and what Thales the philosopher was, of the .xii. questions asked him, and of his aunswere he made vnto them. Cap rrrb.

It is a comen and an old sayng (whiche many times by Aristotle the noble prince hath bene repeted) that in the ende all thinges are done to some purpose: for there is no worke (neither good nor euill) but he that doth it, meaneth it to some end. If thou demaundest the gardener to what ende he watereth so oft his plantes, he wil aunswere thee it is to get some money for his herbes. If thou demaundest why the ryuer runneth so swift, a man wil aunswere thee that his ende is to the sea from whence it came. If thou demaundest why the trees budde in the spring time, they will aunswere, to the ende they may beare frute in haruest. If we see a trauayler passe the mountaines in the snow, the ryuers with perill, the woodes in feare, to walke in extreme heate in sommer, to wander in the night time in the colde wynter, & if by chaunce a man doth aske one of them sayng: frend whether goest thou? wherfore takest thou such paines? and he aunswereth truly syr I know no moze then you to what ende, neither can I tell why I take so much paines. I aske thee now what would a wyle man aunswere to this innocent trauayler? Truly (hearing no moze) he would iudge him to be a foole: for he is muche infortunate, that for all his trauaile loketh for no rewarde. Therefore to our matter, a prince which is begottē as an other man, borne as an other man, lyueth as an other man, dieth as an other man, and besides al this commaundeth all men, if of suche one we should demaunde why god gaue him signory, and that he should answere he knoweth not, but that he was borne vnto it, in such case let euery man iudge, how vnworthyliche a kyng is to haue such authorie. For it is vnpossible for a man to minister iustice, vnlesse he knowe before what iustice meaneth. Let princes and noble men heare this worde, and let them imprinte it in their memory, whiche is, that when the liuing god Determined to make kinges and lordes in this worlde, he did not ordeyne theym to eate moze then others, to drynke moze then others, to sleape moze then others, to speake moze then others, nor to reioyce moze then others: but he created them vpon condition, that sicke he had made them to commaunde moze then others, they shoulde be moze iuste in their lyues then others. It is a thinge moste vnjuste, and in the common wealth very sclaunderous, to see with what authoritie a puissaunt man commaundeth those that be vertuons: and with how much shame, himselfe is bounde

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to all vices. I knowe not what lord he is that dare punish his subiecte for one onely offence committed, seing him selfe to deserue for every deede to be chastised. For it is a monstrous thing that a blynd man shoud take vppon him to leade him that seeth. They demaunded great Cato the Censor, what a king ought to do that he should be beloued, feared, and not despyed, he answered. The good prince should be compared to hym that selleth tryacle, who if the porson hurte hym not, he selleth his triacle well. I meane thereby, that the punishment is taken in good parte of the people, which is not iniured by the vicious man. For he that maketh the triacle shall neuer be credited, vnlesse the profe of his triacle be openly knowen and tried. I meane that the good lyfe is none other, then a fine triacle to cure the comon wealth. And to whome is he more lyke whiche with his tongue blaseth vertues, and imployeth his deades to all vices: then vnto the man, who in the one hand holdeth porson to take away lyfe, and in the other tryacle to resiste deathe? To the ende that a lord be wholly obeyed, it is necessary that all that he commaundeth be obserued firste in his owne persone: for no lord can nor may withdrawe him selfe from vertuous workes. This was the aunswere that Cato the Censor gaue, whiche in mine opinion was spoken more like a Christian, then any Romaine. When the true god came into the worlde, he imployed thirtie yeares onely in workes, and spent but two yeres and a halfe in teaching: For mans harte is perswaded more with the worke he seeketh, then with the worde whiche he heareth. Those therefore whiche are lordes, let them learne and knowe of him which is the true lord, and also let princes learne why they are princes: for he is not a Pilot which neuer sayled on the seas. In mine opinion if a prince will know why he is a prince, I would saie to gouerne well his people, to commaunde well, and to mainteyne all in Justice, and this should not be with wordes to make them afrayde, neyther by workes whiche should offende them: but by swete wordes whiche should encourage them, and by the good workes that shoulde edifie them. For the noble and gentle harte can not resiste hym, that with a lounge countenaunce commaundeth. Those whiche wyll rule and make tame fierce and wyld beasts, doe threaten and rebuke them a hundred tymes, before they beate them once: and if they keape them tied, they shewe them sondrie pleasures. So that the wyldenes of the beast is taken away, onely by the gentyll and pleasaunt vsage of the man. Therefore sithe we haue this experience of brute and sauage beasts (that is to wete) that by their wel doing, and by the gentle handling of them, they voluntarily suffer them selues to be gouerned: muche more experience we reasonable men ought to haue, that is to knowe, that being right and well gouerned, we shoulde humble and willingly obey our soueraigne lordes. For there is no man so harde harted, but by gentyll vsage will humble him selfe. O princes and noble men, I will tell you in one worde what the lord ought to doe, in the gouernement of his commō wealth. Every prince that hath his mouth full of troth, his handes open to geue rewardes, and his eares stopped to lyes, and his hert open to mercy, such a one is happy, and the realme which hath him may wel be called prosperous, and the people maye call them selues fortunate. For where as truth, liberalitie, and clemency ruleth in the harte of a prince, there

there wronges, iniuries, and oppressions doe not reigne. And contrariwise where the prince hath his harte fleshed in crueltie, his mouthe full of tyrannies, his handes defyled with bloude, and enclineth his eares to heare lyes, suche a prince is vnhappy, and muche more the people the whiche by suche one is gouerned. For it is vnpossible that there is peace and iustice in the common wealthe, if he whiche gouerneth it, be a louer of lyes, and flatterers. In the yere foure hundredth and fourty, before the incarnatiō of Christ, whiche was in the yere. 244. of the foundation of Rome, Darius the fourth being kyng of Persia, and Brutus and Lucius at Rome Counsulles, Thales the great Philosopher florished in Grece, who was prince of the seuen renowned sages, by the whiche occasion, all the realme of Grece had and recouered renowne. For Grece boasted more of the seuen sages whiche they had, then Rome did of all the valiaunt captaines whiche she nourished.

There was at that tyme muche contention betwene the Romaynes and the Greekes, for so muche as the Greekes sayde they were better, because they had mo sages, and the Romaines sayde the contrary that they were better, because they had alwayes mo armies. The Greekes replied againe that there were no lawes made but in Grece. And the Romaines to this answered, that though they were made in Grece, yet they were obserued at Rome. The Greekes sayde, that they had great vniuersities to make wyse men in. And the Romaines sayde they had many great temples to worship their Gods in: for that in the ende they oughte to esteeme more one scrvice done to the immortall goddes: then all the other commodities that myghte come vnto men. A Thebane knight was demaunded, what he thoughte of Rome and Grece? and he aunswered, me thynkes the Romaines are no better then the Greekes, nor the Greekes than the Romaines. For the Greekes glorie in their tongues, and the Romaines in their lances. But we refferre it to vertuous workes. For one good worke is more worth, then either the longe staues of the Romaines, or the eloquent tongues of the Greekes. Therefore touching my matter, this philosopher Thales was the firste that founde the pole (called the north starre) to sayle by, and the firste that founde the deuision of the yeaeres, the quantitie of the Sonne and the Moone, and the firste that sayde soules were immortall, and that the worlde had a soule. And aboue all he would neuer mary, for the care to content the wyse, and the thought to bynge vp the children, doth muche dull the wyttes of wyse men. This philosopher Thales was very poore, wherefore (some disdayninge hym for his pouertie) to declare and shewe that he was more ryche then all they, he bought the next yere all the Olyues he coulde get: for by Astronomie he knewe that in the thirde yere there woulde be a great wante and scarcitie thereof throughout all the countrey. Wherefore all were compelled to come to him for Olyues, whiche at his owne price he solde: and in this sorte he shewed them that mocked him, that he wyllingly despyled ryches, and louingly embraced pouertie. For he that willingly in this worlde is poore ought not to be called poore. This philosopher Thales was a mitro amongst the sages of Grece, & was greatly reuerenced of all the kynges of Asia, & highlye renowned in Rome. And further he was so wise and had so redy a wit, that to all sodaine questions he was demaunded, he gaue present aunswere

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furthwith: which thing declared him to be of a maruillous wytt, and truly it was a great matter. For the most parte of mortal men can not tel how to aunswere, nor what to demaunde. Many and diuerse questios we asked him, as Diogenes Laertius affirmeth, in the answering wherof he shewed great wysedome, the treasure of memory, and subtiltie of vnderstanding.

First he was asked what god was, Thales answered: of all the most antiquities God is the moste auncient thing. For all the auncientes past neither sawe him take beginning, nor those which shal come shal se him haue ending.

Secondarily he was asked what thing was moste beautiful, he aunswereed the worlde: because no artificiall painting could make the like.

Thirde he was asked what was the greatest thing, to that he aunswereed, place, wherein all thinges doe stande. For the place whiche containeth all, of necessitie must be greater then all.

Fourthly it was asked him who knoweth moste, he aunswereth: that no man was wiser then tyme, because tyme alwayes onelye inuented newe thinges, and is he whiche renueth the olde.

Fiftly they asked him, what was the lightest thinge, he aunswered: the wytt of man, because that without trauayle and daungers it passeth the sea, to discouer and compasse all the whole earth.

Sixtly they asked hym, what was the strongest thing, he sayde: the man that is in necessitie, for necessitie renueth the vnderstanding of the rude, and causeth the coward to be hardy in peryll.

Seuenthy they asked him, what was the hardest thing to knowe, he answered: for man to know him selfe, for there should be no contentions in the worlde if man knewe him selfe.

Eighthly they asked him, what thing was sweetest to obtaine, he aunswereed: desire, for the man reioyseth to remembre the paines past, and to obtaine to that whiche he desyret present.

Ninthly they asked him, when the enuious man is quiet, he aunswered: when he seeth his enemy dead or vtterly vndone. For truly the prosperitie of the enemy is a sharpe knife to the enuious harte.

Tenthly he was asked, what mā shuld do to liue vprightly, he answered: to take y coucel to him self, which he geueth to an other. For y vndoing of al men is, that they haue plenty of counsell for others, & want for them selues.

The eleuenth question was, they asked him what profite he hath that is not couetous, wherunto he answered: that such a one is deliuered from the tormentes of his auarice, and besides that he recouereth frendes for his persone: for ryches tormenteth the auaricious because he spendeth them not.

The. xii. they asked him what the prince should doe to gouerne others, he answered: he ought firste to gouerne him selfe, and then afterwarde to gouerne others. For it is vnpossible the rodde should be right, wher the shadow is croked. By the occasion of this last aunswere I did bring in here all these questions, to the end princes and rulers might see, how that euery one of the is as the rod of iustice, and that the common wealth is none other but a shadowe of them, which in it, and for all ought to be right. For immediatly it is perceiued in the shadowe of the common wealth, if the iustice or lyfe of him whiche gouerneth be out of his order. Therefore concluding all that I haue spoken before, if a prince would aske me why he is a prince, I would tel him
in one

in one word only, that he which is the highe prince hath made you a prince in this world, to the end you should be a destroyer of heretikes, a father of orphans, a friend of sages, a hater of malicyous, a scourge of tiraunces, a rewarder of good, a defender and protector of Churches, a plague of the wicked, a onely louer and friend of the common wealth, and aboue al you ought to be an vpright mynister of iustice: beginning first with your parson & palace, for in all thinges amendment is suffered, except in iustice, which ought to be equal betwene the prince and the common wealth.

¶ What Plutarch the Philosopher was. Of the wise words he spake to Traian the Emperoure, And howe the good Prince is the head of the publike weale. Cap. rrrvi.

In the time of Traian the Emperour, ther flourished in his court a Philosopher named Plutarch, a man very pure, and of good lyfe, wise in science & wel esteemed in Rome. For Traian the Emperour desired greatlye to haue wyse men in his company, and to make notable and sumptuous buildings in euery place wher he came, It is he which wrote the lyues of many noble Grekes and Romaines, and aboue all he made a booke entytuled the doctrine of Prynces, whych he offered to the Emperour Traian, in the which he sheweth his vertues, the zeale which he had to the comunon wealth, & highnes of his eloquence: and the profoundnesse of his knowledge. For he was elegant in writing, and pleasaunt in speakyng, and among all other thinges which he wrote in his booke, were these wordes folowing, worthy to be noted, and written in golden letters: and they are such. I let the to wete Lord Traian, that thou and the Empire are but one mysticall bodye, in maner and fourme of a liuely body, for they ought to be so agreable, that the Emperour should reioyce to haue such subiectes, and the Emppye ought to be glade to haue such a Lord. And to the end we may describe the mysticall body, which is the Empire in the fourme and shape of an natural man, you shal vnderstand that the head which is aboue al, is the prince which commaundeth al: the eyes wherby we se, are the good men in the commonwealth whom we folow: the eares that heare what we say, are the subiects which do what we commaund them: the tongue wherwith we speake, are the sages of whom we here the lawes & doctrines: the heeres which groweth on our heads, are those which are vered & greued, and that demaund iustice of the kinge: the hands & the armes, are the knightes which resist the enemyes: & feete which susteineth the membres, are the tillers of the ground which geueth meate to al estates: the hard bones that susteineth the feble & soft flesh, are the sage me which endure the trauaile of the comunon wealthe: the harts which we see not out wardly, are the priuie counsellours: finally the necke that knitteth the bodye with the head, is the loue of the kinge and of the Realme, whiche make a common wealth. All the wordes aboue named spake Plutarche the greate, to Traian the Emperoure. And trulye the inuencion and grace of him, proceaded of a hygh and deape vnderstanding: for the heade hath thre properties, whiche are verye necessarye for the gouernoure of the comunon wealth. The first is, that euen as the head is of al other members of the body & hyghest: so the auctoritie of the pynce, exceedeth & estates of al others. For the prince only hath auctoritie to commaund, and al others are bound to obey. Admyt ther be many stout, rich, & noble men in the comon wealth:

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pet al ought to know and acknowledge seruice to the Lord of the same. For
 the noble and worthy princes, do dayly ease many of diuerse seruices, but
 they wil neuer except anye from their loyaltie, and allegeaunce. Those which
 are valiaunt, and mightie in a Realme, should contente themselves with
 that, wherewith the battilments doe vpon a castel, (that is to wete) that they
 are higher then the rampers wherin men walke on the walles, and lower
 then the pinakelles which are in the toppe. For the wise man of highe estate,
 ought not to regard the prince which is the highe pinacle, but ought to loke
 on the alleys which are the poore comfortles. I would speake a worde and
 it greueth me (that is) wheras great lordes desire in the common wealthe to
 commaund, is like vnto him that holdeth his armes and handes ouer his
 head. For al that I haue herde, and for all that I haue redde, and also for al
 that hath chaunced in my time, I counsell, admonishe, and warne all those
 which shal come after this time, that if they wil enioy their goodes, if they
 will liue in safegard, and if they wil be deliuered from tyrannye, and liue
 quiete in the common wealthe, that they do not agre to haue in one realme,
 aboue one king, and one lord. For it a general rule, where there are manye
 rulers in a common wealthe, in the end both it and al must perishe. We se by
 experience, that nature furnished vs with many synewes, many bones, with
 much fleche, with many fingers, and with many teeth, and to all this one
 onely body had but one head, wherfore though with many estates the com-
 mon wealthe is ordained: yet with one prince alone it ought to be ruled, If
 it consisted in mens handes to make a prince, they would then also haue the
 auctozitie to put him downe: but being true, as it is most true in dede, that
 the prince is constituted by God, none but god alone oughte to deprive and
 depose him of his estate, but thinges that are measured by the deuine iudge-
 ment, man hath no power with rasor to cut them. I know not what ambi-
 cion the meane can haue, neyther what enuie the lowest can haue, nor what
 pride the highest can haue, to commaund, and not to obey, since we are sure,
 that in this misticall bodye of the common wealthe he which is most worth,
 shalbe no more esteemed: then the fingers or paringe of the nayles, or the fal-
 ling of an heere from the heade. Let euery man therefore liue in peace in his
 common wealthe, and acknowledge obedience vnto his prince: a he that wil
 not do so, away with him: for euene as the onely offence proceedeth of hym, so
 let the only paine rest vpon him. For it is an old saying, that he that taketh
 by the sworde againste his maister, wil shortly after lay his heade at his
 feete. The seconde condicion is, to compare the kinge to the hed, because the
 hed is the beginning of mans life. The moste part of thinges that euer god
 created, accordinge to their natures worke their operations, as in growing
 highe, and towarde the heauens. We se the vapors ascend high, the plantes
 groweth highe, the trees budde out on height, the sourses of the sea mount
 highe, and the nature of fier is alwayes to ascend and mount on highe, on-
 ly the miserable man groweth downeward and is brought low by reasone
 of the feble and fraile flesh, which is but earth and commeth of earth, and
 liueth on earth: a in the end returneth to earth againe from whence he came.
 Aristotle saith well, that man is but a tre planted with the rootes bpward,
 whose roote is the head, and the stocke is the bodye, the braunches are the
 armes

arines, the barcke is the flesh, the knottes are the bones, the sappe is þ hart, the rottennes is malice, the gumme is loue, the flowers are words, and the frutes are the good workes. To make the man to go vpightlye, his heade should be wher his feete are, and the feete wher the head is, syth the head is the roote, & the feete are the bowes: but in this case I sweare, that we are, correspondaunte to our beginning, for if our fleshe be planted contrarywise, so much more contrary we haue our life ordered. Therfore concerning our matter I say, that the Realme hath no lesse his beginning of the kinge, then the kinge of the realme: whiche thinge is plainlye seene, for that the king giueth lawes and institucions to a Realme, and not the Realme to the kyng. The giftes and benefites which the king geueth, commeth to the Realme, & not from the realme to the king. To inuent warres, to take trewse, to make peace, to reward the good, and to punish the euyl, proccadeth from the king to the Realme, and not to the contrary. For it apperteyneth onely to the maiestie of a prince, to commaund and ordeine: and to the common wealthe to auoide and obey him. As in a great sumptuous bylding it is more daungerous, wher one stone of the foundation doth fall, then when .x. thousand tyles faule from the top: so he ought more to be blained for onely disobedience comyncted and done to the king, and his iustice, then for fine thousand offences against the common wealthe. For we haue sene of a lytle disobedience, a great slaunder aryse in a common wealthe. ¶ It is a goodly matter for a prince to be beloued of his subiectes, and a goodly thing also for the realme to be feareful of their king. For the king that is not loued of his subiectes, cannot liue in peace nor quyet: and the realme that is not feareful of their king, can not be wel gouerned. The realme Sicilia had alwayes mightye Princes and gouernours: for in auncient time it was gouerned by vertuous princes, or els by cruel & malicious tirauntes. In the time of Seuerus the Emperour, ther reigned in Cecil, a king called Lelius Pius, who had so many good things in him, that throughout al the empire he was very wel esteemed, and chiefly for foure lawes amongeste others hee ordayne in that Realme, whiche were these folowing.

We ordaine, that if amongeste equall persones there bee anye iniuries offered, that they be punished, or els that they be dissembled: for wher enuye is roted betwene two, it profiteth more to reconcile their good willes, then to punish their persones. We ordaine that if the greatest be offended by the least, that such offence be litle reponed, & wel punished: for the audacite & litle shame, & also the disobedience of the seruaunt to þ maister, ought not to be reformed, but by greuous punishment. We ordaine, that if any resist or speake against the comaundement of a prince, that presently (without delay) he suffer death before them al: for they may boldly by the way of supplicacion, reuerently declare their grieffes, and not by slaunder rebellously dysobeye their lordes. We ordaine, that if anye rayse the common wealthe agaynst the Prince, hee that canne fyrste strycke of hys heade, maye lawefullye wythe oute fearynge anye daunger of punishment: for hys heade is iustlye taken frome hym, that woulde there shoulde be manye heades in the common wealthe. Of all this before spoken, Herianus is the authoure, in hys fourthe booke of the kynges of Sicille where hee putteth manye and
singuler

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ſingular lawes and cuſtomes which the auncientes had to the great confuſion of theſe that be preſent. For truly the auncientes did not onely excede theſe that be preſent in their workes and doings: but alſo in ſpeaking profound wordes. Therefore returning to our matter, mans life greatly trauaileth alwayes to defend the head, in ſuch ſort that a man would rather ſuffer his hand to be cut of, then to ſuffer a wound to be made in his head. By this compariſon I meane that a fault in a common wealth, is a cut, which cankereth & feſtereth, but the diſobedience to a prince is a wound which ſorteth with killeth. If a man did aſke me what union princes ſhoulde haue with their common wealth, I would anſwere them in this ſort, that the wealth of the king & realme conſiſteth herein. That the king ſhould accompany wth the good, & baniſhe the euil. For it is vnpoſſible that y^e king ſhould be beloued of the common wealth, if the companye he hath about him be reputed vicious. He ſhould alſo loue his Realme without diſſimulation, & the realme ſhould ſerue him vnfainedly: for the common wealth, which knoweth it to be beloued of their Prince, ſhal not find any thing to hard for his ſeruite. Further that the kinge vſe his ſubiectes as his children, and that the ſubiectes ſerue him as a father: for generallye the good father can not ſuffer his children to be in daunger, neyther the good children wil diſſobeye their father. Alſo the king ought to be juſt in his commaundementes, and the ſubiectes faithfull. For if it be a good thinge in their ſeruices, to liue vnder a juſt law, it is much better to lyue vnder a juſt king. Alſo the king ought to defende his ſubiectes from enemies, & they ought wel to pay him his tribute: for y^e Prince who defended his people from enemies and tyrannye worthely deſerueth to be lord of al their goodes. Alſo the king ought to kepe his common wealth in quiet, and ought not to be preſumptuous of his perſone: ſo the prince whych is not feared & wel eſtimated, ſhal neuer be obeyed in his commaundement. Finally I ſay, that the good king ought to do his Realme pleaſure, and the faithfull ſubiectes ought to endeavour them ſelues neuer to diſpleaſe their kinge. For that prince cannot be called vnfortunate, who of his common wealth, is loued and obeyed.

¶ As there are two ſences in the head, ſmelling and hearing: So likewiſe the prince whiche is the heade of the common weale oughte to here the complaints of al his ſubiectes, and ſhould knowe them al, to recompence their ſeruices.

Cap. rrrbii.

WE haue ſhewed, how the prince is the common wealth, and now we wil let you vnderſtand another notable thing, which is this: that as all ſences are in the heade, ſo oughte all eſtates to be in princes. For the verues which are in many ſpyed and ſcattered: ſhould be in one prince ſounde and gathered. The office of the feete is not to ſe, but to goe: the handes office is not to heare, but to labour: the ſhoulders not to feele, but to beare: all theſe offices are not ſemely for the members, which are his ſubiectes, but apperteyneth to the king alone to exerciſe them. For the head to haue eyes, and no other members, meaneth nought els, but that onely to the prince, and to none other, apparteyneth to knowe all: for Iulius Ceſar knewe all thoſe of his hoſt, and named them by their proper names. I counſel, and admoniſhe you, O you princes, which ſhal heare, ſee, or read this thing, that you do reioyce to viſite,

visite, and to be visited, to see, & to be sene: to talke, & to be talked with: for the
 thinges whych wyth your eyes you se not you cannot perfectly loue. A man
 ought also to know, that the head only hath eares, to note, that to the king,
 and to none other, apperteyneth to here all, and to kepe the gates open for
 them that haue any sekres: for it is no small matter to a common wealth,
 to haue and obtaine of the prince easie audyence. Helius Spartianus commen-
 deth highly Traian the Emperour, that when he was on horsebacke to go to
 the warres, alighted againe to here the complainte of a poore Romaine,
 which thing was metuelously noted amongst al the Romaines: for if men
 were not vaine, they should geue a Prince moze honoure for one worke of
 iustice, then for the victorie of many battayles. Truly to a king it is no plea-
 sure, but rather paine and griefe, and also for the common people anoyauce,
 that the prince alwayes should be enclosed and shut vp. For the prince which
 shutteth hys gates agaynst his subiectes, causeth theym not to open there
 hartes wyllynglye to obey hym. How many and great slaunders doth their
 arise in the common wealth, only for that the prince sometime wil not speake.
 Julius Cesar was Emperoure, and the heade of all the empyre, and because he
 was musing of weighty matters, & would not herken to him which would
 haue reueled the treason conspired agaynst him, was that same day with .33.
 wondes in the Senate murdered. The contrarye is red of Marcus Aurelius
 the Emperoure, who was so famliar with all men, that howbeit he was
 chiefe of al, and that the affaires which now are deuided to many, depended
 then only of hym: yet he neuer had porter of his gate, nor chamberlayne of
 hys chamber, and for any affaires that euer he had to do with manye men
 (were they neuer so great) he was neuer longer then one daye about them.
 For trulye (if I may say it) that prynce is not worthy to be beloued, that is
 scarce of hys wordes vnto those, whych saythfully serue hym with workes:
 for wyse prynces should be quicke in hearing, and graue in determining. For
 many come to speake wyth prynces, which thinke that their counsellors shal
 not be accepted, nor their requestes graunted, yet they desire importunately
 to be hard, & of trouthe the prince ought to here them. For the heuy hart with
 sorowes burdened, when it is heard, is greatly lightned, I wold know why
 the sence of smellynge is only in the head, and not in the feete, nor in the han-
 des, neyther in any other part of the body: truly it signifyeth nought els, but
 that it apperteyneth to the Prince (which is head of al) to here and know al, &
 therfore it is necessarye he be informed of all their lyues. For the prynce can-
 not gouerne his common wealth well, vnlesse he knoweth the perticulari-
 ties therof. It is necessarye that the prince knowe the good, to the ende he
 may prefarre them: for that common wealth is greatly slaundered, wherin
 the euyl are not punished, nor the good honoured. It is necessary the prynce
 know the sage, to counsel with them: for the auntyente Romaines neuer
 adnitted any for counsellours but those which w philosophy wer adorned.
 It is necessary he know the euyl for to correct them: for ther is a great disor-
 der in that common wealth, wher without any shame the wickednes of the
 wycked, is clokod and vnpunished. It is necessarye the prynce doe know
 those that are able to teache: for in the court of the Romaine prynces, there
 were alwayes captaines, which taught & shewed how to handel their wea-
 pons

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pons, and wise men which taught & instructed them sciences. It is necessa-
 rie the prince know the pooze of his realme, for to ayde and succor them: for
 the princes should so gouerne their common wealth, that amonge the riche
 nothing should abound, nor among the pooze any thing should want. It is
 necessarie y^e prince know the presumptuous, & malicious, for to humble them:
 for the pooze by enuye, and the rich by pride, heretofore haue destroyed great
 common wealthes. It is necessarie the prince know the peace keepers, for to
 kepe and maintaine theim in peace: for it is the deuty of a prince, to plucke
 downe the stout stomackes of the proude, and to giue winges of fauour to
 the humble. It is necessary that the prince know them which haue done him
 seruice, to the end they may be rewarded according to their merites: for the
 stout and noble hart for litel fauoure sheweth vnto him, bindeth himselfe to
 accomplishe great thinges. It is necessarie the prince knowe the noble men
 of his realme, to the end that at time of neade, he mighte retaine and take
 them into his seruice: for it is but mete, that the man which is adozned with
 vertue, and nobilitie, be preferred aboue all other in the common wealth.
 Finally I say, y^e prince should know the murmerers, neuer to creadite them:
 and likewise to know those that tell the truth, alwayes to loue them. For
 none should be more familiar, then the wise man to giue him counsell, and
 the vpright man to tel the truth. And contrarywise none ought to be more
 abhorred of the prince, then the flatterer, and ignoraunt man. ¶ How neces-
 sarie it is for a prince, to know and vnderstand all things in his Realme, to
 theend no man mighte deceiue him, as they do now a dayes. For the moste
 part of princes are deceiued, for none other cause, but for that they wyl not
 be conncelled, and informed by wise & discrete men. For many crouche vn-
 to princes with faire words (as though they ment him good seruice) but their
 entent is contrarie, by dysceite to get an office, and seke their owne profite.
 Helius Spartianus saith, that Alexander Seuerus (the xxv. Emperoure of Rome)
 was a man very stout, and vertuous, and amongst all other thinges they
 greatly commended him, because in his chamber he had a familiar booke,
 wherin he had wrytten all the nobles of his Realme, and Empire, and when
 any office was voide, they sayd nothinge els to him but that it was voide:
 for the Emperour did not graunt it to him that sought it, but (by the secrete
 informacion of hys booke) to him that deserued it. I wyl sweare, and all o-
 ther princes shal affirme the same, that though they erre in distributynge
 their offices, they do not erre for that they would erre. Yet they cannot de-
 ny but that they erre greuouly, for that they wil not be informed, & though
 they be informed, yet it were better they were not informed at al: for he shal
 neuer geue the Prince good nor perfect counsel, whych (by that counsel) in-
 tendeth to haue some proper interest, The chiefest thynge of Princes is to
 know how to chole the best in prosperytye, and how to auoyde the worst
 in aduersitye, and to know also how to rewarde the good men lyberallye.
 And truly in thys case Princes should haue more consideracyon to them,
 which haue done them worthy seruyce, then to the importunyties of hys
 familiar frendes: for he shal thanke the seruaunt that procureth it, but not
 the Prince that geueth it. All that we speake is to no other purpose, but to
 perswade, that syth the prince is Lord of al, it is reason that he be informed
 of

of the state and condicion of al. For otherwise he shalbe disceryued by a thousand malicious harts, which are in y^e common wealth. Therfore to conclude I say if the prince be not informed of the life of al, the skinne wil seame fleshe, the braine meate, the straw corne, the brasle gold, the gaul hony, & the dregges good wine, I meane in deuyding his offices, thinking to hit the white, he shal oft tymes mysse the butte.

¶ Of the great feast the Romaynes celebrated to the god Ianus the first day of Januarie, and of the bountye and liberalitie of the Emperours Marcus Aurelius the same daye. Cap. rrrbiii.

Amonge the Solempne feastes whych the auncient Romaynes vsed, this was one to the God Ianus, the which they celebrated the first daye of the yere, which now is the firste of Januarie: for the Hebrues beganne their yeare in March, and the Romaynes beganne at Januarie. The Romaynes painted this God with two faces, signyfenge thereby the end of the yeare past, and the beginning of the yeare present. To this god Ianus was dedicated in the cite of Rome a sumptuous Temple whiche they called the Temple of peace, and was in great reuerence throughout all the cite: for the citezens on this daye offered greates giftes and sacrifices because he should defend them from their enemyes. For there is no nacion nor people to whom warre euer succeeded so prosperously, but that they had rather lyue in peace then in warre. When the Romaine Emperours wente to the warres or came from the warres, first they vsited the Temple of Iupiter, secondarily the Temple of the bestall virgins, and thirde they vsited the Temple of the God Ianus: bycause there was a law in Rome that the Emperour should at his going forth to the warres vsite the Temple of Iupiter last of al, and at his retourne againe, the Temple of Ianus first. And let them that be desierous of antiquities here know, that when the Emperour should go to the warres, in the Temple of the goddesse Vesta they put vpon his shoulders the royall mantell, and in the Temple of Iupiter al the senators kissed his foote, and in the Temple of Ianus the Consuls kissed his arme. For since the time that the cruell Sylla, caused thre thousand neighbours to dye which kissed his right hand, they neuer after kissed the handes of any Emperour in Rome. Therfore sith the gentyles woulde not issue out of Rome befoze that first they had taken the benediction of those vaine Gods: how muche more ought Christian Princes to do it, which know well that their Temples are consecrated to the true God, and ordayned for his seruice only. For the man that forgetteth God, and commytteth his affaires to men, shal see how his busines wil thriue in the handes of men. Therefore procedinge forth, the day wherein the feast of the god Ianus was celebrated, euery man left his worke & reioysed through al the streates of Rome, no more then lesse then in the feastes of Iupiter, Mars, Venus, and Berecinthia: For the feastes of the other goddes (sith they were many in number) were not celebrated, but in certaine places in Rome. The Romaynes on that day put on their beste apparell, for they had a custome in Rome, that he whych had not that daye chaunge of apparell to honour the feast, should eyther go out of Rome or els kepe themselves locked in his house. That daye they set on their houses

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many lighthes, and made greate bondfiers before their dozes, and had sondry and many playes, and pastimes, for the feastes of baine men are more to delight their bodie, then to reforme their minds. They watched al the night in the Temples, and also they deliuered all the prisoners which were imprisoned for dette, and with the common treasures paid their dettes. Furthermore they had a custome in Rome, that they shoulde susteine all the Senatours (whiche were fallen into pouertie) with the goodes of the common wealth. They had that day tables set before their dozes, furnished with all sortes of meates, so that that whiche remainned and was left, was more worth: then that which was eaten. For baine glorious men, auant theym selues more of that, which in bankettes and feastes is left, then they do of that whiche is eaten. They sought all that day for poore men, bycause they shoulde be prouyded of all things. For it was an auncient lawe, that none should be so hardy to make any open feast, excepte first he had prouided for all them of his streate. The Romaynes thought that if they spend lyberallie that day, the god Ianus would deliuer them from pouertie, because he was the God of the temperall goodes. And they sayde further, that the God Ianus was a God very thankeful, & acknowledged the seruyces whych were donne vnto hym, and beleued earnestlye that if they spente frelye for hys sake, he woulde requyte it double. In the feast of this God Ianus manie processions were made, not all togethers, but the Senate wente by them selues, the Censours by them selues, the people by them selues, the Matrones by them selues, the maydens by them selues, the vestal birgins by them selues, & al the straunge Imbassadours went wyth the captiues in procession. There was a custome in Rome, that the same day the Emperour should were the imperyal robe, al the captiues which could touche him with their hands were deliuered, and all the transgressours pardoned, the cruels and outlawyes were called againe. For the Romayne princes were neuer presente in any feast, but they shewed some noble example of merrye, or gentlenes towardes the people. At this time Marcus Aurelius was Emperoure of Rome, and married with the beautiful lady Faustina, who (in the feast of Ianus) leuing in procession the company of the Senatours came into the procession of the captiues, the which caselye touched his robe, wherby they obtained lybertie the which they so greatly desired: I say desired for truly the captiue is contented with a small thinge. And because ther is no good thing by any good man done, but immediatlye by the wycked it is repined at, this dedde was so contrary to the euyl, as ioyfull to the good. For there is nothing, be it neuer so good, nor so wel done, but forthwith it shalbe contraried of them that be euyl.

Of this thing I haue sene by experience (in this miserable life: sondry examples) yeeuen as amonge the good one only is noted to be chiefe: so lykerwise amonge the euyl one is noted principall aboue the rest. And the worst I find herein is, that the vertuous do not so much glory of their vertue: as the euil and malicious hath shame and dishonour of their vyce: for vertue naturally maketh a man to be temperate and quyet, but vice maketh him to be dissolute and rechelesse. This is spoken, because in the Senate of Rome there was a Senatour called Fuluius, whose berd & heeres wer very white, but in malyce

malice, he was most cankered blacke: so that for his yeres he was honoured in Rome of many, & for his malice he was hated of al. The Senatour Fulvius made frendes in the time of Adrian to succede in the empire, and for this cause he had alwayes Marcus Aurelius for his competytour, and whersoever he came he alwayes spake euill of him as of his mortall enemye. For the enuyous hart can neuer geue a man one good word. This Senatours hart was so puffed with enuye: that he seing Marcus Aurelius to obtaine the empire being so yong, & that he being so old could not attaine therunto: ther was no good that euer Marcus Aurelius did in the common wealth openly; but it was grudged at by Fulvius, who soughte alwayes to deface the same secretlye. It is the nature of those whiche haue their hartes enfected with malice, to spitte out their poyson with woordes of spite. Oft times I haue mused which of these 2. are greater, the detwpe the good haue to speake against the euyl, or els the audacitie the euyl haue to speake against the good. For in the world ther is no brute beast soo hardye, as the euill man is that hath lost his fame. I would to God the good to his desyre had asmuch power to do good workes, as the euyl hath strength to his affection, to exercise wicked dedes. For the vertuous man findeth not one hand to helpe him in vertue to worke, yet after he hath wrought it, he shall haue a thousand euyl tongues against his honest doynges to speake. I would all those which rede this my wityng, would call to memoire this word (whiche is) that among euyl men the cheifest euil is, that after they haue forgotten them selues to be men, and exiled both trouth & reason, then with al their might they go against trouth and vertue, with their woordes, and againste good dedes with their tongues: for though it be euyl to be an euyl man, yet it is muche worse not to suffer an other to be good, which aboue al thinges is to be abhorred and not to be suffered. I let you wete and assure you, you princes & noble men, that you in working vertuous dedes shal not want slanderous tongues, and though you be stout, yet you must be payente to breake their malice. For the noble hart fealeth more the enuye of an other, then he doothe the labour of his owne body. Princes should not be dismayde, neither ought they to meruayle, though they be told of the murmuring at their good workes: for in the end they are men, they liue with men, and cannot escape the miseries of men. For ther was neuer prince in the world yet so high, but he hath bene subiect to malycious tongues. Trulve aman ought to take great pytie of Princes, whether they be good or euyl: for if they be euil, the good hate them: & if they be good, the euyl immediatly murmureth against them. The Emperoure Octavian was very vertuous, yet greatly persecuted with enuyous tongues, whoe on a tyme was demaunded (since he dyd good to al men) why he suffered a few to murmour against him? he answered: you se my frends, he that hath made Rome free from enemyes, hath also set at lybertie the tongues of malycious men. For it is not reason that the harde stones should be at libertie, and the tender stones tyed. Trulpy this Emperour Octavian by his woordes declared himselfe to be a wise man, and of a noble heart, and lightly to waye both the murmurings of the people, and also the vanities of their words, which thing trulpy a wise & vertuous mā ought to do. For it is a general rule, that vices continually seke defendours, and

OF PRINCES

vertues alwayes getteth Enemyes. In the booke of lawes the deuine Plato saith wel, that the euil were alwayes double euyl, because they weare weapons defensiuē, to defende their malicious purpose : and also cary weapons offensiuē, to blemyshe the good workes of others. Vertuous men ought with much study to folow the good, and with more dilygence to flye from the euil. For a good man maye commaund al other vertuous men, with a becke of his finger, but to kepe himselfe only from one euyl man, he had nede both hands, feete, and frends. Themistocles the Thebaine sayd, that he felt no greater torment in the world then this, that his proper honour should depend vpon the Imagination of an other : for it is a cruell thinge, that the life and honour of one that is good, should be measured by the tongue of an other that is euyl. For as in the forge, the coles can not be kindled without sparkes, nor as corruption can not be in the synckes without ordure : so he that hath his hart free from malyce, his tongue is occupied alwaies in swete and pleasaunt communication. And contrary wise, out of his mouth, whose stomacke is infected with malyce, proceedeth alwayes wordes bitter, & full of poyson. For if out of a rotten fornyse he fyre burneth it is impossible that the smoke should be cleare. It is but a smal time, that (in prophane loue) he that is enamored, is able to refraine his loue, and muche lesse time is the wrathfull man able to hyde his wrath. For the heuy sighes are tokens of the sorowful hart, and the wordes are those that disclose the malicious man. Pulio sayth in the first booke of Cefars, that the Emperoure Marcus Aurelius was very vertuous in all his workes, sage in knowledge, iuste in Iudgement, mercifull in punishment, but aboue all thinges he was wise in dissembling, & herein he was very discrete: for ther was neuer pacient man but prospered wel in all his affayres. Nde se that throughe pacience and wisedome, many euyl thinges become reasonable, and from reasonable are brought to good, & from good to excellent. The contrary happeneth to them & are moued more then they nede, for the man which is not paciēt, loketh not yet for any good successe in his affayres, though they are iust. The Emperour Marcus oft tymes was wont to say, that Iulius Cesar wanne the empire by the sword, Augustus was Emperour by Inheritaunce, Caligula came to it, because his father conquered Germany, Nero gouerned it with tyranny, Titus was Emperour, for that he subdued Iuery, the good Traian came to the empire by his clemency & vertue, but I (sayth he) obtained the empire through pacience only. For it is a greater pacience, to suffer the Iniuries of the malicious : then to dispute with the sage in the vniuersity. And this Emperour saide further in the gouernement of the empire, I haue profited more throughe pacience, then by science: for science only profiteth for the quyetnes of the parson, but pacience profiteth the parson, & the common wealthe. Iulius Capitolinus sayth, that the Emperour Antonius Pius was a prince very pacient, & in such sort, that oft tymes being in the Senate, he saw both those which loued him, & also those that were against him with the people when they did rebel: yet his pacience was so great, that neyther his frends for the vnthankfulnes of them selues, remayned sad : neither his enemyes for any displeasure by him done did at any time cōplaine. Meaning therfore in this chapter to ioyne & end wth the beginning: I say that as the Emperour Marcus Aurelius put himselfe amongst & captiues

captiues, & that this dede in Rome of al men was commended: the Senatour Fuluius could not reſtaine from ſpeaking, for that he had not the wit to endure it, wherfore as it were ſcoffing he ſpake theſe wordes to the Emperour. Lord I meruaile why thou yeldeſt thy ſelfe to al, which thing for the reputation of the Emperre cannot be ſuffered, for that it is not decent for thy maieltie. The Emperour Marcus Aurelius ſeing and hearing that in the preſent of them all, the ſenatour Fuluius ſpake vnto him theſe wordes, he toke it patiently and with pleaſaunt countenaunce ſayd. The queſtions the Senatour Fuluius proponeth, let it be for to morow, becauſe my aunſwere may be the typer, and his collet the quieter. Therfore the next day folowing, the Emperour Marcus came into the hyghe capitoll (as Pulio declareth in the life of Marcus Aurelius) and ſpake theſe wordes.

¶ Of the aunſwere the Emperour Marcus Aurelius made to the Senatour Fuluius befoze al the Senate, being reproued of him for his familiaritie beuſed to al, contrary to the maieltie and authoritie of the Romayne Emperour, wherin he paynteth enuious men. Cap. rrrir.

F Althers conſcript, and ſacred Senat, I wold not yeſter daye aunſwere to that that the Senatour Fuluius ſpake vnto me, becauſe it was ſome what late, and for that we were long in ſacrifices, I thought that neyther time nor place was conuenient to aunſwere therunto. For it is a ſigne of a lytle wiſedome, & of great folye, for a man to aunſwere ſodainly to euery queſtion. The libertie that vndiſcret men haue to demaunde, the ſelfe ſame priuiledge hath the ſage for to aunſwere: for though the demaund procede of ignoraunce, yet the aunſwere oughte to procede of wyſedome. Trulye wiſe men were wel at eaſe, if to euery demaund they ſhoulde aunſwere the ſimple and malicioſ: who (for the moſt part) demaund moze to bere other men, then for to proſpyte themſelues, moze for to proue, than to know, wherfore wiſe men ought to diſſemble at ſuch demaundes. For the ſages oughte to haue their eares open to heare, and their tongue tyed becauſe they ſhould not ſpeake. I let you know (auncyent fathers, & ſacred ſenate) that the lytle whyche I knowe, I learned in the yle of Rhodes, in Naples, in Capua, and in Tharente. And al tutoꝝ told me, that the Intencion and end of men to ſtudy, was only to know to gouerne them ſelues amongeſt the malicioſ. For ſcience profiteth nothing els, but to know how to kepe his lyfe wel ordered, & his tongue wel meaſured. Therfore I proteſt to god that which I will ſay befoze your ſacred preſeꝑce, I wil not ſpeake it of any malice or ill wil: but only to aunſwere vnto that which toucheth the auctoritie of my perſon. For the thynges which touch the honour, ought firſt by word to be aunſwered, & afterwards by ſword to be reuenged. Therfore now beginning my matter, & addreſſing my wordes to the Fuluius, and to that which thou ſpakeſt vnto me, aſking why I ſhew my ſelfe ſo to all men, I aunſwere the. It is becauſe al men ſhold giue themſelues to me. Thou knoweſt wel Fuluius, that I haue bene a Conſul as thou art, and thou haſt not bene an Emperour as I am. Therfore beleue me in thys caſe, that the prince being diſpiſed, cannot be beloved of hys people. The gods wil not, nor the lawes do permyt, neyther the common wealth wyllingly ſhould ſuffer, that al princes ſhould be lordes of many, and that they ſhould not communicate but with a few. For princes

THE FIRST BOOKE

which haue bene gentile in their lyues, the auncients haue made them gods after their deathes. The fisher, to fish for many fishes in the riuer, goeth not with one bote alone, nor the Mariner to fish in the Depe sea, goeth with one net only. I meane, that the profounde willes, which are deeply enclosed in the hartes, oughte to be wonne some by gistes, other by promises, other by pleasaunt words, and others by gentle enterpement, For princes should trauaile more to winne the hartes of their subiectes, then to conquere the Realmes of straungers. The greedy and couetous hartes care not, though the prince shutteth by his hart, so that he open his cofers: but noble and valiaunt men litle esteeme that which they locke vp in their cofers, so that their hartes be open to their frendes. For loue can neuer but with loue againe be requited. Sith Princes are lords of many, of necessitie they ought to be serued with many: a being serued with many, they are bound to satisfie many: and this is as generally, as perticulerly, they cannot dispence with their seruants. For the prince is no lesse bound to pay the seruice of his seruante, then the maister is to pay the wages of the hired laborer. Therefore if thys thing be true (as it is) how shal poore princes do, which kepe many Realmes, & in keping them they haue great expenses, and for to pay such charges they haue lytle money. For in this case, let euery man do what he will, and let them take what counsaile they like best, I would counsaile all others, as I my selfe haue experimented, that is: that the prince shold be of so good a conuersacion, among those which are his, and so affable and familiar with all, that for his good conuersacion only they should thinke them selues wel paid. For with rewardes, princes recompence the trauaile of their seruantes: but with gentle wordes, they robbe the hartes of their subiectes. We se by experience, that diuers marchauntes had rather by dearer in one shoppe, because the marchaunt is pleasaunte: then to bye better chepe in an other, wheras the marchaunt is churlishe. I meane that there are many, which had rather serue a prince, to gaine nothing but loue only: tha to serue an other prince for money. For there is no seruice better imployed, then to him which is honest, good, and gracious: and to the contrary none worse bestowed, then on hym which is vnthankfull and churlyshe. In princes pallaces there shall neuer want euil and wicked men, malicious & deuylishe flatterers, which wil seke meanes to put into their Lords heades howe they shall rayse their rentes, leaue subsidies, inuent tributes, and borrow money: but there are none that wil tel them, how they shal winne the hartes and good willes of their subiectes, though they know it more profitable to be wel beloued, then necessarie to be enriched. He that heapeth treasure for his prince, and seperateth him from the loue of his people: ought not to be called a faithfull seruant, but a mortall enemy. Princes and Lordes ought greatly to endeouour themselves to be so conuersant among their subiects, that they had rather serue for good wil: then for the payment of money. For if moneye wante, their seruice will quaille, and hereof procedeth a thousand incommeniences vnto princes, which neuer happen vnto those that haue seruantes, whiche serue more of good wil then for moneye: for he that loueth with al his harte, is not proude in prosperitie, desperate in aduersitie, neither complayneth he of pouertie, nor is discontented being fauourlesse, nor yet abashed with persecution, & finallye
loue

loue and life are neuer seperated, vntill they come vnto the graue. we see by experience, that the rablement of the pooze labourers of Scit is more worth, then the money of the knightes of Rome. For the labourer every time he goeth to the fiede, bringeth some profit from thence: but every time the knight sheweth him selfe in the market place, he returneth without money. By that comparison I meane, that princes should be affable, easie to talke with all, pleasaunt, mercifull, benigne, and stoute, and aboue all that they be gracious and louing, to the end that through these qualities, and not by money, they may learne to wyne the hartes of their subiectes. Princes should greatly labour to be loued, specially if they will finde who shall succour them in aduersitie, and kepe them from euillwill and hatred, whiche those princes can not haue that are hated: but rather every man reioyeth at their fall and miserie. For eche man enioyeth his own trauaile, and truly the furious and sorrowfull hartes taketh some reste, to see that others haue pitie and compassio vpon their griefes. Princes also should endeuour them selues to be loued & well willed, because at their death they maye of all their seruauntes and frendes be lamented. For princes ought to be suche, that they may be prayed for in their life, and lamented and remembred after their death. Howe cursed is that prince, and also howe vnhappy is that common wealth, where the seruauntes wyll not serue their Lorde but for rewarde: and that the Lorde doth not loue them but for ther seruices. For there is neuer true loue, where there is any particuler intereste. With many stones a house is buylded, and of many men and one prince (whiche is the head of all) the common wealth is made. For he that gouerneth the common wealth, may be called a prince, and otherwys not: and the common wealth can not be called nor sayde a common wealth, if it hath not a prince whiche is the head thereof. If Geometrie doe not deceiue me, the lyme whiche ioyneeth one stone with an other, suffereth well that it be myngled with sande, but the corner stone that lyeth on the toppe ought to be medled with vnlekyd lyme. And it soundeth vnto good reason. For if the nether stones seporate, the wall openeth: but if the corner should slippe, the buylding incontinently falleth. I suppose (fathers conscript) you vnderstande very well to what ende I applie this comparison. The loue of one neighbour with an other, may suffer to be colde: but the loue of a prince to his people, should be true and pure. I meane that the loue amongst frendes may well passe sometymes though it be colde: but the loue betwene the kyng and his people, at all tymes oughte to be perfect. For where there is parfite loue, there is no fained wordes, nor vnfaithfull seruice.

I haue seene in Rome many debates among the people to haue bene pacified in one day: and one onely which betwene the Lord and the common wealth aryseth, can not be pacified vntyll death. For it is a daungerous thing for one to stryue with many, and for many to contende against one. In this case, where the one is proude, and the other rebelles, I wyll not excuse the prince, nor let to condemne the people. For in the end he that thinketh himselfe moste innocent, deserueth greatest blame. From whence thinke you cometh it, that Lordes now a daies doe commaunde vniust thinges by fury, & that subiectes in iuste matters wyll not obey by reason. I will tell you.

R. iij.

The

THE FIRST BOOKE

The Lorde doing of will, and not of right, would caste the willes of all in his owne braine, and deriue from him selfe all counsaile. For euen as princes are of greater power then all the reste: so they thinke they knowe more then all the reste. The contrary happeneth to subiectes, who (beinge pronounced I can not tel you with what frenesy) despising the good vnderstanding of their Lord, will not obey that that their princes willet, for the health of them all, but that whiche euery man desireth for him selfe particularly. For men now a dayes are so sonde, that euery man thynketh the prince should loke on him alone. Truly it is a straunge thing (though it be muche vsed among men) that one should desire that the garmentes of all other should be mete for him: whiche is as impossible, as one mans armour should arme a multitude. But what shall we be (Fathers conscripte and sacred senate) sith our fathers left vs this worlde with suche foly, and that in these debates & stryfes, we their children, are alwayes in dissention and controuersie, and in this wilfulnes, we shall also leaue our children and heires. How many princes haue I seene and read of in my time, of my predecessours, whiche were vtterly vndone, by to muche pryde and presumption: But I neuer read nor heard of any, whiche were destroyed for beinge courteous, and louing to his subiectes. I will declare by some examles, whiche I haue read in bookes, to the ende that the Lordes may see what they wyne by their good conuersation, and what they lose by beinge to haughty. The realme of the Sydonians was greater then that of the Caldeans in weapons, and inferiour in antiquitie, vnto that of the Assurians. In this realme there was Debastia, whiche was called a linage of kinges, that endured two hundred and. xxv. yeares, because all those kinges were of a commendable conuersation. And another of Debastia endured no longer then forty yeares. And our auncientes tooke pleasure of peace, whereof we are destitute: and were ignorant of the warres, whiche we now vse so muche. Alwayes they desired to haue kinges whiche should be good for the common wealth in peace, rather than valiaunt and couragious for the warre. As Homere in his Iliade saith: the auncient Egyptians called their kinges Epiphanes, and had a custome, that Epiphanes alwaies should enter into the temples barefoote. And because it chaunced the Epiphane on a time to come into the churche holed, he was immediately for his disobedience depriued, and expelled from the realme, and in his steade another created. Homere declareth here, that this king was proude, & euill conditioned, wherefore the Egyptians depriued him, and banished hym from the realme, taking occasion that he did not enter into the temple barefoote. For truly when Lordes are euill willed, and not beloued, for a litle trifle and occasion the people will arise and rebell against them. The saide Homere saide also, that the Parthes called their kynges Aspacides, & that the sixte of that name was depriued and expelled the realme, for that of presumption he bad hym selfe to the mariage of a knight, and beinge bidden and desired, would not go to the mariage of a poore Plebeyan. Cicero in his Tusculanes saith, that in olde time the people perswaded their princes to communicate with the poore, & that they should abstaine and fye from the ryche. For among the poore they may learne to be mercifull, and with the ryche they shall learne nothing but to be proude. We knowe right well (Fathers conscript) howe this our countrey was

trey was first called great Grece, afterwarde it was called Latium, and then
 Italie. And when it was called Latium, they called their kynges Marrani, and
 truly though their borders were but narrowe: yet at the leaste their stout-
 nes was great. The Annales of those times say, that after the thirde Silvius,
 succeded a Marrane who was proude, ambitious, and euill cōdicioned, in such
 sorte, that for feare of the people, alwaies he slept locked vp: and therfore they
 depyued and banished him the Realme. For the auncientes saide, that the
 king should Locke his doores at no houre of the nighte against his subiectes,
 neither he should refuse in the daie to geue them audience. Tarquine whiche
 was the last of the seuen kinges of Rome, was very vnthankefull towards
 his father in lawe, he was an infamie to his bloud, a traytour to his coun-
 trey, and cruell of his persone, who also enforced the noble Lucretia, and yet
 notwithstanding this, they doe not call him vnthankefull, infamous, cruell,
 traytour, nor adulterer: but Tarquine the proude, onely for that he was euill
 cōdicioned. By the faith of a good man I sweare vnto you (fathers cōscript)
 that if the miserable Tarquine had bene beloued in Rome, he had neuer bene
 depriued of the Realme, for committing adultery with Lucretia: for in the end
 if euery light offence which in youth is committed, should be punished, with-
 in short space there should be no common wealth. All these euils (both before
 and after Tarquine) were committed by the auncientes in the Romaine em-
 pire, whiche were suche as these (of this young and lighte prince) and were
 nothing in comparison vnto thee. For truly cōsidering the youth of the one,
 and the experience of the other: the greatest offence of the younge, is but a
 counterfaite to the least that the olde committeth. Iulius Cæsar last Dictatour,
 and firste Emperour of Rome, (being a thing commendable bothe to Se-
 natours to salute the Emperour on their knees, and to the Emperour to ri-
 se againste them and resalute eche one according to his order) because of pre-
 sumption, and that he woulde not obserue this ceremonie, with. xiii.
 woundes they dispatched him of his life. Tiberius was an Emperour, whom
 they blame for drunkennes, and Caligula was an Emperour also, whom they
 accuse of inceste with his sisters. Nero was an Emperour, who (for that he
 slewe his mother, and his maister Seneca) hath for euer bene named cruell.
 Sergius Galba was a deuouring and gluttonous Emperour, for that he cau-
 sed for one onely banquet seuen thousand byrdes to be kyled. Domitian was
 an Emperour, who was greatly noted of all euils. For all euils whiche in
 many were scattered, in him alone were founde. All these miserable princes
 in the ende were betraied, hanged, and beheaded. And I sweare vnto ye (fa-
 thers conscript) that they died not for their vices, but because they were
 proude, and euill conditioned. For finally the prince for one vice only cannot
 muche endamage the people: but for being to haulty, and presumptuous, &
 of euill conditions, he may destroy a common wealth. Let princes and great
 lordes be assured, that if they geue many occasions of euill will, afterwarde
 one only suffiseth, to stirre their subiects to destroy them. For if the lord shew
 not his hatred, it is for that he will not: but if the subiecte doe not reuenge, it
 is for that he cannot. Beleue me (fathers conscripte, and sacred Senate) that
 euen as the Physitians with a litle triacle purge manye euill humours of
 the bodie: soo the sage Princes wth verie lyttle beneuolence, drawe
 out of

O F P R I N C E S

out of their subiectes muche fylthines of harte, diuerting their ill willes into true and faithfull loue. And because the members should be agreable with the head, in myne opinion it behoueth the people to obey the commaundement of the prince, and to honour and reuerence his person: and the good prince to be iuste and equall to all in generally, and gentle in conuersation with euery one. O happy common wealth, wherein the prince findeth obedience in the people, and the people in like maner loue in the prince. For of the loue of the Lorde, springeth obedience in the subiecte: and of the obedience of the subiectes, springeth loue in the Lorde. The Emperour in Rome, is as the spyder in the middest of her cobwebbe: the which being touched with the needels pointe by one of the threedes of the same (be it neuer so litle) immediately the spider feeleth it. I meane, that all the workes whiche the Emperour doth in Rome, are immediately published through out all the countrey. For in fine, since princes are the myrrour of all, they cannot well cloake their vices. I see (fathers conscripte) that I haue bene iudged here of worldly malice, because I accompanied the captiues in procession, and also because I suffered my selfe to be touched with them, to the ende they might enioy the priuiledge of their libertie: and in this case I render most humble thanks to the immortall gods, because they made me a mercifull Emperour, to set those at libertie that were in prysone: and that they made me not a cruel tyrant, to set those in prysone whiche were at libertie. For the prouerbe saith, that with one beane, a man may take two pigeons: euen so chaunced the lyke herein yesterdaie. For the benefite was done for those miserable captiues: but the example of humanitie was shewed to all straunge nations. And knowe ye not, that whē the prince vnloseth the irons from the feete of the captiues, he byndeth the hartes, landes, and goodes of his subiectes: concluding therefore I saye, that to princes it were more safetie, and to the common wealthe more profite, to be serued in their palaces by free hartes with loue: then by subiectes whiche are kept vnder by feare.

Of a letter the emperour Marcus Aurelius sent to his frende Pulio, declaring the opinion of certaine philosophers concerning the felicitie of man. Cap. xl.

MARCUS AURELIUS Emperour of Rome, tribune of the people, high byshop, seconde consull and monarche of all the Romaine empire, wyssheth to the Pulio his olde frende, health to thy person, and prosperitie againste thy euill fortune. The letter that thou wrotest vnto me from Capua, I receyued here at Bethinia, and if thou diddest wyte it with a good hart, I did read it with willing eyes: whereof thou oughtest somewhat to content thee. For it is an auncient saying of Homere, that that whiche is well beuowed with the eyes, is tenderly beloued of the harte. I protest vnto thee by the faithe of the immortall gods, that I doe not wyte vnto thee as a Romaine emperour, that is to saye, from the lorde to the seruaunt, for in this sorte I should wyte vnto thee brieife, and touching the purpose: which thing ought not to be done to the peculier frende. For the letters of graue men should neuer beginne, & the letters of vs frendes should neuer ende. I wyte vnto thee my frende Pulio, as to a priuate frende, to an olde companion of mine, and as to him, whiche is a faithfull secretary of my desires, and in whose company I was neuer displeased, in whose mouth I neuer founde lie, and in whose promise there

there was neuer breache made. And the thing being thus, I should commit treason in the lawe of frendship, if I kept secret from thee any of my inward conceites. For all the griefes, whiche lie buried in the woful harte, ought not to be communicate but with a faithfull frende. Doest thou thinke Pulio, that the Romaine emperour hath litle trauaile to wyte vnto thee as Emperour, to speake as Emperoure, to walke as Emperoure, and to eate as emperour, and finally to be as emperour in deede? certes I doe not meruaile hereat. For truly the life of the vertuous emperour, is but a dial which ordereth or disordereth the comon wealth: and that whetof I marueile, is of the folly of Rome, & banitie of the common wealth. For as much as all saye that the prince (if he wil seme graue, & be well esteemed of the people) ought to goe softly, to speake litle, & to wyte brievely: so that for wyting of letters they will be briefe, & for conquering of straunge realmes they doe not rebuke him although he be long. Wise men should desire that their princes be of a gentle condition, to the end they sal not to tyranny. That they haue their mind vncorrupted, to minister to all equall iustice, & their thought be good, not to desire straunge realmes, that they haue their hartes voide frome wrath, that they be sound within to pardon iniuries, that they loue their subiectes to be serued of them, that they know the good to honour them, & that they know the euil to punish them: & as for the surplus, we litle regard whether the king go fast, whether he eate much, or wyte briefe. For the daunger is not in that which is in the lack of his person: but is in the negligence that he vseth in the common wealth. I haue receiued my frend Pulio great comfort of thy letter, but much more I should haue receiued of thy presence: for the letters of auncient frendes, are but as a remembraunce of time past. It is a great pleasure to the mariner, to talke of the perils past being in the hauen: & to the captaine, to glozie of the battaile after the victorie. I meane aboue al pleasure this is the greatest to men, being now faithfull frendes, to talke of the trauaile and daungers which they passed, when they were young men. Beleue me in one thing, and doe not doubt therof. There is no man that knoweth to speake, that knoweth to possesse, nor that can iudge or take any pleasure, neither that knoweth well how to kepe the goods which the gods haue geuen him, vlesse it be he that hath bought it derely with great trauaile. For with al our hartes we loue that thing, which by our own proper trauaile we haue gotten. I aske thee one thing: who is he that oweth most to the gods, or that is most esteemed amongst men? of Traian the iuste, whiche was brought vp in the warres of Dace, Germany and Spaine? or of Nero the cruell, whiche was nourished in all the deliciousnes of Rome. Truly the one was none other then a Rose among byers, and the other was but a nettel among flowers. I speake this, because the good Traian hath gouerned his life in such sort, that alwayes they will smell the rose by the pleasaunt sauour: but the cruell Nero hath left the sting with the nettel of his infamy. I will not speake all, because many are & were made good, but for the most part the princes which were brought vp deliciously, gaue euery man occasion that al should be offended, for the euil gouernaunce of their liues in their realmes: and because they neuer experimented any kinde of trauaile in them selues, they do litle esteeme the paines of another. I wil not that thou thinke my frend Pulio, that I haue forgotten the time & is past, though the gods brought me to & empire present.

THE FIRST BOOKE

For though we together were tossed with the tormentes of youthe: yet now we we maye repose our selues in the caulmes of our age. I doe remember that thou and I did study in Rhodes in letters, and after we had sowne weapons in Capua, it hath pleased the Gods that the seedes of my fortune should cype here in Rome, and to thee and to others better then I, fortune would not geue one onely eare. I doe not geue the licence that thy thought be suspicious of me, si the thou of my harte arte made a faithfull frende: for if vnconstant fortune doth truste me, to gather with trauayle the grape, know thou that here in my palace thou shalt not want of the wyne. The gods will not suffer, that now in this moment thou shouldest finde my harte shutte from thee, whose gates I founde alwayes (for the space of twenty yeares) open vnto me. Si the that my fortunes brought me to the Empire, I haue alwayes had two thinges before myne eyes: that is to wete, not to reuenge my selfe of myne enemies, neither to be vnthankfull to my frendes. For I praye to the gods daily, rather then hereafter through vnthankfulness my renoume should be defamed: that euen now with forgetfulness my bodye should be buried. Let a man offer to the Gods what sacrifices he will, let him doe as muche seruite to men as he can: yet if he be vnthankfull to his frende, he oughte in all and for all to be vtterly condemned. Because thou shouldest see my frende Pulio, how greatly the auncient frende ought to bee esteemed, I will declare thee an example of a Philosopher, the which to heare thou wilt somewhat reioyce. The auncient histories of the Grecians declare, that among the seven sages of Grece, there was one named Periander, who was prince and gouernour a greafe whyle: and he had in hym suche liuelines of spirite on the one side, and suche couetousnes of worldly goods on the other side: that the historiographers are in doubt whether was the greater, the philosophie that he taught reading in the scholes: or the tyranny that he vsed in robbing in the common wealth. For truly the science whiche is not grounded of troughe, bringeth great domages to the person. In the seconde yeare of my empire I was in the citie of Corinthe, where I sawe the graue whiche contained the bones of Periander: where about was ingrauen in Greke verses and olde letter this Epitaphe.

Within the compasse, of this narrowe graue
 Etched Periander, enclosed lies
 Whose cruell fates, could Grece alone not haue
 So small a soyle, his hunger could suffice.
 Here lodgeth eke, lo Periander dedde
 His filthie fleshe, the hungrie wormes doe eat
 And liuing he, with Orphelines goods was fedde
 His greedie guttes, did craue suche deintie meate.
 The tyraunt Periander, stayeth here
 Whose life was buylte, to hinder all the rest
 And eke whose death, suche profite large did beare
 As brought reliefe, to him that had the less.
 Here wicked Periander, resteth now:
 His life did cause, great peopled realmes decaye

His death that fostre, his liuing sprite to bolue
Assurde them life, that stood in byttell stape.

The curst Perander, here doth lie
Whose life did shed, the poore and simple blood
And eke that clambe, to riches rule so hie
By others swette, that sought for waiking good.

Of Corinth lo, here Perander rest
To seeme for iust, that equall lawes did frame
Yet fytting from the square, that they possesse
By vertues dome, deserude a tyrautes name.

The catiue Perander, sleepeth here
That finisht hath, his foure scoze yeares with shame
And though his lyfe, that thousandes bought so deere
Be faded thus, yet bloometh still his blame.

There were no letters on the graue, but because it was alone in the
fielde, the great waters had woone it, so that scarcely the letters could
be red: and truly it was very olde, & in his time it seemed to be a sumptu-
ous thing, but the negligence of reparation lost it quite: and it is not to be
marueyled at, for in the ende tyme is of such power, that it cause the renow-
med men to be forgotten, and all the sumptuous buildinges to decaye, and
fall to the earth. If thou wilt knowe my frende Pulio, in what tyme the ty-
raunt this philosopher was, I wyl thou knowe, that when Catania the re-
nowned citie was builded, in Cicilia neare the mount Ethna, and when Pers-
dica was the fourth kyng of Macedonia, and that Cardicea was the thirde kyng
of the Meedes, and when Candare was fift king of Libeans, and that Assaradoche
was ninth king of the Assirians, and when Merodache was twelst king of Cal-
deans, and that Numa Pompilius reigned second king of the Romaines, & in the
time of those so good kinges, Perander reigned amonges the Assirians. And
it is meete thou knowe an other thyng also whiche is this. That this Perian-
der was a tyraunt not only in dede, but also in renowme: so that thei spake of
no other thing thorow Grece, but it tended hereunto. Though he had euill
workes, he had good wordes, & procured the affaires of the comon wealth
shuld be wel redressed. For generally there is no man so good, but a mā may
finde somwhat in him to be reprovued: neither any man so euill, but he hath
some thing in him to be comended. I doe yet remeber (of my age, being nei-
ther to young nor to old) that I saw the emperour Traian my lord, suppe once
in Agrippine: & it so chaunced that wordes were moued to speake of good &
euil princes in times past, as wel of Grekes as of the Romaines, & al those
whiche were present there, comended greatly the emperour Octavian, & they al
blamed the cruel Nero. For it is an aūcient custome, to flatter the princes that
are present: & to murmur at princes that are past. When the good emperour
Traian was at dinner, & when he prayed in the tēple, it was maruel if any mā
saue him speake any word: & that day, since he saue thei excessively praised
the emperour Octavian, & that the others charged the emperour Nero w more
then neded, the good Traian spake vnto them these wordes. I am glad you
comende the emperour Octavian, but I am angry you should in my presence
speake euil of the emperour Nero, & of none other: for it is a great infamy to a
prince being alive, to heare in his presence any prince euill reported after his
death.

THE FIRST BOOKE

death. Truly the emperour Octavian was very good, but ye will not denie me but he might haue bene better: and the emperour Nero was very euil, but yet you will graunt me he might haue ben worse. I speake this, because Nero in his first fīue yeares was the best of all, and the other nyne folowynge he was the worst of all: so that there is bothe cause to dispraise him, and also cause to commend him. When a vertuous man will speake of princes that are dead, before princes whiche are aliue, he is bounde to prayse onely one of their vertues whiche they had, & hath no licence to reuple the vices whereof they were noted. For the good deserueth rewarde, because he endeuorcth himselfe to folowe vertue: & the euill likewise deserueth pardon, because through frailtie he hath consented to vyce. All these wordes the emperoure Traian spake I being present, and they were spoken with suche fiercenes, that all those whiche were there present bothe chaunged their colour, and also refrained their tongues. For truly the shamelesse man feeleth not so muche a great stryke of correction, as the gentill harte doth a sharpe worde of admonition. I was willing to shewe thee these thinges, my frende Pulio, because that since Traian spake for Nero, and that he founde in hym some prayse, I doe thinke no lesse of the tyrante Periander, whome thoughe for his euill workes he dyd we doe condemne: yet for his good wordes that he spake, for the good lawes whiche he made, we doe prayse. For in the man that is euill, there is nothing moxe easier then to geue good counsaile, and there is nothing moxe harder then to worke well. Periander made dyuerse lawes for the common wealth of the Corinthians, whereof here folowing, I wil declare some. We ordeyne and commaunde that if any by multipliynge of wordes kyl an other (so that it were not by treason) that he be not therefore condemned to die, but that they make hym slaue perpetuall to the brother of him that is slayne, or to the nexte of his kynne or frends: for a shorte death is a lesse payne, then a longe seruitude. We ordeyne and commaunde, that if any these be taken he shall not dye, but with a hotte iron shalbe marked on the forehead to be knowen for a thefe: for to shammefaste men longe infamie is more payne, then a shorte lyfe. We ordeyne and commaunde, that the man or woman whiche to the preiudice of an other shall tell any lye, shall for the space of a moneth carie a stone in their mouthe: for it is not meete that he whiche is wonte to lye, should alwayes bee authorysed to speake. We ordeyne and commaunde that euery man or woman, that is a quareler and sedicious persone in the common wealth, be with great reproche banished from the people: for it is vnpossible that he shoulde bee in fauoure with the Gods, which is an enemy to his neighbours. We ordeyne and commaunde that if there be any in the common wealth, that haue receiued of an other a benefite, and that afterwarde it is proued he was vnthankfull, that in suche case they put hym to death: for the man that of benefites receiued is vnthankfull, oughte not to lyue in the worlde amonge menne. Beholde therefore my frende Pulio, the antiquitie whiche I declared vnto thee, and howe mercifull the Corinthians were to murtherers, theues, and Pirates: And contrarie howe seuerer they were to vnthankfull people, whome they commaunded forthwith to be putte to death. And truly in myne opinion the Corinthians had reason, for there is nothyng troubleth a wyse man moxe, then to see him vnthankfull to him whome he hath

hath shewed pleasure vnto. I was willing to tel thee this historie of Perian-
 der, for no other cause, but to the end thou shouldest see and know, that foras-
 much as I doe greatly blame the vice of vnthankfulness, I will labour not
 to be noted of the same. For he that reproveth vice, is not noted to be vertu-
 ous: but he which utterly flieth it. Count vpon this my worde that I tel thee
 which thou shalt not thinke to be fained, that though I be the Romain Em-
 perour, I wilbe thy faithfull friend, & wil not faile to be thankfull towarde
 thee. For I esteeme it no lesse glozy to know how to keape a friend by wyse-
 dom: then to come to the estate of an emperour by philosophie. By the letter
 thou sentest, thou requiredst me of one thing to answer thee, for the whiche
 I am at my wittes end. For I had rather open my treasures to thy necessi-
 ties, then to open the bookes to answer to thy demaundes, although it be to
 my cost. I confesse thy request to be reasonable, and thou deseruest worthy
 prayse: for in the end it is more worth to knowe, how to procure a secreete of
 antiquities past, then to heape by treasures for thy necessities in time to come.
 As the philosopher maketh philosophie his treasure of knowledge to liue in
 peace, & to hope & to loke for death with honour: so the couetous (being suche
 a one as he is) maketh his treasure of worldly goodes, for to keape & preserue
 life in this world in perpetuall warres, and to end his life and take his death
 with infamie. Herein I sweare vnto thee, that one daie employed in philoso-
 phy is more worth, then ten thousand which are spent in heaping riches. For
 the life of a peaceable man is none other, then a swete peregrination: and the
 life of sedicious persones is none other, but a long death. Thou requirest me
 my friend Pulio, that I write vnto thee wherein the auncientes in times past
 had their felicitie: knowe thou that their desires were so diuerse, that some
 dispraised life, others desired it: some prolonged it, others did shorten it: some
 did not desire pleasures but trauailes, others in trauailes did not seke but
 pleasures: the whiche varietie did not proceade but of diuerse endes, for the
 fastes were diuerse, and sondry men desired to taste diuerse meates. By the
 immortal Gods I sweare vnto thee, that this thy request maketh me muse
 of thy life, to see that my philosophy answereth thee not sufficiently therein.
 For if thou aske to proue me, thou thinkest me presumptuous: if thou de-
 maunde in mirth, thou countest me to be to light: if thou demaundest it not
 in good earnest, thou takest me for simple: if thou demaundest me for to shew
 it thee, be thou assured I am ready to learne it: if thou demaundest it for to
 knowe it, I confesse I can not teache it thee: if thou demaundest it because
 thou maiest be asked it, be thou assured that none wylbe satisfied with my
 aunswere: and if perchaunce thou doest aske it, because thou sleapinge haste
 dreamed it, seing that now thou art awake, thou oughtest not to beleue a
 dreame. For all that the fantasie in the nighte doth imagine, the tongue doth
 publishe it in the morning. O my frende Pulio I haue reason to complayne
 of thee, for so much as thou doest not regarde the authoritie of my persone,
 nor the credite of thy philosophie, wherefore I feare leaste they wyl indge
 thee to curious in demaunding, and me to simple in aunsweringe: all this
 notwithstanding, I determine to aunswere thee, not as I ought, but as I
 can, not according to the greate thou demaundest, but according to the litle
 I knowe. And partely I doe it to accomplyshe thy requeste, and also to ful-
 fill my

OF PRINCES

fell my desire. And nowe I thinke that all whiche shall reade this letter, will be cruell iudges of my ignorance.

¶ Of the Philosopher Epicurus.

In the Olimpiade, the hundredth and thre, Serpes being king of Peres, and the cruel tyrant Lyfander captaine of the Peloponenses, a famous battayle was fought betwene the Athenians and Lyfander, vpon the great ryuer of Aegeon whercof Lyfander had the victorie: and truly vnles the histories deceiue vs, the Athenians tooke this conflicte greuously, because the battayle was loste more through negligence of their captaines, then through the great nombre of their enemies. For truly many winne victories more through the cowardlynesse that some haue, than for the hardinesse that others haue. The philosopher Epicurus at that tyme flourished, who was of a liuely wytte, but of a meane stature, and had memorie fresh, bring meanelly learned in philosophie, but he was of much eloquence, and for to encourage and counsell the Athenians he was sent to the warres. For whan the auncientes tooke vpon them any warres, they chose first sages to geue counsaile, then captaines to leade the souldiours. And amongst the prisoners, the philosopher Epicurus was taken, to whom the tyrant Lyfander gaue good entertainment, and honoured him aboue all other: and after he was taken he neuer went from him, but redde philosophie vnto him, and declared vnto him histories of times paste, and of the strengthe and vertues of many Greekes and Troyans. The tyrant Lyfander reioysed greatly at these thinges. For truly tyrantes take great pleasure to heare the prowesse & vertues of auncientes past, & to folow the wickednes & vices of them that are present. Lyfander therefore taking the triumph, & hauing a nauy by sea, & a great army by land, vpon the ryuer of Aegeon, he and his captaines forgotte the daunger of the warres, & gaue the byrdel to the slouthfull flesh, so that to þ great preiudice of the comon wealth they led a dissolute and ydle life. For the maner of tyrannous princes is, to leaue of their owne trauaile, & to enioy that of other mens. The philosopher Epicurus was alwaies brought vp in the excellent vniuersitie of Athens, wher as þ philosophers liued in so great pouertie, þ naked they slept on the ground, their drinke was colde water, none amongst them had any house propre, they despised riches as pestilence, & labored to make peace where distord was, they were only defenders of the common wealth, they neuer spake any idle worde, & it was a sacrilege amōgest thē to heare a lie: & finally it was a lawe inuolable amongst thē, that the philosopher that shuld be idle shuld be banished, & he that was vicious shuld be put to death. The wicked Epicurus forgetting the doctrine of his maisters, & not esteeming grauitie (wherunto þ sages are bound) gaue him self wholly both in words & deedes vnto a voluptuous & beastly kinde of life, wherin he put his whole felicitie. For he said ther was no other felicitie for slouthful men, then to sleape in soft beds: for delicate persons, to fele neither heat nor cold: for fleshly mē, to haue at their pleasur amorous Dames: for dyghardes, not to wāt any pleasaunt wines: & gluttons, to haue their fill of all delicate meates: for herein he affirmed to consist all worldly felicitie. I doe not marueile at þ multitude of his scholers which he had, hath, & shal haue in þ world. For at this day ther are few in Rome, þ suffer not thē selues to be maistred w vices: & þ multitude of those which liue at their

their owne willes, and sensualitie, are infinite. And to tell the truthe, my frend Pulio, I doe not marueile that there hath bene vertuous, neither I do muse that there hath bene vicious: for the vertuous hopeth to reſte him ſelfe with the gods in an other worlde, by his well doing: and if the vicious be vicious, I doe not marueile though he will goe and ingage him ſelfe to the vices of this worlde, ſince he doth not hope neither to haue pleaſure in this, nor yet to enioy reſt with the gods in the other. For truly the vniſtedfaſt belefe of an other life (after this) wherein þ wicked ſhalbe puniſhed, & the good rewarded: cauſeth that now a daies the vicious and vices reigneth ſo as they doe.

¶ Of the Philoſopher Eſchilus.

Artabanus being the ſirte king of Perſians, and Quintus Cincinatus the husbandman being onely Dictatour of the Romaines, in the prouince of Tharſe, there was a philoſopher named Aeſchylus, who was euil fauoured of countenance, deformed of body, fierce in his lookes, and of a verie groſſe vnderſtandinge, but he was fortunate of credite; for he had no leſſe credite amongeſt the Tharſes, then Homere had amonge the Greekes. They ſaye that though this philoſopher was of a rude knowledge, yet otherwiſe he had a very good natural wytte, and was very diligent in harde thinges, and very patiente with thoſe that dyd hym wrong, he was exceeding courageous in aduerſities, and moderate in proſperities. And the thyng that I moſte delighted in hym was, that he was curteous and gentyll in his conuerſation, and bothe pithie and eloquente in his communication. For that man onely is happie, where all men prayſe his lyfe, and no man reproveth his tongue. The auncient Greekes declare in their hiftories, that this phyloſopher Aeſchylus was the firſt that inuented Tragedies, and that gotte money to repreſente them: and ſythe the inuention was newe and pleaſaunt, many dyd not onely ſolowe hym, but they gaue hym muche of their goods. And marueyle not thereat my frende Pulio, for the lightnes of the common people is ſuche, that to ſee bayne thinges all wyll conne: and to heare the excellencie of vertues, there is not one that wyll goe. After this phyloſopher Aeſchylus had wytten many bookes ſpecially of tragedies, and that he had afterwarde traueyled through many countreys and realmes, at the laſt he ended the reſidue of his lyfe, nere the Fles whiche are adioyning to the lake of Meatis. For as the deuine Plato ſaieth, when the auncient philoſophers were younge they ſtudied, when they came to be men they traueyled, and then when they were olde they retyred home. In myne opinion this phyloſopher was wyſe to doe as he did, and no leſſe ſhall men now a dayes be that wyll imitate hym. For the fathers of wyſedome, are ſcience and experience: and in this conſiſteth true knowledge, when the man at the laſte returneth home from the troubles of the worlde. Tell me my frende Pulio I praye thee, what doth it profite hym that hath learned much, that hath heard much, that hath knowen much, that hath ſeene much, that hath bene farre, that hath bought much, that hath ſuffred much, that hath proued much, that had much, if after great trauaile he doth not retire to reſoſe him ſelfe a litle: truly he can not be counted wyſe but a ſoole, that willingly offreth him ſelfe to trauaile, and hath not the witte to procure him ſelfe reſte. For in myne opinion, the lyfe withoute reſte, is a longe death. By chaunce as this auncient

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cient phylosopher was sleaping by the lake Meotis, a hunter had a hare with him in a cage of woode to take other hares by: wheron the egle leaped, which roke the cage with the hare on hig, and seing that he could not eate it he cast it downe againe, which fell on the head of this phylosopher and killed him. This phylosopher Aeschylus was demaunded in his life tyme, wherein the felicitie of this life consisted? whereunto he answered: that in his opinion it consisted in sleaping, and his reason was this: that when we sleape, the entisementes of the fleshe doe not prouoke vs, nor the enemy persecute vs, neither the frendes doe importune vs, nor the colde wynter oppresse vs, nor the heate of the longe Sommer doth annoye vs, ne yet we are not angry for any thing we see, nor we take any care for any thing we heare. Finally when we sleape, we fele not the anguishes of the body, neyther suffer the passion of the mynd to come. To this end ye must vnderstande that when they were troubled, he gaue them drinckes which caused them immediatly to sleape, so that so sone as the man did drinke it, so sone he was a slepe. Finally at the study wherein the Epicurians exercised the selues, was in eating & seking meates: and the chiefe study of this Aeschilus, was in sleaping, & hauing softe beddes.

¶ Of the philospher Pindarus.

In the yeare of the foundation of Rome. 262. Darius the seconde of that name, kinge of Persia, who was the sonne of Histaspie, and in the image of kinges, the fourth king of Persia, Iunius Brutus, and Lucius Collatinus being consules in Rome which were the firste consules that were in Rome. There was in the great citie of Thebes in Egypt, a philospher named Pindarus, who was prince of that realme. They write of this philospher, that in philosophy he excelled al those of his time, and also in touching, singing, and playng of musike, he was more excellent then any of all his predecessours: for the Thebanes affirmed, that there was neuer any sene of suche aptenes in speaking, & so excellent deliuering of his fingers in playng, as Pindarus was: and moreouer he was a great moral philospher, but not so excellent in naturall philosophy. For he was a quiet and vertuous man, and could better worke than teach: which thing is contrary now a daies in our sages of Rome. For they know litle, and speake much: and worst of all in their wordes they are circumspect, and in their deedes very negligent. The deuine Plato in his booke that he made of lawes, mencioneth this philospher, & Iunius Rusticus in his Thebaide shewed one thing of him, and that is, that an Embassadour of Lides being in Thebes, seing Pindarus to be of a vertuous life, & a very disagreable in his wordes, he spake vnto him such wordes. ¶ Pindarus, if thy wordes were so lined before men, as thy workes are pure before the gods, I sweare vnto thee by those gods the selues & are immortal, that thou shouldest be as much esteemed in life, as Prometheus was: & shouldest leaue as much memory of thee after thy death in Egypt, as the great Homere left of his life in Grece. They demaunded of this Pindarus wherein felicitie consisted: he answered: in such sorte ye ought to knowe, that the inward soule soloweth in many thinges (for the moste parte) the outward body: the which thing presupposed I say, that he that feleth no grieve in his body, may well be called happy. For truly if the flesh be not wel, the harte can haue no rest. Therefore according to the counsaile of Pindarus, the Thebanes were aboue all other nations and people moste diligent

diligent, to cure the diseases of their bodyes, Annins Seuerus sayth that they were let bloude euery moneth, for the great abundance of bloude in their bodyes. They vsed euery weeke vomitations for the full stomackes. They continued the bathes for to auoide opilacions. They caried swete saouours aboute them against the euill and infected ayres: And finally they studied nought els in Thebes, but to preserue and kepe their bodyes as diliciously as they could inuent.

Of the philosopher Zeno.

In the Olimpiade. 133. Cneus Seruilius, & Caius Brissius the Consulles in Rome, which were appointed against the Attikes in the moneth of Ianuarie immediately after they were chosen, & in the .29. yere of hys reigne of Ptolomæus Philadelphus, this greate Prince Ptolomæus built in the coast of Alexandrye a great tower, which he named Pharo, for the loue of a louer of his named Pharo Dolouina, this tower was built vpon .4. engins of glasse, it was large and high, made .4. square, and the stones of the tower were as bright & shining as glasse, so that the tower being 20. foote of bredth, if a candel burned with in, those without might se the lyght therof. I let the know my frend Pulio, that the auncient historiographers did so much esteeme this buildynge, that they compared it to one of the vii. buildinges of the worlde. At that time when these thinges floished, ther was in Egypt a philosopher called Zeno, by whose counsaile & industrie Ptolomæus built hys so famous a tower, & gouerned his land. for in the old time the princes that in their life were not gouerned by sages: wererecorded after their death in hys register of foles. As this tower was stronge, so had he great ioy of the same because he kept his derely beloued Pharo Dolouina therin enclosed, to the end she should be wel kept, and also wel contented. He had his wyues in Alexandria, but for the most part he continued with Pharo Dolouina, for in the old time, the Perles, Siconians, and the Chaldeans did not marie, but to haue children to enherite their goodes: & the resydue of their lyfe (for the most part) to leade with their concubynes in pleasure and delightes. The Egyptians had in great estymacion men that were great wrestlers, especially if they were wise men, and aboue all thinges they mayde great Desiaunce againste straungers: and all the multitude of wrestlers was continually great, so ther were notable masters among them. For truly he that dayly vseth one thing, shal at the last be excellent therein. The matter was thus. That one day as amongst them there were many Egyptians, there was one that would not be ouerthrowen nor cast by any man vnto the earth. This philosopher Zeno perceyuing the strength & courage of this great wrestler: thought it much for hys estimacion if he might throw him in wastlyng, and in prouing he threwo him deade to the earth, who of none other cold euer be cast. This vyctorie of Zeno was so greatlye to the contentacion of his person, that he spake with his tongue, and wrote with hys penne, that ther was none other felicitye, then to know how to haue the strength of the armes to cast downe others at his feete. The reason of this philosopher was, that he said it was a greater kinde of victory to ouerthrowe one to the earth: then to ouercome many in the warres. for in the warres one onely wrongefullye taketh the vyctorye, since there be many

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many that do winne it: but in wrestling, as the victorie is to one alone, so let the only bytorte and glory remaine to him, and therfore in this thinge felicitie consisteth: for what can be more, then the contentacion of the hart. Truly we cal him in this world happie, that hath his hart content, and hys body in health.

¶ Of the Philosopher Anacharsis.

When the king Heritaces reigned among the Meedes, and that Tarquin Priscus reigned in Rome, ther was in the coastes of Scithia a philosopher called Anacharsis, who was bozne in the cite of Epimenides. Cecero greatly commended the doctrine of this philosopher and that he can not tell whiche of these two thinges were greater in him, that is to wete the profoundnes of knowledge that the gods had giuen him, or the cruel malyce wherewith he persecuted his enemyes. For truly as Pithagoras saith. Those which of men are most euyl wylled, of the gods are best beloued. This phylosopher Anacharsis then being as he was of Scithia (whych nacion amongeste the Romaines was esteemed Barbarous) it chaunced, that a malicious Romaine sought to displease the Philosopher in wordes, and trulye he was moued thereunto, more throughe malyce then through simplicitie. For the outward malicious wordes are a manifest token of the inward enuious harte. This Romaine therfore sayde to the philosopher it is vnpossible Anacharsis that thou shouldest be a Sithian bozne: for a man of such eloquence cannot be of such a barbarous nation, to whom Anacharsis aunswered. Thou hast sayde well, and herein I assent to thy wordes, howbeit I do not alowe thy intention: for as by reason thou mayst dispraise me to be of a barbarous countrey, and commend me for my good lyfe. so I iustly may accuse the of a wicked lyfe and prayse the of a good countrey. And herein be thou iudge of both, which of vs two shal haue the most praise in the world to come, eyther thou that art bozne a Romaine, and leadeest a barbarous lyfe: or I that am bozne a Sithian and leade the lyfe of a Romaine. For in the ende, in the Garden of this lyfe I had rather be a grene apple tree and beare fruite: then to be a drie Libane drawen on the ground. After that Anacharsis had bene in Rome long tyme, and in Greece he determined for the loue of his countrey (nowe being aged) to retourne home to Scithia, wherof a brother of his named Cadmus was kyng, who had the name of a kyng, but in dede he was a Tiraunt. Since this good phylosopher sawe hys brother exercise the workes of a tyrante, & seing also the people so dissolute, he determined to gyue hys brother the best counsaile he could, to ordeyne lawes to the people, & in good order to gouerne them: whych thing being sene of the Barbarous, by the consent of them al, as a man who inuented new deuyces to lyue in the world, before them all openly was put to death. For I wyl thou know my frende Pulio, that there is no greater token, that the common wealth is full of vyce: then when they kyll or banysh those whych are vertuous therein. So therfore as they ledde thys phylosopher to death, he sayd he was vnwillyng to take his death, and loth to lose his life. wherfore one sayd vnto him these wordes. Telle me Anacharsis, sth thou art a man so vertuous, so sage, and so olde, me thinketh it should not greue the to leaue this miserable lyfe. For the vertuous man should desire the company of the vertuous men, the whych thys world wanteth

wanteth: the sage ought to desire to liue with other sages. wherof the world is destitute: and the old man ought litle to esteeme the losse of his life, since by true experience he knoweth in what trauayles he hath passed his dayes. For truly it is a kind of folly for a man which hath trauayled and fynished a dangerous and long iourney, to lament to se himselfe now in the end thereof. Anacharsis answered him. Thou speakest very good words my frend, & I would that thy life were as thy counsell is: but it greueth me that in this conflict I haue neither vnderstanding, nor yet sence to tast, nor that I haue time enoughe to thanke the. For I let the know, & ther is no tongue can expresse the grieve which a man feeleth, when he ought forthwith to dye. I die, and as thou seest they kil me only for that I am vertuous. I feele nothing that tormenteth my hart so much, as king Cadmus my brother doth, for that I can not be reuenged. For in myne opinion, the chiefe felicitye of man consisteth, in knowing and being able to reuenge the iniurye done without reason, before a man doth end his lyfe. It is a commendable thing that the philosopher pardon iniuries (as the vertuous philosophers haue accustomed to do) but it should be also iust, that the iniuries which we forgieue, the gods should therewith be charged to se reuengment. For it is a hard thing, to se a tiraunt put a vertuous man to death, and neuer to se the tiraunte to come to the lyke. He thinketh my frend Pulio, that this philosopher put all his felicitye in reuenging an iniurye, during the like in this world.

Of the Sarmates.

THe mount Caucasus as the Cosmographers say, doth deuide in the midst great Asia, the which beginneth in India, and endeth in Scithia, and according to the varietie of the people which inhabyte the byllages: so hath this mount diuerse names, and those which dwel towards the Indians, differ much from & others. For the moze the countrey is ful of mountaines, so much the moze the people are Barbarous. Amongest al the other cyties which are adiacent vnto the same, there is a kinde of people called Sarmates, and that is the countrey of Sarmatia, which standeth vpon the riuer of Tanays. There grow no bynes in the prouince, because of the great cold: & it is true, that amonge all the orientall nacions there are no people which more desire wine then they do. For the thyng which we lacke, is comonly most desired.

These people of Sarmatia are good men of warre, though they are vnarmed, they esteeme not much delicate meates, nor sumptuous appaile: For al their felicitye consisteth, in knowing how they might fil them selues with wine. In the yere of the foundation of Rome. 318. our auncient fathers determined to wage battaile agaynst those people, and other Barbarous nations, and appointed a Consull called Lucius Pius. And sith in that warres fortune was variable, they made a truce, and afterwarde all their captaines ylded themselves, & their countrey into the subiectiō of the Romaine empire, only because the Consul Lucius Pius in a banket (that he made) filled them wth wine. After the warres were ended, & al the land of Sarmatia subiect: the Consul Lucius Pius came to Rome, & for rewarde of his trauaile, required the accustomed triumph: the which was not only denied him, but also in recompense of his fact he was openly beheaded, & by the decre of all the Senate, about his graue was written this Epitaphe.

¶ Within

O F P R I N C E S

Within this tombe, Lucius Pius lyes,
That whilome was a Consul great in Rome
And daunted eke (as shame his sleaunders cries)
The Sarmates sterne not by Mauors his dome.

But by reppoofe, and shame of Romayne armes,
He vanquishte hath, not as the Romaynes vse
But as the bloody tyrauntes, that with swarmes
Of huge deceites, the fyerse assaultes refuse.

Not in the warres, by byting weapons stroke
But at the boorde, with swete delighting foode
Not in the basard fight, he did them poke
But feeding all in rest, he stole their bloode.

Not yet wth mighty Mars, in open field
He rest their lyes, with sharpe ppercing speares
But with the pushe, of drunken Bacchus shield.
Home to hye Rome, the triumphe lo he beares.

THE sacred Senate set this epitaphe here, because al Romaine captai-
nes should take example of him. For the maiestie of the Romaines consisteth
not in vanquishing their enemyes by vices, and deliciousnes: but by wea-
pons and prayers. The Romaynes were very sore greued with the auda-
citie of this Consul Lucius Pius, and not contented to haue beheaded him, and
to haue set on his graue so defamouse a tytle: but made proclamation forth-
with throughout Rome by the sounde of a trumpet, howe al that whyche
Lucius Pius had done, the sacred senate condemned for nothing, and shoulde
stand to no effete. For there was an auncient law in Rome, when they be-
headed any man by iustice, they shoulde also take away the aucthoritie he had
in Rome. And not contented with these thinges, the sacred senate wrote to
the Sarmates, that they did release them of their homage, making themselves
subiectes of the Romaynes: wherfore the restored them agayne to their ly-
bertie. They did this thing, because the custome amonge the stout and va-
liaunt Romaines was, not to get nor winne realmes in makinge their ene-
myes druncke with delycate wines: but in shedding their proper bloude in
the plaine field. I haue told the this my frend Pulio, because the Consul Lu-
cius Pius did perceiue that the Sarmates put all their filicitie to ingurge them-
selues with wine.

O f the Philosopher Chilo

In the 15. Dynastia of the Lacedemonians and Deodeus beinge kyng of Medes,
Gigion beinge kyng of Lides, Argeus beinge king among the Macedonians, and
Tullius Hostilius kyng of the Romaynes, in the Olimpiade 27. there was in
Athens a philosopher bozne of Grece, whose name was Chilo, one of the .7. sa-
ges which the Grekes had in their treasure. In that time there was great
warres betwene the Atthenians, and the Corinthians, as we may perceiue by
the Grecke histories, whiche we see witten. Since Troye was destroyed,
there was neuer peace in Grece, for the warre betwixte the Greekes and
Troyans was neuer so great, as that which afterward they made amonge
themselves. Sithe the Grekes were now wise men, they did deuide the
offices of the comon wealth acording to the abilitie of every person that is

to know, that to the stout and hardy men they gaue the gouernement: to þ sage they recommended the imbasies of straunge countreyes. And vpon this occasion the Athenians sent the philosopher Chilo to the Corinthians to treat of peace, who came vnto the citie of Corinthe. Bechaunce on that day ther was celebrated a great feast, wherfore he found all men plaieng at dyce, the women solacing them selues in the gardeins, the priestes shette with the crosse-bowes in the temples, the senatours played in the consistorie at tables, the maisters of sence played in the streates, & to conclude he found them al playeng. The philosopher seing these thinges, without speakinge to any man, or lighting of on his horse returned into his countrey, without declaringe hys message: & when the Corinthians went after him & asked him why he did not declare the cause of his comining, he aunswered. Friends I am come from Athens to Corinthe, not without great trauayle, & now I retorne from Corinthe to Athens not litle offended: & ye might haue sene it, because I spake neuer a word to any of you of Corinthe, for I haue no commission to treate of peace with vnthriste players, but with sage gouernours. Those of Athens comaunded me not to kepe company with those that haue their hads occupied with dyce: but with those that haue their bodyes loden with harnes, & with those that haue their eyes daseled with their bookes, for those men which haue warre with the dice, it is vnpossible they shold haue peace with their neighbours. After he had spoken these wordes, he returned to Athens. I let the vnderstand my friend Pulio, that the Corinthians thinke it to be the greatest felicitie in the world, to occupie dayes & nightes in playes: and metuel not hereat, neyther laugh thou them to scoorne. For it was tolde we by a Greeke being in Antioche, that a Corinthian esteemed it more felycitie to winne a game, then the Romaine captaine dyd to winne a triumphe. As they say the Corinthians were wyse and temperate men, vnlesse it were in playes, in the which thing they were to vycious. He thynke my friend Pulio that I aunswere the more amply then thou requyrest, or that my health suffreth, the whych is lytle: so that both thou shalte be troubled to reade it, and I here shal haue paine to wyrt it. I wil make the a brieue some of al the others whiche now come vnto my remembraunce, the which in dyuerse things haue put their ioy and chiefe felycities.

Of Crates the philosopher.

CRates the philosopher put his felycitie, to haue good fortune in prosperous nauigacions, sayeng: that he which sayleth by sea, can neuer haue perfecter ioy at his hart, so long as he considereth that betwene death & life there is but on bourde. Wherfore the harte neuer feeleth so great ioy, as when in the hauen he remembreth the perils whyche he hath escaped of the sea.

Of Estilpho the philosopher.

Estilpho the philosopher put all his felycitie to be of great power, sayeng that the man which can do litle, is worth lytle, and he that hath litle, the gods do him wrong to let him lyue so long. For he only is happie which hath power to oppresse his enemyes, and hath wherewith al to succour him selfe, and reward his frendes.

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Of Simonides the philosopher.

Simonides the philosopher put all his felicity, to be wel beloued of the people, sayenge that churlyshe men, and euyl condicioned, shoulde be sent to the mountaynes amongst brute beastes. For ther is no greater felicity in this lyfe, then to be beloued of all, in the common wealthe.

Of Archita the philosopher.

Archita the Philosopher had all his felicity in conquering a battaile, sayeng that naturallie man is so much frende to hym selfe, and desireth so much to come to the chiefe of his enterpryse: that though he for lytle trifles be played, yet he woulde not be ouercome. For the hart wyllynglye suffereth all the trauayles of the lyfe, in hope afterwarde to wyne the vyctorye.

Of Gorgias the philosopher.

Gorgias the philosopher put all his felicity, to heare a thing whych pleased him, sayeng that the body feleth not so much a great wound as the hart doth an euyl word. For truly ther is no musike that soundeth so swete to the eares, as the pleasaunt words are sauour to the hart.

Of Crisippus the philosopher.

Crisippus the Philosopher had all his felicity in this world, in making great buildynges, sayeng that those which of them selues leste no me-moyre, both in their lyfe, and after their death deserued infamy. For greate and sumptuous buildynges, are perpetuall monumentes of noble courages.

Of Antisthenes the philosopher.

Antisthenes the philosopher put all his felicity in renowne after his death. For sayth he there is no losse, but of lyfe that flytteth without fame. For the wiseman neade not feare to dye. So he leaue a memory of his vertuous lyfe behind him.

Of Sophocles the philosopher.

Sophocles had all his ioy in haupng children, whych should possesse the inheritance of their father: sayenge that the grasse of him that hath no children, surmounteth aboue al other sorowes. For the greatest felicity in this lyfe is, to haue honoure and riches, and afterwarde to leaue children whych shal inherite them.

Of Euripides the philosopher.

Euripides the Philosopher had all his ioy, in keaping a fayre woman, sayeng his tongue wyth wordes could not expresse the grieve whiche the hart endureth, that is accumbred with a foule woman: therfore of truth he whych happeneth of a goodly and vertuous woman, ought of ryght in his lyfe to desire no more pleasure.

Of Palemon the philosopher.

Palemon put the felicity of men in eloquence, sayeng and swearing that the man that cannot reason of al things, is not so lyke a reasonable man, as he is a brute beast: for accordyng to the opinyons of many, there is no greater felicity in this wretched worlde, then to be a man of a pleasaunte tongue, and of an honest lyfe.

Of Themistocles the philosopher.

Themistocles put all his felicity, in discending from a noble lynage, sayeng that the man whych is come of a meane stocke, is not bounde to make

make himselfe of a renowned fame: For truly the vertues and prowesses of them that are past, are not but an example to moue them to take great enterprises which are present,

Of Aristides the philosopher.

Aristides the philosopher put all his felicitie, in heaping temporal goods, saying that the man which hath not wherewith to eate, nor to susteine his lyfe, it were better counsaile for him, of his free wil to goe into y^e graue, then to do any other thing: For he only shalbe called happie in this worlde, who hath no nede to enter into another mans house.

Of Heraclitus the philosopher.

Heraclitus put all his felicitie, in heaping by treasure, sayinge that the prodigall man, the more he getteth the more he spendeth, but he hath the respecte of a wyle man, who can keape a secrete treasure for the necessities to come. Thou hast now sufficiently vnderstode my frend Pulio how that .vii. monethes since I haue bene taken with the feuer quartaine, and I swore vnto the by the immortall gods, that at this present instaunt writing vnto the, my hand shaketh, which is an euident token that y^e cold doth take me, wherefore I am constrainned to conclude this matter which thou demaundest me, although not according to my Desier. For amongst true frends though the workes do cease wherewith they serue: yet therefore the inward partes ought not to quaille, wherwyth they loue. If thou dost aske me my frend Pulio, what I thynke of all that is aboue spoken, and to whych of those I do sticke, I aunswere the. That in this world I do not graunt any to be happie, and if ther be any, the gods haue them with them: because on the one side, chosynge the playne and drye way without clay, and on the other syde all stonpe and myerie, we may rather call this lyfe the precipitation of the euyl, then the safegard of the good. I wil speake but one word only, but marke wel what therby I meane, whych is, that amongst the myshappes of fortune we dare saye, that ther is no felicitie in the world. And he only is happie, from whom wisdom hath plucked enuious aduersitie: and that after wards is brought by wisdom, to the highest felicitye. And though I would I cannot endure any lenger, but that the immortall gods haue the in their custoditie, and that they preserue vs from euyl fortune. Sith thou art retired now vnto Bethinie, I know well thou wouldest I should write the some newes from Rome, and at this presente there are none, but that the Carpentines and Lusitaines are in great strife and dissension in Spayne. I receiued letters how that the barbarous were quet, though the host that was in Illiria were in good case: yet notwithstanding the army is somewhat fearefull and timerous. For in all the coaste and borders, ther hath bene a great plague. Pardon me my frend Pulio, for that I am so sickely, that yet I am not come to my selfe. For the feuer quartaine is so cruel a disease, that he which hath it, contenteth himselfe with nothinge, neither taketh pleasure in any thing. I send the .ii. of the best horses that can be found in al Spayne, & also I send the ii. cuppes of gold of the richest that can be founde in Alexandria. And by the lawe of a good man I swore vnto the, that I desire to sende the ii. or .iii. howers of those which trouble me in my feauer quartaine. My wife Faustine saluteth the, and of her part and mine al-

Th.

so

O F P R I N C E S

so to Cassia thy olde mother, and noble widowe, we haue vs commended. Marcus the Romaine Emperour with his owne hande writeth this, and againe commendeth him vnto his dere frend Pulio.

¶ That princes and great Lordes ought not to esteeme them selues, for being
fayre, and wel proportioned. Cap. xlii.

In the time that Iosue triumphed amongst the Hebrues, and that Dardanus passed from great Grece to Samotracia, and when the sonnes of Agenor were seeking their sister Europe, and in the time that Siculus reigned in Scicil, in great Asia, in the Realme of Egypt, was buylded a great cite called Thebes, the which king Busiris built, of whom Diodorus Sicculus, at large mencioneth. Plymie in the .36. chapter of his naturall historie, and Homere in the second of his Iliade, and Statius in al the booke of his Thebiade, do declare great meruelles of this cite of Thebes, which thing ought greatly to be esteemed: for a man oughte not to thinke that fayned whiche so excellent auctours haue writen. For a truth they say that Thebes was in circuite .40. myles, and that the walles were .30. stades hie, and in breadthe .6. They say also that the cite had a hundred gates very sumptuous and strong, and in euery gate .ii. hundred horsemen watched. Through the middest of Thebes passed a great riuer, the which by myles and fishe dyd greatly profite the cite. When Thebes was in his prosperity, they say that there were two hundred thousand fiere, and besydes all this al the kynges of Egypt were buried in that place. As Strabo sayth De situ orbis, when Thebes was destroyed with enemies, they found therein lxxvii. tombes of kings whych had bene buried there. And here is to be noted, that al thoe tombes were of vertuous kings. For among the Egyptians it was a law inuiolable, that the king which had bene wicked in his lyfe, should not be buried after his death. Before the noble and worthy Numantia was founded in Europe, the riche Carthage in Affricke, and the hardye Rome in Italy, the goodly Capua in Campaigne and the great Argentine in Germanie, and the holy Helia in Palestine: Thebes onely was the most renowned of all the world. For the Thebanes amongst al nations were renowned, as wel for their riches as for their buyldings and also because in theyr lawes & customes, they had many notable & seuer things & al the men were seuer in their workes, although they would not be knownen by their extream doinges. Homere sayth that the Thebanes had v. customes, wherein they were more extreme then any other nation.

1. The first was, that the children drawing to v. yerres of age, were marked in the forehead with a hootte yron, because in what places so euer they came they should be knownen for Thebanes by that marke.
2. The second was, that they should accustome their children to trauaile alwayes on foote. And the occasion why they dyd this was, because the Egyptians kept their beastes for their gods: and therefore when so euer they trauayled they neuer rydde on horsebacke, because they should not seme to sitte vpon their god.
3. The third was, that none of the citizens of Thebes shold mary with any
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of straunge nations, but rather they caused them to marrye parentes with parentes, because that frendes marryng with frendes, they thoughte the frendshippe and loue should be more sure.

4. The fourthe custome was, that no Thebane should in any wise make a house for himselfe to dwell in, but first he should make his graue wherin he should be buried. He thinketh that in this point the Thebanes were not to extreme, nor excessive, but that they did lyke sage and wise men: yea and by the law of veryste I sweare, that they were sager then we are. For if at the least we dyd imploye our thought but two howers in the weke to make our graue: it is vnpossible but that we should correcte euerye daye our life.

5. The fift custome was, that all the boies which were exceedinge faire in their face, shoulde be by theym strangled in the cradell: and all the girles whiche were extreame foule, were by them killed & sacrificed to the godds. Sayeng that the gods forgotte themselues, when they made the men faire, and the women foule. For the man which is very faire, is but an vnparfite woman: and the woman which is extreme foule, is but a sauage and wilde beast. The greatest God of the Thebaines was Isis, who was a red bull nourished in the riuer of Nile, and they had a custome, that all those which had red heere immediately should be sacrificed. The contrarye they did to the beastes, for sicke their God was a bul of tawnye couloure, none durst be so bold to kyl any beastes of the same couloure. In such fourme and maner, that it was lawfull to kyl both men and women, and not the brute beastes. I do not say this was wel done of the Thebaines to sleigh their children, nor yet I do say that it was wel done to sacrifice men & women, which had red or tawnye heere, nor I thinke it a thinge reasonable, that they should do reuerence to the beastes of that couloure: but I wonder why they should so much dispise foule women, and faire men, sith all the world is peopled bothe with faire and foule. Then sith those barbarous (lyuyng as they did vnder a false law) did put him to death, whom the Gods had adorned with any beautie: we then which are Christians by reason ought much lesse to esteeme & beautie of the body: knowing that most commonly therbyon ensueth the vncleannes of the soule. Under the christall stone lyeth oftentimes a dangerous worme, in the faier wal is nourished & venemous Coluber, within the middell of the white tothe is ingendered great paine to the gummes, in the fynest clothe the mores do most hurt, and the most fruitfull tree by wormes is sonest perished. I meane, that vnder the cleane bodyes & faire countenances, are hid many and abhominable byres. Truly not only to children which are not wise, but to all other which are lyght and fraile, beauty is nothing els but the mother of many byres, and the hinderer of all vertues. Let princes and great Lords beleue me, which thinke to be faire and wel disposed, that where there is great aboundaunce of corporal goods and graces, there ought to be great bones of vertues to be able to beare them. For the moste highe trees by great windes are shaken. I say, that it is vanytie to be vaine glorious, in any thinge of this world, be it neuer so parfite: and also I saye that it is a greate vanytie to be proude, of the corporall beautie. For amonge all the acceptable giftes that nature gaue to the mortalles, there is no thinge more superfluous in man, and lesse necessarie, then the beautie

THE FIRST BOOKE

of the body. For truly whether we be faire or foule, we are nothing the better beloued of God, neyther thereby the more hated of men. O blyndnes of y world, O lyfe which neuer lyueth nor shal lyue, O death which neuer hath end, I know not why man through the accident of this beautye shoulde or durst take vpon him any vaine glory or presumption: sith he knoweth that all the fairest, and most parfitest of flesh, must be sacrificed to the wormes in the graue. And knowe also, that all the propernes of the members shalbe forfeited to the hongry wormes which are in the earth. Let the great, scorne the lytle as much as they will, the faire, mocke the foule at their pleasure, the hole, disdain the sicke, the wel made, enuy the deformed, the white, hate the blacke, and the Giantes, dyspise the Dwarfes: yet in the end al shal haue an end. Truly in myne opinion, the trees beare not the more fruit, for that they are streight only, nor for being high, neither for geuing great shadowe, nor for being beautifull, nor yet for being great. By this comparison I meane, that though a noble & stout man be proper of parson, and noble of linage, shadowing of fauour, comlye in countenaunce, in renoune very high, and in the common wealth puissaunt, that therfore he is not the better in lyfe.

For truly the common wealthes are not altered by the simple labourers which trauaile in the fieldes: but by the viciuous men, which take great ease in their liues. Unlesse I be deceiued, the swine and other beastes are fed vnder the oakes with the acornes, and amonge the pricking briars and thornes the sweete roses do grow, the sharpe beech giueth vs the sauoury chesnutts. I meane, that the deformed and litle creatures oft times are most profitable in the common wealth. For the lytle and sharpe countenaunces, are signes of valiaunt and stout hartes. Let vs cease to speake of men which are fleshely, being estones rotten and gone, and let vs talke of sumptuous buildinges which are of stone: which if we shoulde go to se what they were, we may know the greatnes and the height of them. Then we shal not know the maner of their beauty: and that which seemed to be perpetuall, in shorte space we see it ende, and lose the renoune, in such sort that ther is neuer memory of them after. Let vs also leaue the auncient buildinges and come to the buildings now a days, and one shal see that there is no man that maketh a house, be it nener so strong nor so faire, but (liuing a lytle while) he shal see the beauty therof decay. For ther are a great nombre of auncient men, which haue sene both the toppes of famous and stronge buildinges made, & also the foundation and ground therof decayed. And that this is true it appeareth manifestly, for that if the toppe decay, or the walles fall, or els if the tymber be weake, or the ioyntes open, or the windowes ware rotten, or the gates do breake, the buildinges forth with do decay. What shall we say of goodly haules, and galleries well appointed, the which within short space, by coles or candels of childe, or by torches of pages, or smoke of chimneys, by cobwebbes of spyders, become as dry & foule, as before they were freshe and faire. Then if that be true which I haue said of these things I would now gladly know, what hope man can haue of the continuance of his beauty, since we se the like destruction of corporal beauty, as of stones, wood, bricke, and clay. O vnprofitable Princes, O children of vanity to folyshe hardy, do you not remember that all your healthe is subiecte to sicknes, as in the payne
of

of the stomack, in the heate of the lyuer, in the inflamacion of the feete, in the distemperaunce of humors, the motions of the ayre, in the coniunctions of the Moone, in the Eclipse of the sunne: I say do not you knowe that you are subiect to the tedious sommer, and vntollerable winter? Of a trowth I cannot tel how you can be (among so many imperfections and corruptions) so full of vaine glory, by your beauty, seing and knowinge that a litle feuer doth not only deface and marre the beauty, but also maketh and couloureth y face al yelow, be it neuer so wel fauoured. I haue maruailed at one thing, that is to wete, that all men are desirous to haue all things about their body cleane, their gownes brushed, their coates nette, the table handsome, and the bedde fine, and only they suffer their soules to be foule, spotted, and filthi. I durst say, and in the faith of a christian affirme, that it is a great lacke of wisdom, and a superfluitie of folye, for a man to haue his house cleane, and to suffer his soule to be corrupted. I would know what preheminence they haue which are fayre, aboue others to whom nature hath denyed beautye. peraduenture the beauteful man hath two soules, and the defourmed creature hath but one? peraduenture the most fayrest are the most healthful, and the most deformed are the most sicklyest? peraduenture the most fayrest are the wysest, and the most defourmed the most innocentes? peraduenture the fairest are most stoute, and the defourmed most cowardes? peraduenture the fayre are most fortunate, and the foule most vnluckyest? peraduenture the fayre only are excepted from vyce, and the foule deppryued from vertue? peraduenture those whych are fayre, of ryght haue perpetuall lyfe, and those whych are foule, are bound to replenysh the graue? I say no certaynlye. Then if this be true, why do the great mocke the litle, the fayre the foule, the right the crooked, and the whyte the blacke, since they know that the vayne glory which they haue, and their beauty also, shal haue an end to day or to morow. A man that is faire and wel proportioned, is therfore nothyng the more vertuous: & he that is deformed & euil shapen, is nothing therfore the more vicious: so y vertue dependeth not at all of the shape of y bodye, neyther yet vyce procedeth of the deformitye of the face. For dayly we se the deformitye of the body, to be beautified wylh vertues of the mynd: and the vertues of the mynd, to be defaced wylh the vyce of the body in his works. For truly he that in the vylage of his lyfe hath any botche or imperfectyon, is worse then he that hath foure botches in hys shoulders. Also I say, that though a man be great, yet it is not true that therfore he is strong: so that it is not a general rule, that the bigge body hath alwayes a valiaunt and courageous hart, nor the man whych is lytle of parson, shold be of a vyle & false hart. For we se by experyence, the greatest men, the most cowardes: & the least of personage, the most stoute and hardy of hart. The holy scripture speake of king Dauid, that he was redde in his countenaunce, & not bygge of body, but of a meane stature, yet not withstanding as he and the mighty Gyaunt Goliath were in campe, Dauid kyled Goliath wylh a sling, & with hys owne sword cut of hys head. we ought not maruaile, that a lytle sheaperde should sleigh so valpaunt & myghty a Gyaunte. For oft tymes of a lytle sparke commeth a great lyght: and contrary wise by a great torch a man can scarcely see to do any thinge. This kinge Dauid dyd more, that he being lytle of body, and

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tender of peres killed the Lions, & recovered the lambes out of the wol-
fes throttes, and besides this in one day in a battaile with his owne handes,
he slew to the number of 800 men. Though we cannot find the like in our
tyme, we may well ymagine, that of the 800. which he slew, there were at
least, 300. of theym as noble of linage as he, as riche in goodes, as faire in
countenaunce, and as high of stature: but none of these had so much force &
courage, since he escaped aliue, & they remayned in the field deade. Though
Julius Cesar was bigge enoughe of body, yet notwithstandinge he was euill
proportioned: for he had his head all bald, his nose very sharpe, one hande
more shorter then the other. And albeit he was yong, he had his face ruel-
led, his coulour somewhat yeallowe, and aboue all he went somewhat cro-
ked, & his girdel was halfe vndone. For men of good wittes do not employ
themselues to y setting out of their bodyes. Julius Cesar was so vnhandsome
in his bodye, that after the battaile of Pharfallique, a neighbour of Rome said
vn to the great Oratour Tullius. Tell me Tullius, why hast thou folowed the
partialities of Pompeius since thou art so wise, knowest thou not that Julius
Cesar ought to be lord and monarche of all the world? Tullius then aunswere-
d. I tell the true my frend, that I seing Julius Cesar in his youth so euill &
vnseemly girded, iudged neuer to haue sene that that is sene of him, and did
neuer greatly regard him. But the old Silla knew him better. For he seinge
Julius Cesar so vncomely, and so slouenly appareiled in his youth, oftentimes
sayd vnto the Senate: beware of this yong man so euil marked. For if you
do not wathe wel his proceedings, it is he that shall hereafter destroye the
Romaine people as Suetonius Tranquillus affirmeth in the booke of Cesar. Al-
beit that Julius Cesar was vncomely in his behauiour, yet in naminge onely
his name he was so feared through the worlde, as if bechaunce any king or
princes did talke of him at their table, as after supper, for feare they coulde
not slepe that night vntill the next day. As in Gallia Gotica wher Julius Cesar
gaue a battaile, by chaunce a frenche knight toke a Cesarian knight pryson-
ner, who being ledde prysonner by the frenchmen, sayde Chaos Cesar whythe
is to say: Let Cesar alone. which the Gaulloys hearing the name of Cesar, let
the prysoner escape, and without any other occasion he fel besides his horse.
Now then let princes and great lordes se, how lytle it auayleth the valiaunt
man to be faire or foule, sith that Julius Cesar being so deformed, only wyth
naming his name caused all men for feare to chaunge their countenaunce,
Hannibal the aduenturous Captaine of Carthage is called monstrous, not
only for his deedes he did in the world: but also for the euill proportion of his
bodye. For of hys two eyes he lacked the right, and of the two feete he had
the left foote croked, and aboue al he was lytle of body, & very fyerse & cru-
ell of countenaunce. The deedes and conquestes which Hannibal did among
the people of Rome, Titus Linius declareth at large: yet I wyll recite one
thing which an historiographer declareth, and it is this. Frontine in the booke
of the stoutnes of the Penians declareth, that in xvii. peres that Hannibal war-
red with the Romaines, he slew so great a number that if the men had bene
conuerted into kyne, and that the bloud which was shed had bene turned
into wome, it had bene sufficient to haue fylled and satisfied his hole armye,
being 80. thousand foote men, and 17 thousande horse men in his campe.

I Demaund

I demaunde nowe, howe many were at that tyme fairer and more beautifull of their bodies and countenaunce, then he was: whose beautie at this daye is forgotten, where as his valiauntnes shall endure for euer. For there was neuer prince that leste of him eternall memoire, onely for beinge beautifull of countenaunce: but for enterprysinge great thinges with the sword in the hand. The great Alexander was no fairer, nor better shapen then an other man. For the chronicles declare of him, that he had a litle throte, a great head, a blacke face, his eies somewhat troubled, the bodie litle, and the members not well proportioned, and with all his deformitie he destroyed Darius, king of the Perles and Meedes, and he subdued all the tyrantes: he made him selfe lord of all the castles, and tooke many kynges, and disherited and slew mightie Lordes of great estates, he searched all their ryches, and pylled all their treasours, and aboue all thinges, all the earth trembled before him, not hauinge the audacitie to speake one worde against him.

¶ Of a letter the Emperour Marcus Aurelius wrote to his Nephew, worthy to be noted of all young gentlemen. Cap. xlii.

Sextus Cheronensis, in his seconde booke of the lyfe of Marcus Aurelius declared, that this good Marcus Aurelius had a syster called Annia Milena, the whiche had a sonne named Epelipus, who was not onely nephew, but also discipule to Marcus Aurelius. And after he was created Emperour, he sent his nephew into Grece to studye the Greeke tongue, and to banyshe him from the vices of Rome. This younge Epelipus was of a good and cleare iudgement, well made of his body, and fayre of countenaunce: and sithe in his youth he esteemed his beautie more then his learninge, the Emperour his vnkle wrote him a letter into Grece, whiche sayde this.

Marcus Aurelius the Romaine Emperoure, firste tribune of the people, and Bysshop, wyseth to thee Epelipus his nephew, and scholler, health and doctrine. In the thirde Calendes of December, came thy cosyn Annus Verus, at whose comming all our parentage reioyced, and so muche the more for that he brought vs newes of Grecia. For truly when the harte hath the absence of that he loueth, it is no one minute of an houre without suspition. After that thy cosyn Annus Verus had spoken in generally to all, byngyng newes from their frendes and chyldren, we talked together, and he gaue me a letter of thynne, whiche is contrary to that was wyrtten me out of Grece, because thou wyrttest to me, that I shoulde sende thee money to continue the in studye, and they wrote vnto me from thence, that thou arte more yowthful and geuen to the pleasures of the worlde, than becommeth thee. Thou art my bloude, thou arte my Nephew, thou werte my scholler, and thou shalt bee my sonne if thou arte good. But God wyll neuer that thou be my Nephew, nor that I call thee my sonne, durynge the tyme that thou shalt be younge, fonde, lyght & frayle. For no good man should haue parentage with the vicious. I can not denye but that I loued thee from y bottoome of my stomack, and so lykewyse thy vnthriftynes greaueth me with all my harte. For when I redde the letter of thy follyes, I lette thee knowe that the teares ranne downe my cheekes: but I wyll contente my selfe. For the sage and wyse men, though (against their wylls) they heare of suche thynges passe, yet it pleaseth them to redresse other thynges that maye come hereafter.

¶.iiij.

I knowe

THE FIRST BOOKE

I knowe well thou canst not call it to mynde, though perhappes thou haste it, that when thy vnlucky mother, and my sister Annia Milena died, she was then young enough, for she was no more but. xviij. yeares of age, and thou haddest not then foure houres. For thou were borne in the morning, and she died at no netide: so that when the wycked childe possessed life, the good mother tasted death. I can tell that thou hast lost such a mother, and I suche a sister, that I beleue there was no better in Rome. For she was sage, honest, and fayre, the whiche thinges are seildome seene now a daies. For so muche as thy mother was my sister, and that I had broughte her vp and married her, I loued her tenderly. And when she died here at Rome, I redde then Rethorike at Rhodes, because my pouertie was so extreme, that I had no other thing but that whiche by reading Rethorike I did gette. When newes came vnto me of the death of thy mother, and my sister Annia Milena, al comforte layde on syde, sorowe oppressed my harte in suche wyse, that all my members trembled, the bones sheuered, myne eies without reste did lamente, the heauy sighes ouercame me, at euery minute my harte banished awaye, from the bottome of my harte I inwardly lamented, and bewayled thy vertuous mother and my dere syster. Finally sorowe excecuting his priuilege on me, the ioyfull company greued me, and onely with the louely care I quieted my selfe. I knowe not, nor can not expresse vnto the howe, and in what sorte I tooke the death of my sister Annia Milena thy mother: for in sleaping I dreamed of her, and dreaming I sawe her, when I was awake she represented her selfe before me, remembryng then that she liued, I was soyr to remember her death. Life was so greuous vnto me, that I woulde haue reioyced to haue bene put in the graue with her. For trulpy he feeleth assuredly the death of an other, whiche alway is sorowefull, and lamenting his owne life. Remembryng therefore the great loue whiche my sister Milena bare vnto me in her life, and thinking wherein I might requite the same after her death: I imagined that I could not by any meanes doe any thing more acceptable for her, then to byng thee vp, thou whiche arte her chylde, and leste an orphane so young. For of all trauayles, to a woman this is chiefest: to leaue behinde her children to byng vp. My sister being dead, the firste thing I dyd was, that I came to Rome, and then sent thee to Capua to be broughte vp there, in the whiche place, harde at my nose, they gaue the sucke two yeares. For thou knowest right well, that the money whiche by reading Rethorike I gate, scarcely satisfied for thy dayly finding: but that in the night I reade some extraordinary lecture, and with that I payed for the mylke, which thou suckedst on the dugge, so that thy bringing vp depended vpon the labour of my lyfe. After that thou wer weyned and brought from the teate, I sent thee to Bietro, to a frende and kinsman of mine named Lucius Valerius, with whom thou remainedst untill fye yeares were fully accomplished, where I founde both him and thee all thinges necessary. For he was in great pouertie, and a great babler of his tongue, in suche sorte that he troubled al men, and angred me muche. For trulpy a man shoulde as willingly geue money to cause him to be silent, whiche is talkatiue: as to geue to a wyse man, to heare him speake. The fye yeares accomplished, I sente thee to Toringue, a citie of Campagnia, to a maister whiche taught children there, called Emilius Torquates, of whom,

to the

to the end he should teache thee to reade and wyte three yeares: I tooke a sonne of his, whom he gaue me to reade to him Greke foure yeres, so that thou couldest not haue any profite in thee, without the encrease of my great trauaile, and augmenting paine to my harte. After thou were seuen yeares olde, that thou couldest reade and wyte well: I sente thee to studie in the famous citie of Tarenthe, wherz I kept thee foure yeares, paying to the maisters a great summe of money. Because nowe a dayes through our euill fortunes, there is none that will teache without great stipende. Without lamenting I doe not tell thee, that in the time of the Cincinos (whiche were after the death of Quintus Cincinatus, vntill Cyna and Catullus) the philosophers and maisters of Rome did neuer receiue one peny to teache sciences to any that would learne them. For all the philosophers and maisters were by the sacred Senate payde, and none ceased to study for lacke of money. For in those dayes they whiche woulde applie them selues to vertue and sciences, were by the common treasure maintained. As our fathers were wel ordered in their thinges: so they did not deuide offices by order onely, but also by order they payde their money in suche sorte that they paid first with the common treasure, the priestes of the temples. Secondly the maisters of scholes and studies. Thirdly the poore wydowes and orphanes. Fourthly the straunge knyghtes, whiche of their owne free wylls voluntarily were made citezens of Rome. Fiftly all the olde souldiours, whiche had serued. xxxvi. yeares continually in the warres. For those which were retired home to their owne houses, were honourably founde of the common wealch. The. xii. yeares past I my selfe was in Tarenthe, and caried thee to Rome, where I redde vnto thee Rethorike, Logike, and Philosophie, and also the Mathematicall sciences, keping thee in my house, in my company, at my table, and in my bedde, and furthermore I hadde thee in my harte, and in my minde. The whiche thinge thou shouldest esteeme more, then if I gaue thee my house and all my goodes. For the true benefite is that onely whiche is done without any respect of profite or interest. I kepte thee with me thus in this sorte in Laurente, in Rhodes, in Naples, and in Capua, vntil such tyme as the gods created me Emperour of Rome. And then I determined to sende thee to Grece, because thou shouldest learne the Greeke tongue, and also to the ende thou shouldest accustome thy selfe to worke, that whiche true philosophie requireth. For the true and vertuous philosophers ought to conforme their workes to that they say, and publishe their wordes with their deades. There is nothing more infamous, then to presume to be sage, and to be desirous to be counted vertuous: principally for him that speaketh much, & worketh litle. For the man of a pleasant tongue, & euil life, is he which with impostumes vndoeth the comon wealch. When I sent thee to Grece, & withdrew thee from Rome, it was not to exyle thee out of my company, so that thou hauing tasted of my pouertie, shouldest not reioyce at my prosperitie: but it was that considering thy youthfull disposition and lightnes, I was afrayd to vndo thee in the palace, chiefly least thou wouldest haue presumed to haue bene to bolde & familiar, because thou werte my nephew. For truly princes which take pleasure & their children be familiar with the, thei giue occasion & men shal not count the wise, & cause also the youg me to be esteemed for light.

I haue

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I haue tolde thee that I did for thee in Italy. I will now let thee knowe what thou hast done, and doest in Grece, so that I wyl shewe thee to be notorious, that is to knowe, that thou taking and esteeming thy selfe to be well disposed in thy youthe, thou hast forsaken thy studie, and despised my counsailes, thou arte accompanied with vayne and light men, and hast viciously employed the money which I had sent thee to buy bookes. All the which thinges to thee being hurtfull, are to me no lesse dishonour and shame. For it is a generall rule, when the childe is foolish and ill taught, the blame and fault is layde on the maisters necke, who hath taught him, and brought him vp. It greueth me not for that I haue brought thee vp, neither for that I haue taught thee to reade, and cause thee to study, neither like wylse to haue kept thee in my house, to haue set thee at my table, nor also to haue suffered thee to lye with me in bedde, neither it greueth me to haue consumed so muche money on thee: but with all my harte it greueth me, that thou hast not geuen me occasion to doe thee any good. For there is nothing that greueth a noble prince more, then not to finde parsons able of capacitie, to doe them any good. They tell me that thou art well made of thy body, and fayre of countenaunce, and that thou presumest also in those thinges: wherefore to enioye the pleasures of thy person, thou hast forsaken philosophie, wherewith I am not contented. For in the ende the corporall beautie, earely or late, perissheth in the graue: but vertue and science, maketh men to be of immortall memory. The gods neuer commaunded it, neither the studies and vniuersities of Italy suffered it, to haue the body fine and trimme, the visage fayre & cleare, and the harte full of philosophie: for the true philosopher, of all other thinges esteemeth lesse the setting forth of the body. For that the demonstrations & tokens of a true & perfect philosopher is to haue his eyes troubled, his eiebryes burnt, & the head bauld, the bal of his eyes sonke into his head, the face yellow, the body leane and feble, the fleshe drie, ffeete vnholed, the garment poore, the eating litle, and the watching great. Finally he ought to liue as a Lacedemonian, and speake as a Grecian. The tokens of a valiaunt and renowned captaine, are his woundes and hurtes: and the signe of a studious philosopher, is the despising of the world. For the wise man ought to thinke him selfe as muche dishonoured, if they call him stoute, and sturdy: as a captaine when they call him a coward and negligent. I like well that the philosopher studie the auncient antiquities of his forefathers, that wrote the profounde thinges for the time to come, that he teache profitable and holson doctrines to those which are now alive, that he diligently enquire of the mocion of the starres, that he consider what causeth the alteration of the elementes. But I sweare vnto thee Epelipus, that neuer sage of Rome came to those thinges, nor philosopher of Grece like wylse, but in searching the quietnes of the soule, and despising the pleasures of the body. Touching the body I am like to beastes, but concerning the spirite I am partely like to the gods, lithe that following the thinges of the fleshe I am made lesse than my selfe, and in following the motions of the spirite, I am made more then I am. For truly sensualitie maketh vs inferiour to beastes, and reason maketh vs superiour vnto men. The worldly malice and presumption naturally desireth, rather to mounte then to descende: and to commaunde, rather than to be com-

be commaunded. And since it is so, why doe we by vices abase our selues to doe lesse then beastes, being possible for vs by vertues, to doe more then men? Amongest all the members, which men can haue, there is nothing more tender to breake, nor any thing more easy to corrupte, then is the handesomenes of the body, wherof we are so proude. For in mine opinion, to esteeme him self to be handsome & prope of persone, is no other thing, but to esteeme our selues that dreaming we shal be riche and mighty, and afterwardes awaking we finde our selues to be pooze and miserable. And me thinketh this thing to be true, because I will declare, what it is to se a young man in his first age, the hed litle, the heere yallowe, the browe long, the eies grene, the chekes white, the nose sharpe, the lips coloured, the bearde forked, the face liuely, the necke smal, the body of good proportion, the armes litle, the fingers longe, & to conclude, so wel proportioned in his members, that mens eies shoulde alwayes desire to beholde him, and the hartes alwaies seke to loue him. If this young man so faire and wel proportioned, remained long time in this beautie and disposition, it were good to desire it, to procure it, to kepe it, to praise it, and to loue it wel: for in the end if we loue the beautie in beastes and buildinges, by greater reason we shoulde desire it in our selues. But what shall we saye, that when we doe not watche, this litle floure whiche yester day flourished on the tree, faire and whole, without suspicion to be lost, one litle hoyp frost sodainly wasteth and consumeth it, the vehement wynde ouerthroweth it, the knife of enuie cutteth it, the water of aduersitie vndoeth it, and the heate of persecutions pineth it: and finally the worme of shorte life gnaweth it, and the putrifaction of death decapeth and byngeth it downe to the grounde.

O mannes lyfe that arte alwayes cursed, I counte fortune cruell, and thee unhappy, synce she will that thou tariest on her, whiche dreaminge geueth the pleasures, and wakinge woorketh the displeasures: whiche geueth into the handes trauayle to taste, & suffreth thee not only to listen after quiet: which will thou proue aduersitie, and agree not that thou haue prosperitie but at her will: finally she geueth thee life by ounces, and death without measure. The wicked & vicious say, that it is a great pleasure to liue in ease: but I protest vnto them, that ther was neuer any mortal man had so much pleasure in vices, but that he remained in great paine after that they were bannished fro him. for the harte, which of long time hath ben rooted in vice, incontinently is subiect to some great alteration. I would all would open their eies to see how we liue deceiued: for al the pleasures which delighte the body, make vs beleue that they come to abide with vs continually, but they banishe a waye with sorowe immediatly. And on the contrary parte, the infirmities and sorowes that blynde the soule saye, that they come onely to lodge as gesses, and remayne with vs continually as householders. I marueyle of thee Epelipus, why thou doest not consyder what shall become of the beautie of thy bodye hereafter, sythe thou seest presently the beautie of those departed interred in the graue. By the dyuersitie of frutes, manne dothe knowe the dyuersitie of trees in the Orchard, that is to wete, the Oke by the acornes, the Date tree by the dates, & the vines by the grapes: but when the roote is drie, the body cut, the fruite gathered, the leafe fallen, & when the tree is laide on the fire and become ashes, I would now know if this ashes could

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could be knowne of what tree it was, or howe a man might know the difference of the one from the other? By this comparison I meane to saye, that for somuche as the life of this death, and the death of this life cometh to seke vs out, we are all as trees in the orcharde, whereby some are knowne by the rootes of their predecessours, others by the leaues of their wordes, others by the braunches of their frendes, some in the floures of their beauty, and other some by the barke of their foule skynne. The one in their mercifulnes, the other in their stoutnes, others in their hardines being aged, others in the hastines of their youthe, others in their barronnes by their pouertie, others by their fruitfulness in ryches, synally in one onely thinge we are all alike, that is to wete that all vniuersally goe to the graue, not one remaining. I aske nowe when death hath done his office, executing all earthly men in the latter daies, what differēce is there then betwene the faire and the foule, whiche lie both in the narrowe graue? certainly there is none, and if there be any difference, it shalbe in the making of the graues, whiche bayne men inuented. And I doe not repent me for calling them bayne, since there is no vanitie nor fondnes comparable to this, for they are not contented to bee bayne in their liues, but will also after their deathes eternise their vanities in sumptuous and stately sepulchres. The coale of the Cedar (in my opinion) that is highe and faire, is nothing more whither when it is burnte, then the coale of the Oke which is litle and croked. I meane, oftentimes the gods do permitte, that the bones of a poore Philosopher are more honoured then the bones of princes. With death I will threathen thee no lenger, for sithe thou art geuen to the vices of this life, thou wouldest not as yet that with a word it should destroye thee: but I will tell thee one worde more, though it greue thee to heare it, whiche is, that the Gods created thee to die, men begot thee to die, women bare thee to die, and thou camste into the worlde for to die: & to conclude I saye, some are bozne to daye, on condition they die to morow, and geue their places to others. When the great and fruitfull trees begin to budde forth by the rootes, it signifieth that time draweth on for them, to cut the drie and wythered braunches. I meane that to see children bozne in the house is no other, but to cite the grandfathers and fathers to the graue. If a man would aske me what death is, I woulde saye a miserable lake wherin all worldly men are taken. For those that most safely thinke to passe it ouer, remaine therein mooste subtilly deceiued. I haue alwayes redde of the auncientes past, and haue seene of the younge men present, and I suppose that the selfe same will be to come hereafter. That when life most sweetest semeth to any man, then sodainly death entreth in at their doores. O immortal gods, I can not tell if I may call you cruell, I knowe not if I may call you mercifull, because you gaue vs fleshe, bones, honour, goodes, frendes, and also ye geue vs pleasure: finally ye geue to men all that they wante, saue onely the cuppe of lyfe, whiche to your selues you did reserue. Since I may not that I would, I will that I may: but if it were referred to my will, I woulde rather one onely day of life, then all the ryches of Rome. For what auayleth it to toyle and take paine to increase honour, and worldly goodes: since lyfe daily diminisheth. Returning therfore to my first purpose, thou must knowe, that thou esteimest thy selfe, and glorifiest in thy personage and beautie: I

would

would gladly know of the, and of others whiche are yonge and faire, if you doe not remember that once ye must come to be olde and rotten. For if you thinke you shall lyue but a lytle, then reason woulde you shoulde not esteeme your beauties muche: for by reason it is a straunge thinge, that lyfe shoulde abate vs, and folie trayne vs. If you thinke to become aged, ye ought to remember, and alwayes to thinke, that the steele of the knyfe, whiche dothe muche seruice, at length decayeth and is lost for lacke of lokynge to. Trulpe the yong man, is but a new knyfe, the whiche in processe of tyme cankerethe in the edge: for on one daye he breaketh the poynte of vnderstandynge, and ther he loseth the edge of cuttyng, and to morow the rust of diseases taketh him, and afterwarde by aduersitie he is wythen, and by infirmities he is diseased, by riches he is whetted, by pouerty he is dulled agayne: and finally, oftentimes it chaunseeth that the more sharpe he is whetted, so muche the more the lyfe is put in hasarde. It is a true thinge, that the fete and handes are necessary to clyme to y banyties of youth: and that afterwarde stumblinge a lytle, immediately rowling the heade downe wardes, we disscende into the miserie of age. For (to oure seamyng) yesterdaye we knewe one, that was yonge and beautifull: and with in shorthe tyme after, we heare that he is dead and rotten. When I consider manye men, aswell frendes as enemyes, whiche were (not long agoe) flozishyng in beautye and youth, and presently I see them to be olde and dye, sycke and foule, trulpe I thinke that as then I dreamed of them, or that they be not now as they were then. What thyng is more fearefull, or more incredible, then to see a man become miserable, in shorthe space, that the fashon of his visage shoulde chaunge, the beautie of the face shoulde be loste, the beard waxe whyte, the heade bauld, the cheekes and foreheade full of wyynckelles, the teethe (as whit as Iuoye) become blacke, the lighte feete by the goute to seme crepeled, and afterwarde wareth heaue, the palsey weakeneth the strong arme, the syne smothe throte with wyynckelles is pleated, and the bodye that was streight and byryghte, wareth weake and croked. Aboue all that I haue spoken, I say to y Epesipus (which presumeth to be faire) that he which through hys prospernes in youth was y mirrour of all, becommeth to be such a one, y he doubteth whether he be the selfe same now in his age, that he was in his youth. Doe what thou wilt, prayse and glorifye thy beautie as much as thou thinkest good, yet in the ende the beautie of men is none other: but as a veile to couer their eyes, a payre of fetters for the fete, manacles for the handes, a lyne rodde for the winges, a thefe of tyme, an occasion of daunger, a prouoker of trouble, a place of lecherie, a sinke of all euill. and synallye it is an inuentour of debates, and a scourge of the affectioned man. Since thou haste forsaken thy studie, I am not bound to send the any thing, chieflye wasting thy monye in childeish and youthfull toys: but notwithstanding all those thinges, I sende the by Aulus Vegenus two thousande crownes for thy appa-
raile, and trulpe thou shalt be very vnthankfull, if thou dost not knowe the benefite done vnto the. For a man ought to giue more thakes for that which is done of curtesie: then for that which is offered of necessitie. I cannot tell, what to let the vnderstande in these partes, but that thy sister Anania Salaria is married, who sayeth she is contente. I praye God it be so, for with money

THE FIRST BOOKE

men maye be holpen to mariages: but it lyeth in the gods to contente the parties. If thou wylte knowe of Toringa thy colen, thou shalte vnderstande she is imbarcked in the fleete whyche went to Spaine, and in dede I neuer thought otherwise on her, after she had bene, 3. dayes bydde in the waie of Salaria. For maydes that will betimes gather their grapes: it is a token that they will goe on warfare with souldyars. Of Annius Rufus thy frende and companion, I certify the that he is gon into y^e Ile of Helesport, and he goeth by the authority of the senate, to vnderstand the gouernement therof: and albeit he be yong, yet he is wise, and therfore I suppose he will render a good accompt of his commission. For of these two extremities, the aged that do decline, or the yong that are wise: I had rather holde my selfe to the wisdom of the yong, then to the white berdes of the aged. My wife Faustine saluteth the, and be thou assured that in thy affaires (at the least to my seming) she is very fauourable vnto the, and dayly she instauntely requireth me not to be angrye with the, sayenge: that sage men oughte not to esteeme the lyghtenes of youth, and that there is no olde man that is sage, but he which in all thynges, was lighte and youthefull. I say no more to the in this case, but if thou wylte be good, I cannot denaye that thou art not my nepheue, my old sco-ler, and scruaunte. For if in the I se amendment, I wil withdrauwe mine ire. For trulye amonge the louing hartes, there is nothing that plucketh by the euill will, vnles it be the good lyfe. At the request of my wife Faustine I haue wryten the this worde, and I saye no more, but that of her parte and mine thou commende vs to all the vniuersitie. The Gods haue the in their custodye, to whom it may please to geue the amendment of lyfe. Marcus Aurelius the romaine emperour, to the Annius Episcopus wryteth with his owne hand.

How princes and great Lordes in olde time were
louers of wise men. Chap. xliii.

Of the chiefest thynges that wanne reputacion and eternall me-moie to the auncient princes and Gouerners, was that they sought wyse men to be alwayes couersaunt about them, whose graue counsaile their realmes alwayes obserued, and obeyed. It profiteth a king litle, to leade with him a greate number of sages, to gouerne him and his realme: if his subiectes are armed with malice not to obey hym. Let princes knowe, whiche esteeme not the counsaile of sages, that their commaundement of other shall not be regarded. For the lawe whiche by will is made, and not of right ordeined, deserueth not to be obeyed. we which turne and tisse y^e leaues of the auncient histories cannot denay, but that the romaines naturally were proude. Yet we muste confesse, that as they haue ben stout in thynges touching warres: so they haue shewed them selues temperate, in the affaires of the publike weale. And trulpy herin Rome declared her wisdom & might, for as by hardye and stoute captaynes the enemies were destroyed in warre: so by sages and wise men the common wealthe was gouerned and mainteined in peace. Ofte tymes with my selfe I muse whereuppon all these discor-des grew, betwene lordes and subiectes, princes and bassalles: and my count being made, I finde that they haue both reason, for the subiectes complaine of the litle loue of thair lordes: and the lordes complaine of the great disobedi-
ed,

ted, and the desier of commaundement is become so licencious, that it seemeth to the subiectes that the waighte of a fether is lead: and on the contrary it seemeth to princes that for the flieng of a flye, they should draw their swordes. All this euill and damage commeth not, but because the princes haue not with them wise men, whiche maye counsaile them: for there was neuer any good prince, that credited euil counsaile. There are two thinges in princes and prelates whiche gouerne the soule, thone is the dignitie of the office, and the other is the nature of y person. It may wel be that on may be good in his person, and euil in his gouernement: and the contrary, he may be euil of his person, and good in gouernement. And therfore Tullius Cicero sayeth, that there neuer was nor shall be such a Iulius Cesar in his person, nor so euil a gouernour as he was for the common wealth. It is a great grace in a mā to be good, but it is much more that he be a good prince: and for the contrary, it is a great euil for a man to be euil, but it is much worse for him to be an euil prince. For the euil man is only euil to him selfe, but the euil prince indomageeth al others: for the more the poison is scatered throughe the body, in so much more daunger he is of his lyfe. I meane, the more power a man hath ouer the common wealth: so much the more euil and domage he doth if his life be euil. I maruell why princes and great lordes should be so curious to serche the best medicines to cure their bodies: & that they are so slacke & slow in seeking sage persons to gouerne their cōmon wealth. For wout cōparison, it is greater domage that the common wealth be euil gouerned, then if the prince and gouernour therof should be sicke in his person. Hitherto we haue neyther red nor sene that any Prince haue perished for lacke of phisike, but for lacke of counsaillours we haue seen and red of infinite kinges and realines that haue ben destroyed, and vtterly vndone.

The lacke of a phisicion maye cause daunger in mans person: but the lacke of a wise man, may set discorde amongst the people. For where ther is any tumulte amongst the people a ripe counsaile of a wyse man profiteth more: then a hundreth purgacions of rubarbe. Isidorus in the forth boke of his Etimologies affirmeth, that the romaynes were foure hundreth yeaeres without phisicions. For Esculapius the sonne of Apollo was the laste phisician in Grece. And in the tēple of the same Esculapius, they set by the image of Archabuto, a man very notable in surgery. For the romaynes were so beneficuous to vertuous parsones, that to euery on that exceded other in any kynde of vertue, they rewarded him with mony, they set vp a statue of him for memory, or els they made him fre in the common wealth. And then when the surgian Archabuto was become auncient, and very riche, & when by occasiō of great and daungerous wondes he dyd cutte of the armes and legges of certayne Romaynes, they thought him a cruell an vnnaturall man. Wherefore they droue him out of his house, and killed hym with stones in the fielde of Mars. And let no man marvel therat, for oftētimes men suffer lesse harme in endoring the paine, then to tary for y cruell remedies the surgians applie vnto it. Some men will say, that when Rome was without surgians, the romaynes were disconfaited and halfe lost. To this I wil aunswere, y they neuer had a more prosperous tyme then in y. 400. yers when they wer wout surgians. For then was Rome vndone, whē they receiued surgions. for at y tyme they droue philosophers out of rome. I do not speake this as a preiudice

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to any surgian, for me thinketh that princes cannot be without some amōg them. For as the fleſhe is feble and delicate, ſo dayly nedeth it remedies to comforte it. The ſage ſurgeons geueth vs none but good and healthfull counſailes. For they do not perſwade vs to any other thing, but that we be ſober and continent, in eating, dꝛynking, ſleepinge, trauailing, and workinge and that in all thinges we ſhould be temperat. The end why I ſpeake theſe thinges is, to perſwade princes, prelates, and great lordes, that the great diligence they haue to ſeke ſurgeans, & the ſomme of money they waſt to mainteyne and content them, they ſhould ſpend parte of that to ſeke wiſe men to counſaile their perſonnes. For if men knewe what it were to keape a wiſe man, to commaunde in their horſe, they would giue for on only wiſe man al their goods. We ought to haue pitie and compaſſion vpon thoſe princes, and great lordes, which loſe ſo many dayes in the moneth, and ſo many houres in the daye, in ſpeaking of warres, buildinges, weapons, meates, beaſtes, of huntinges, and medecines, and oftentimes of othermens doinges, & of other vaine thinges, not neceſſary for mans lyfe. And this cōmunication they uſe with thoſe that are neither vertuous, nor wiſe: the which can neither wiſely talke, nor yet aunſwere directly vnto that whiche is aſked. Oftentimes it chaunſeth that a prince at randon moueth a matter, which they neuer ſawe wꝛiten before, nor with their eares they neuer hard & like, neither in all their life time they had knowledg therof, and yet they will ſeme to giue iudgement of it, (or better to ſaye) obſtinatlie to cotend, as if all the dayes of their lyfe they had ſtudyed it: which thing procedeth of great ſhame, and euil bringyng vp. For the priuy counſaile may ſpeake before their princes, but be they neuer ſo priuy, with licence or without licence it is not lawfull for them to contend. Helius Spartianus in the lyfe of Alexander Seuerus ſayeth, that the emperour Seuerus was demaunded once by an embassaſſadour of Græce, what thing was moſt painefull to hym in Rome: wherunto the emperour aunſwered. There is nothing greueth me moze, then when I am merry, that my ſeruautes ſhould rayſe any ſtrife or debate: I am not diſpleaſed that matters ſhuld be debated, but this greueth me when on wil obſtinately ſtrive, that hath no ground of that he ſpeaketh. For the mā whych giueth reaſon of that he ſpeaketh, cannot be called obſtinate. Theodoſius the Emperoure was once demaunded what a prince ought to do to be good, wherunto he aunſwered, the vertuous prince whē he goeth abroad, ought to haue graue and wiſe men in his compaignie to diſcourſe with all, when he is at his meate to haue wiſe men at his bourde diſputing, and when he withdraueth him ſelf a parte to be reading with wiſe men: and finally at all vacant tymes, he ought to be founde with ſage men counſaling. For the knight which entreth into battaile without weapons, is as hardye as the prince whiche will gouerne the common wealth, without the counſaile of wiſe men. Lampridius in the booke of the Romayne geſtes ſaieth, & the emperour Marcus Aurelius nether at hys meate, at his going to bed, at his vꝛiſing, in his trauaile, opely, nor ſecretely, ſuffered at any time that fooles ſhuld ſing or cōmunicate with him, but only wiſe & vertuous men, whō alwayſ he moſt intierly loued. Of truthe he had reaſon, for there is nothing, be it in teſt or in earneſt, but is better lyked of a wiſe man, then of a foole. If a prince be ſad, cānot a wiſe man peraduenture by the ſaenge of the holy ſcripture counſell hym better, then a foole by foliſh

wordes: If a Prince be prosperous, shall it not be better (to kepe him in the same prosperity) to associate him selfe with a wyse man, rather then to put his trust in a foole and malicious person? If a prince be destitute of money, cannot perchaunce a wise man find him better meanes to get it, then a foole which doth nothing but aske? If a prince will passe the time away, shall not he be moze comforted with a wise man, that rekeneth vnto him the sauoyr histories done in times past, then harkening a foole speaking folishely, & declaring thinges dishonestly, with the sayenges of the malicious of the tyme present? That that I speake of surgiens, the selfe same I speake of foles. For I do not say that they keape them for their pastime, though truly we might better say to loase their time, then to passe their time. For that may iustly be called time lost, which is spent without the seruice of God, & profite of theyr neighbours. That which I most maruel at is, not so much for the great authority & fooles haue in the pallaces of princes & great lordes, as for the litle succour & credite which wise men haue among them. For it is a great iniury, & fooles should enter into the palace of princes euen vnto their bed side, and that one wise man may not nor dare not enter into the halle. So that to the one there is no doore shut: and to the other there is no gate open. We which are at this present, of right do commend those that were before vs, for no other cause, but that in times past, though the sages were few in number, & the world was replenished with barbarous people: yet the sages of those barbarous people were greatly esteemed, and had in reuerence. And this custome endured long tyme in Grece, that when a philosopher passed by a Greke, he rose and spake vnto hym, and he might not sit: for the contrary, al those which shal liue here after will reprove vs which are at this presente. Forasmuch as we haue so great a multitude of sages, and do not liue amongst barbarous, but amongst Christians: and it is a greife to see, and shame to write, how litle wise men are esteemed. For at this day (throughe oure offences) not those which haue most science: but those which haue most ryches, in the common wealthe doe commaund. I know not whether the Deume wisdom hath depriued them, or that the worldly malice hath lost the fast of them. For now a dayes ther is no sage, that liueth al alone to be wise, but it is necessary for him to trauaile how to gaine his liuing: for necessitie enforceeth him, to violate the rules of true philosophy. O world, world, I know not how to escape thy handes, nor how the simple man & ideote defendeth him selfe out of thy snares, when the sage and wyse men (yea withal their wisdoome) can scarcely set their foote sure on the ground. For al that wise men of this world know, is litle ynough to defend them from the malicious. Reading that which I read of time past, and seing that which I se of time present: I am in doubte which was greater, the care that vertuous princes had in seeking out sages to counsell them, or the great couetousnes that others haue at this present, to discouer mynes and treasures. Speaking therfore in this matter as I thinke, I desire that those which haue the charge of gouernement (whether he be prince, prelate, or priuate parson I passe not) that they once may haue about them sage men, that be wise in dede, and that they would loue them aboue all the treasure they had heaped. For in the end, of good counsaill there commeth profite: and much treasure, is a token of great daunger. In the old time when vertuous

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Princes died, and that they lefte their children for successours in their Realmes, & besides that forasmuch as they saw their children yong, & euill instructed in the affaires of their realmes, they committed them to tutours, that should teache the good workes & doctrine: rather than they would giue them surueyours, whych should encrease & augment their cofers and rentes. For truly if the common wealth be defended with great treasures, it is not gouerned with good counsailes. The princes which are yong, accustomedly are giuen to vices: for in the one part youth reigneth, & on the other part honesty wanteth. And to such truly vices are very daungerous, specially if they want sages to counsaile the, to keape them from euil company. For the courageous youth will not be bydeled, nor their great libertie can be chastysed. Princes without doubt haue more nede of wyle men about them, to profyte them in their counsailes: then any of all their other subiectes. For synce they are in the view of all, they haue lesse licence to commyt vice than any of all. For if they doe behold all, and that they haue auctoritie to iudge all, will they nill they, they are beholden and iudged of all. Princes ought to be circumspect whom they trust with the gouernemēt of their realmes, and to whom they commytte the leading of their armies: whom they send as embassatours into straunge countreys, and whom they trust to receiue and keape their treasures: but much more they ought to be circumspecte in examinyng of those whom they choose to be their counsaillours. For looke what he is that counsaileth the Prince at home in his palace: so like wyle shall his renoune be in straunge countreis, and in his owne common wealth. Why should they not then willingly examin, and correct their owne proper palace? Let princes know, if they doe not know, that of the honestie of their seruauentes, of the prouidence of their counsailes, of the sages of their personnes, and of the order of their house, dependeth the welfare of the common wealth. For it is impossible that the braunches of that tree, whose rootes are dried by, should be sene to beare grene leaues.

How the Emperour Theodosius prouided wise men at the houre of his death, for the edification of his .2. sonnes. Archadius and Honorius. *Elis. Chap.*

Ignatius the Hystorian in the booke that he made of the .2. Theodosij, of the .3. Archadij, and of the .4. Honorii declareth, that the first and great Theodosius being fyftie yeares old, and hauing gouerned the Empire. 11. yers, lyenge on his death bed, called Archadius and Honorius, his .2. sonnes, and committed them to Estilconus and Ruffinus to be instructed, and ordeined them lyke wise for gouerners of their estates, and signories. Before that the father dyed he had now created his children Cefars, beyng then of the age of. 17. yeares. Therfore the father seyng them not as yet ripe, nor able to gouerne their Realmes and signories: he committed them vnto maisters and tutours. It is not alwayes a generall rule, though one be of. 25. yeares of age, that he hath more discretion to gouerne realmes then another of. 17. For dayly we see, that we allow and commend the. 10. yeares of one, and reprove the. 40. yeares of an other. Ther are many princes tender of yeres, but ripe in counsailes: and for the contrary there are other princes old in yeares, & yong in counsailes. When y good Emperour Vespasian died, they determined to put his sone Titus in the gouernement of y empire, or some other aged Senator, because

because they said Titus was to yong. And as they were in controuersie of the matter, the Senatour Rogerus Patroclus said vnto the Senate. For my parte I require rather a Prince which is yong, and sage: then I do a prince which is old and foolyshe. Therfore now as touchyng the children of Theodosius, one day Estilconus the tutour of Archadius speaking to a greke philosopher, very sage, whose name was Epimundus, sayde thus vnto him. Thou and I long tyme haue bene acquainted together in the palace of the emperour Theodose, my lord, who is dead and we ar aliue: thou knowest it had bene better that we. 2. had died, and that he had liued. For there be many to be seruantes of princes, but there ar few to be good princes. I feele no greater grieve in this world, than to know many princes in one realme. For the man whiche hath sene many princes in his lyfe: hath sene many nouelties and alterations in the common wealth. Thou knowest well that when Theodosius my maister died, he spake to me these wordes, the which wer not spoken without great sighes: and multiplieng of teares. O Estilconus I dye, and am going into an other world, wherin I shall giue a streight accompte of þ Realmes and seignories which I had vnder my charge: And therfore when I thinke of myne offences, I am meruelously afrayed. But when I remember þ mercy of God, then I receiue some conforte and hope. As it is but mete we should trust in the greatnes of his mercy: so likewise is it reason we should feare the rigour of his iustice. For truly in the christian law they are not suffred to liue (as we which are Princes that liue in delightes of this world) and afterward without repentaunce to goe streight to Paradyse. Then when I thinke of the great benefittes which I haue receiued of God, and of the great offences which I haue committed, & when I thynke of the long tyme I haue lyued, and of the litle which I haue profited, & also that vnprofitably I haue spent my time: On the one part I am loath to dye, for that I am afrayed to come before the tribunall seate of Iesus Christ: and on the other part, I would liue no lenger, because I do not profit. The mā of an euil life, why doth he desire to lyue any longer? Why lyfe is now finished, & the tyme is shorte to make amendes. And sithe god demaundeth nought els but a contrite harte, with all my harte I doe repente, and appeale to his iustice, of mercie, from his Justice to his mercy, because it maye please him to receiue me into his house, and to giue me perpetuall glorie, to the confusion of al my synnes and offences. And I protest I dye in the holy catholike faith, & commend my soule to god, & my body to the earth, & to you Estilconus & Ruffinus, my faithful seruantes, I recōmende my dere beloued children. For herby þ loue of the childre is sene, in þ the father forgetteth the not at the houre of his death. In this case of one only thing I doe warne you, one only thing I require you, one only thing I desire you, & one onely thing I cōmaund you, & that is, that you occuppe not your mindes in augmentinge the Realmes & seignories of my childre: but only that you haue due respect to giue the good education & vertuous seruants. For it was only the wise men which I had about me, & thus long haue maintained me in this great auctoritie. It is a goodly thing for a prince to haue stoute captains for þ warres: but without comparison it is better to keape & haue wise men in his palace. For in þ end, the victorie of þ battaille consisteth in the force of many: but þ gouernement of the

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of the cominon weale oftentimes is putte vnder the aduise of one alone . These so dolefull and pitiefull wordes, my lord and maister Theodosius spake vnto me: now tell me Epimundus what I should doe at this present, to fulfill his commaundement: for at his harte he had nothing that troubled him so much, as to thinke whether his children would vndoe, or encrease the cominon wealthe . Thou Epimundus, thou art a Grecian, thou art a philosopher, thou hast vnderstandyng, thou art an olde seruaunt, thou arte my faithfull frend, therfore for al these thinges thou art bound to giue me good & healthful counsaile. for many times I haue heard Theodosius my maister say, that he is not accompted sage which hath turned y leaues of many bookes: but he which knoweth, and can geue good & healthful counsailes. Epimundus the philosopher answered to these wordes. Thou knowest wel Lord Estilconus, that the auncientes and great Philosophers, ought to be brief in wordes, and very perfect in their workes. for other wise to speake muche, & worke litle, semeth rather to be done like a tyrant: then like a greeke philosopher. The Emperour Theodosius was thy Lord, and my frend. I say frend, because it is the libertie of a greeke philosopher, to acknowledge no homage nor seruice to any superiour. for he in his hart can haue no true sciēce: y to rebuke the vicious kepeth his mouth shut. In one thing I cōtent my selfe in Theodosius aboute al other princes, which were in the Romaine empire, and that is, that he knew and talked wisely of al his affaires, and also was very diligēt to execute the same . for all the fault of Princes is, that they are prompte & bold to talke of vertues; and in executing them, they are very slacke & fearefull. for such Princes can not continue in the vertue, which they doe commend: nor yet resyste the vyce, which they do dispraise. I graunt that Theodosius was an executour of iustice, mercifull, stoute, sober, valiaunt, true, louyng, thankfull, and vertuous: and finally in all thinges, and at all times he was fortunate. for fortune oftentimes bringeth that to Princes, which they will and desire: yea many times better then they looke for. Presuppōse it to be true (as it is most true) that the time was alwayes prosperous to y Emperour Theodosius: yet I doubt whether this prosperity wil continue in the succession of his children. for worldlye prosperitie is so mutable, that with one only man, in a moment, she maketh a thousande shrewde turnes: and so much the more it is harde to continue stedfast in the second heyre . Of slowe and dull hōses, come oftentimes couragious and slyer coltes: and euyn so of vertuous fathers, come children euill brought vp. for the wicked children inherite the worst of the father, whiche is ryche: and are dysinherited of the best, whiche are vertues. That whiche I perceyue in this matter, as wel of the father whiche is dead, as of the children whiche are alieue, is that Theodosius was vertuous in deede, and the children are capable to follow both good and euill. and therfore it is requisite that you nowe goe aboute it. for the prince whiche is yonge, is in greate perill, when in hys youth he begyneth not to folowe the steppes of vertue . To speake particulerly of Archadius, and Honorius, I let the know Estilconus, that it is a thyng superfluous to talke of it, for I should lose my tyme: because the thynges of Princes are very delicate, and though we haue lycence to prayse theyr vertues, yet we are bounde to dissemble their faulkes.

As a sage father Theodose desireth to giue his childre good doctrine, & alwayes to accompany them: But I as a friend do counsaile, that thou kepe them from euil. For in the end al is euil, to accompany with the euil, & forsake the good: but the worse euill pursueth vs, rather by the presence of the euill, than by the absence of the good. It may wel be, that one being alone, & without the company of the good, may yet notwithstanding be good: but for one that is accompanied with euil men, to be good, of this I greatly doubt. For the same day: that a man accompanieth him selfe with the vicious: the selfe same day he is bound to be subiecte to vice. ¶ Estilconus, since thou so much desirest to accomplishe the commaundement of thy lord and maister Theodose, if thou canst not cause that Archadius and Honorius (which are yong princes) doe accompany with the good: yet at the least withdraw them from the company of the euil. For in the courtes of princes vicious men are none other, but solicitours in this world to attempte others to be vicious. How many, & what solicitours haue we seene (thou and I in Rome) the which forgetting the affayres of their Lordes, did sollicite for them selues, vices and pleasures. I will not tell what seruantes of princes haue bene in times past: but what they were, & what they are, euery man may easily see. I will tell the only, not of those which ought to be counsellours of princes: but also of those, whiche ought not to liue in their courtes. For the counsellors and officers of princes ought to be so iust: that sheares can not finde what to cut away in their lyues, nor that ther neadeth any nedle or thred to amend their fame. If thou Estilconus haste hard what I haue sayd: marke now what I wyl saye, and keape it in memory, for peraduenture it may profite the one daye.

In the courtes of princes, proude men ought to haue no familiarity nor entertainment. For it is vnseemly that those which are not gentle in wordes, should commaund: & those that haue not their hartes ready to obey, should be familiar with the prince. In the courtes of princes, ther ought not to be of counsaile, & much lesse familiar, enuious men: for if enuie reigne amongest Princes and counsailours, there shall alwayes be discensions in the common wealth. In the courts of princes hasty men ought not to haue familiaritie: for oftentimes it chaunceth, that the impacience of the counsellors, causeth the people to be euill content with their princes. In the courtes of princes ther ought not to be familiar, nor of counsaile, greedy nor couetous men: for the Princes giue great occasion to the people to be hated, because their seruantes haue alwayes their handes open to receyue bribes. In the courtes of princes ther ought not to be familiar fleshely men: for the vice of the flesh hath in it so litle profite, that he is wholie overcome ther with, is or ought to be to the prince alway suspected. In the palace of a king ther ought not to be drunkardes, nor gluttons: for wheras the familiars ought principally to serue their princes w good counsaile, in mine opinion a man being full & surcharged with exces is more like to bealche & breake wind after his surfette: then able to giue any profitable counsaile in the common wealth. In the palace of princes ought not to be resient nor familiar blasphemers: for the man whiche is a seruant, and openly dare blaspeme his creator: will not spare in secret to speake euill of his Lorde.

In the palace of princes ought not to be of counsaile, nor familiar, negligent and delicat persons: for ther is nothing (next vnto the deuine prouidence) that helpeth

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healpeth princes more to be puissant, and mightie, then when their seruantes are faythful, and diligent. In the palace of princes defamed men ought not to haue familiaritie: for the prince can not excuse him selfe to be thought culpable when they doe rebuke him, if in his house he mainteyne seruantes, which openly are defamed. In the palace of princes they ought not to suffer Ideotes & fooles: for the relames are not loast for that the princes are yong, vncircumspect, and vitious: but for that their counsaylours are simple and malitious. Wo, wo, be to the land, where the lord is vitious, the subiect sedicious, the seruante couetous, and the counsaillour simple and malitious. For thā the common wealth perissheth, when ignoraunce malice reigneth in the Prince and gouernour of the same. These wordes passed betwene the noble knight Estilconus, and the wise Philosopher Epimundus, vpon the bunting bp of those .2. princes Archadius, and Honorius. And because that princes and prelates might see (whiche now haue the charge to gouerne people) how much the auncientes dyd desire to haue sage men aboute them: notwithstandinge that I haue spoken, I will shewe you here some notable and auncient examples.

Howe Cresus king of Lydia was a great frende and louer of Sages.

Of a letter the same Cresus wrote to the Philosopher Anacharsis.

And of an other letter of the Philosophers answer agayne to the kynge. Chap. rlb.

In the yeare of the creation of the worlde, 4355. and in the thirde age, Sardanapalus beinge kinge of the Assirians, Ozias kinge of the Hebrues, and Elchias beinge hygh byshop of the holy temple, at that time when Rea the mother of Romulus lyued, in the second yeare of the first Olimpiade, the great and renowned realme of Lydes, had beginning: as Plinie in the fyfte booke of the natural history saith. Lidia is in Asia Minor, and first was called Meonia, and afterwards was called Lidia, and now is called Morea. This Realme of Lydes had many worthy cities, that is to wete, Ephese, Colose, Aclafomena, and Phorea. The first kinge of Lydes was Ardusius, a man of great courage, and a Greeke borne, and reygned. 36. yeare. The second was Aliaces, who reygned 14. yers. The third was Meleus, and he reygned. 12. yeares. The fourth was Candale, and reigned. 4. yeares. The fyfte was Ginginus, and reygned. 5. yeares. The syxte was Cerdus, and reygned. 6. yeares. The. vii. was Sadiates, and reygned. 15. yeares. The. viii. was Aliates, & he reygned. 49. yeares and the. ix. was Cresus, and reigned. 15. yeares. & of this kynge Cresus, Xenophon Declareth that he was more valiaunte in feates of warre: then comely of personage. For though he was lame of one foote, bleamished of one eye, lackyng one eare, and of bodye not muche brygger than a dwarfe: yet for all thys he was a iuste manne, verye constant, stoute, mercyfull, couragious, and aboue all he was a great enemy to the ignoraunt, and a specyall frende to the sage. Of thys kynge Cresus, Seneca speaketh in hys booke of clemencie and sayeth, that the sages were so entierly beloued of hym, that the greekes (whiche hadde the fountaine of eloquence) dyd not call hym a louer, but entitiled hym the loue of sages. For neuer no louer dyd so muche to attayne to the loue of hys ladye, as he dyd to drawe to hym, and to hys countreie, sage menne. Thys kynge Cresus therefore beyng lord of many Barbarous nations (the whiche

whiche loued better to drinke the bloude of the innocent: then to learne the science of the wise) lyke an excellent Prince Determined for the comfort of his person, and remedye of his common wealth, to searche out the greaest sages that were in Grece. At that tyme flourished the famous and renowned philosopher Anacharsis, who though he was borne & brought vp amonges the Scythies: yet he was alwaies resident not withstanding in Athens. For the vniuersitie of Athens dyd not despise those that were Barbarians: but those that were vicious. The king Crefus sent an embassatour in great auctoritie with riches, to the Philosopher Anacharsis, to perswade and desire him, and with those giftes and presentes to present him, to the end it myght please him to come and see his person, and to sette an order in his common wealth. Crefus not contented to send him giftes which the imbassatour carried, but for to let him vnderstande why he dyd so, wrote hym a letter with hys owne hand as hereafter foloweth.

The letter of kyng Crefus, to Anacharsis the Philosopher.

Crefus kyng of Lydes, wyssheth to the Anacharsis great Philosopher, which remainest in Athens, health to thy person, and encrease of vertne. Thou shalt see howe well I loue the, in that I neuer saw the, nor knew the, to write vnto the a letter. For the thinges whiche with the eyes haue neuer bene sene: seldome times with the hart are truly beloued. Thou dost esteeme litle (as truth is) these my small giftes, and presentes which I send the: yet I praye the greatly esteeme the will and hart wherewith I doe visite the. For noble hartes receyue more thankefully that whych a man desireth to gyue them: then that whiche they doe giue them in dede. I desire to correcte thys my Realme, and to see amendement in the common wealth. I desire some good order for my person, and to take order touchyng the gouernement of my palace. I desire to communicate with a sage som thinges of my lyfe, and none of these thinges can be done without thy presence. For there was neuer any good thyng made, but by the meane of wisdom. I am lame, I am crooked, I am balde, I am a counterfeyte, I am black, and also I am broken, finally amongst all other men I am a monster. But all these imperfections are nothyng to those that remayne, that is to wete, I am so infortunate, that I haue not a Philosopher with me. For in the world ther is no greater shame: than not to haue a wise man about him to be conuersaunt withall. I count my selfe to be dead, though to the symple fooles I seme to be aloue. And the cause of my death is, because I haue not with me some wise person. For truly he is only aliue amongst the lyuyng: who is accompanied wyth the sages. I desire the greatly to come, and by the immortal gods I comiure the that thou make no excuse: and if thou wilt not at my desire, do it for that thou art bound. For many men oftentimes condescend to do that whych they would not: more for vertues sake, then to satisfie þe demaunde of any other. Thou shalt take that whiche my embassatour shal giue the, and beleue that whiche he shall tell in my behalfe, and by this my letter I do promise the, that when thou shalt ariue here, I wil make þe treasourer of my coffers, only counsaillour of mine affaires, secretary of my counsaill, father of my childre, refourmer of my realm, maister of my person, & gouernour of my comon wealth: finally, Anacharsis shal be Crefus, because Crefus may be Anacharsis.

I saye

THE FIRST BOOKE

I saye no more, but the gods haue the in their custodie, to whome I praye that they may hasten thy commynge. The imbassatour departed to goe to Athens, bearyng with him this letter, and many iewels and bagges of gold: and by chaunce Anacharhis was reading in thuniuersity, at the arrinal of the imbassatoure to Athens. Who openly said and dyd his message to Anacharhis, presenting vnto hym the gistes and the letter. Of whiche thinge all those of the vniuersitie marueiled, for y barbarous princes were not accustomed to seke philosophers, to gouerne their comon wealth: but to put them to death, and take from them their liues. After the great philosopher Anacharhis had hard the embassage, sene y gistes, and receiued y letter, without altering his countenaunce, or elacion of his person, impedimente in his tong, or desire of the riches: immediately befoze all the philosophers, said these wordes, which heare after are wyten.

The letter of the Philosopher Anacharhis to the king Crefus.

Anacharhis the least of the philosophers, wissheth to the Crefus, most myghty and puissaunt king of Lides, the health whiche thou wisshest hym, and the increase of vertue which thou sendest him. They haue told vs many thinges here in these parties, as wel of thy realme, as of thy person, and there in those parties they say many thinges, as wel of our vniuersity, as of my selfe. For the harte taketh greate pleasour, to knowe the condicions and liues of all those in the world. It is wel done to desier and procure to knowe all the liues of the euill, to amend our owne. It is wel done to procure and knowe the liues of the good for to followe them: but what shall we do, since now a dayes the euill doe not desier to knowe the liues of the euil, but for to couer them and kepe them secrete, and do not desier to knowe the liues of the good for to followe them. I let the knowe (king Crefus) that the philosophers of Greece felte not so muche payne to be vertuous, as they felte in defendyng the from the vicious. For if a man once behold vertue, immediatly he suffreth to be taken: but the euil for any good that a man can doe vnto them, neuer suffereth them selues to be vanquished. I beleue well that the tyrannye of the Realme is not so great as they talke of here, neyther oughtest thou lyke wyse to beleue that I am so vertuous, as they repozte me to be there. For in mine opinion those whiche declare newes of straunge countries, are as the ppoze which were their garmentes al to patched and peced, wherof the peces that were sowen on of new, are in more quantity of clothe: then the olde whiche befoze they had, when they were first made. Beware (king Crefus) and be not as the barbarous princes are, which vse good wordes, and euill dedes. For they go about with faire wordes, to couer the infamie of their cruel dedes. Whereuell not though we philosophers, readers in scholes, desire not to liue with you Princes, gouernours of Realmes. For euil Princes for none other intente seke the companie of wyse menne, but onely because they woulde throughe them excuse their faultes. For doinge as thou doest (of wyll, and not of ryghte) you will that the bulger people thincke you doe it by the counsaile of a wyse man. I let the vnderstande (kyng Crefus) that the Prince which desireth to gouerne his people wel, oughte not to be contente to haue one only sage in his palace. For it is not mete that the gouernement of many, doe consist in the aduise of one alone. Thy imbassadour hath sayde by word,

woorde, and the selfe same thy letter testifieth, that thou arte certified that I am counted for sage throughout all Grece, and that this presupposed, I woulde come to thee to gouerne thy common wealthe. And for the contrary thou doyng thus (as thou doest) condemnest me to be an Idote, for thou thynkyng that I woulde take thy golde is nothyng els, but for to rayle vpon me as a foole. The chiefe poynte wherein true philosophie is knowen, is when he dyspyseth the thinges of the worlde: for there neuer agreeth together the lybertie of the soule, and the care of goodes in this lyfe. O kyng Crefus, I let thee vnderstande, that he whiche knoweth mooste the course of the elemente is not called sage: but it is he whiche leaste knoweth the vices of this worlde. For the true Philosopher profiteth more by not knowynge the euill, then by learnynge the good. I let thee vnderstande I am thre score and seuen yeares olde, and yet neuer before this tyme there reigned Ire in me, but whan thy embassage was presented to me, and that I sawe layde at my feete suche treasure and ryches. For vpon this dedde I gather, that either wysdome lacketh in thee, or that great couetousnes aboundeth in me. I doe sende thee thy golde againe which thou sendest me, and thy embassadour shall declare (as witnes of syghte) how greatly it hath sclaundered all Grece. For it was neuer sene nor heard of, that in any wyse they shoulde suffer golde to enter into the vniuersitie of Athens. For it should not onely be a dishonour to the philosophers of Grece to haue ryches: but also it woulde turne them to great infamy to desire them. O kyng Crefus, if thou knowest it not, it is but reason thou know it, that in the scholes of Grece we learne not to commaunde, but to obey: not to speake, but to be silent: not to resist, but to humble our selues: not to get much, but to content vs with litle: not to reuenge offences, but to pardon iniuries: not to take from others, but to giue oure owne: not to be honored, but to trauaile to be vertuous: finally we learne to despise that which other men loue: and to loue that which other men despise, which is pouertie. Thou thoughtest that I would accept thy golde, or els I would not. If thou thoughtest I would haue taken it, then thou haddest had reason not to haue receiue me afterwarde into thy palace: for it is a great infamy, that the couetous man shuld be acceptable to a prince. If thou thoughtest that I would none of it, thou were not wyse to take the paynes to sende it: for princes ought neuer to take vpon them thinges: wherein (as they thinke) the subiectes shoulde lose their honestie in receiuing them. See kyng Crefus, and behold that by diligence it litle auaieth to serche for the phisition, & afterwarde to do nothing of that which by him is ordeined. I meane that it shall not profite, but rather it shabe harne, that I come into thy common wealth, & that afterwarde thou wilt not doe that whiche I shall ordeine therein, for great daungers ensue to alter the humors with siropes: vnlesse they take afterwarde a purgation to purge away the same. For to redresse thy barbarous realme, & to satisfie thy good desier, I am determined to condescende vnto thy request, and to accomplishe thy commaundement, vpon condition, that thou shalt ensure me of these thinges folowing. For the labourer ought not to sowe his sede, before the ground be plowed & tilled.

The firste, thou shalt forsake the euill custome which ye barbarous kings doe vse, that is to wete, to heape vp treasures, and not to spende them.

D

For

O F P R I N C E S

For euery prince, whiche is couctous of treasures, is scarcely of capacitie to receiue good counsaile.

The seconde, thou shalt not only banishe out of thy place, but also out of thy courte all flatterers: for the prince that is a frende of flatterers: of necessitie must be an enemy of the truth.

The thirde, thou shalt ende the warres whiche thou (at this present) doest mainteine against the people of Corinthe: for euery prince that loueth forayne warres, must nedes hate the peace of his common wealth.

The fourth, thou shalt bannishe from thy house all those Jugglers, comediantes and minstrels: for the prince which occupieth him selfe to heare vaine and trifling thinges, in time of necessitie shall not applie him selfe to those whiche be of weight and importaunce.

Fiftly, thou shalt prouide that all loiterers and vacaboundes be expulsed from thy persone, and bannished thy palace: for idlenes and negligence are cruell enemies of wisedome.

Sixtly, thou shalt banish from thy court and palace, all liers and sedicious men: for when liers are suffered in the palace of princes, it is a signe that the kyng and the realme falleth into vtter destruction.

The seuenth, thou shalt promise that in al the daies of thy life thou shalt not presse me to receiue any thing of thee: for the day that thou shalt corrupt me with giftes, it is necessary that I corrupt thee with euill counsailes. For ther is no counsel that is good, but that whiche procedeth fro the man that is not couetous.

If on these conditions the king Crefus desireth the philosopher Anacharsis, & philosopher Anacharsis desireth the king Crefus: & if not, I had rather be a disciple of sage philosophers, then a king of the barbarous people. Vale felix rex.

Sith this letter doth declare it, it is nedeles for my penne to write it, that is to wete, what was the humanitie & goodnes of king Crefus, to write vnto a poore philosopher: & howe great the courage of a philosopher was to despise the gold, & to say (as he did) in this behalfe. Therefore let princes note here, that such ought the sages to be they shold chose, and let Sages note heare also vppon what conditions they oughte to enter into the pallace of princes. For this is suche a bargayne, that it seldeome tymes chaunseth, but that one of the parties are deceued.

¶ Of the wisedome and sentences of Phalaris the tyraunt, and howe he putte an Artisan to death for inuentinge newe tormentes. Cap. xlvj.

In the laste yeare of the Latines, and in the firste yeare of the Romaynes, Ezechias beinge kyng of the Jewes, and Azarias great Byshoppe of the holy temple, Abacuck Prophet in Jewry, and Merodach beinge kyng in Babilon, and when the Lacedemonians buylte Bizaunce (whiche now is Constantinople) Phalaris the famous tyraunt was then lyuinge. Of this Phalaris Ouide saith, that he was deformed in his face, spoore blynde of his eyes, and exceedingly couetous of riches, and neuer obserued any thyng that he promysed.

He was

He was vnthankfull to his frendes, and cruell to his enemies: finally he was such a one, that the tyrannies which seuerally were scattered in others, in hym alone were altogether assembled. Amongest all the iniquities that he inuented, and amongest all the tyrannies that he committed, he hadde one vertue very great, whiche was, that euen as he was onely head of all tyrannies: so was he chiefe loue and frende of al philosophers and sage men. And in all those sixe and thirty yeares whiche he gouerned the realme by tyranny, they neuer founde that any man touched his bearde, nor that any man satte at the table with him, spake vnto him, or slepte in his bed, nor that any man sawe in his countenaunce any mirth, vntill it were some philosopher or sage man, with whome, and to whom he liberally put his body in trust. And they sayde that this Phalaris saide oftentimes. The prince that absenteth him selfe from sage men, and accompanieth with fooles: I saye vnto him, though he be a prince of his common wealth, he is a cruell tyrant of his person. For it is a greater paine to lyue among fooles, then to die amongest sages. Pulio in the sixte booke De gestis Romanorum saith, that a worthy and excellent painter presented a table to Octavian the Emperour, wherein were drawen all the vertuous princes, and for their chesetaine, Octavian the Emperoure was drawen: at the foote of this table were all the tyrannous Princes paynted, of the whiche Phalaris was chiefe and captaine. This table viewed by Octavian the Emperour, he commended the worke, but he disallowed the intention thereof, sayng: me thinketh it not mete that I beinge aliue, should be set chiefe and principall of all the vertuous menne that are deade. For during the time of this wicked lyfe, we are all subiecte to the vices of weake and feble fleshe. Also it seemeth vnto me an vniuste thing, that they should put Phalaris for principall, and captaine of all the tyrantes: since he was a scourge and enemy, to fooles and ignoraunt men: and so earnest a loue and frende of sages, and wyle philosophers. The fame of this cruell tyrante Phalaris beinge knowen, and his extream cruelties he vsed, spred through all Greece.

A neighbour and artificer of Athens called Perillus (a man very excellent in metalles, and a great worker in works of fountaines) came to Phalaris the tyrant, saying that he would make suche a kinde of torment, that his harte should remayne reuenged, and the offender well punished. The matter was, that this workeman made a bull of brasse, wherein there was a gate by the whiche they put the offender, and in putting the fier vnder the bul, it roared, and cried, in maner as it had bene aliue: whiche thing was not onely a horrible and cruell tomente, to the myserable creature that endured it, but also it was terryble to hym or those that sawe it. Let vs not marueile neyther at the one, nor at the other: for truly the pitifull harte (whiche is not fleshed in crueltie) hath as much pitie to see an other man suffer, as of the sorowe and tomente whiche he hym selfe feeleth. Phalaris therfore seing the inuention of this tomente (whereof the inuentour hoped great rewarde) provided, that the inuentoure of the same should be put within the bull, and that the crueltie of the tomente shoulde be experimented in none, saue onely on the inuentour. Truly in this case Phalaris shewed him self not a cruel tyrant, but rather a mercifull Prince, and a sage Philosopher: for nothyng can be

THE FIRST BOOKE

more iuste, then that the inuention of the malice be executed, on the frayle fleshe of the inuentoure. Nowe because Phalaris was a great frende of sages, the philosophers of Grece came oftentimes to see hym, whiche were verie gently receiued of hym. Though to saye the truthe they profited more with his goodes then he did with their philosophy. This tyraunte Phalaris was not onely a frende of sages: but also he was very well learned, and depelye seene in morall philosophy. The whiche thing appeareth well in the epistles, whiche he wrote with his owne hande. I can not tell wherein he shewed hym selfe greater, either in the sentences and doctrines whiche he wrote with his penne: or in the slaughter and cruelties whiche he did with his sword. Howe many companions had Phalaris the tyraunt, in this case in tymes passe: and that (as I woulde) there were none also at this time present, whiche in their pleasaunte wordes did not resemble the Emperoure Nero. I neuer reade other thyng of those that are gone, neyther haue I seene other wyse of those that are present, but many they are that blase vertues, and infinite whiche runne after vices. For of truthe we are very lighte of tongue, and to feble of fleshe. The Epistles whiche this Phalaris wrote are knowen to all men, I meane of those which knowe Greke, or laten: and for those that knowe them not, I was wylling to drawe these that are present, and to put them in our vulgare tongue for twoo causes. The one to the ende princes myght see howe good a thyng it is to be sage, and howe tyrauntes were playsted for being Sages, and geuing good counsayles. The other, to the ende the people mighte see howe easie it is to speake well, and howe harde it is to worke well. For there is nothyng better cheape in the worlde, then counsayle. The sentences therefore of the Epistles of Phalaris are these whiche followe, in such sorte as I could moste bryefly gather them, to reduce them in good and profitable stile to wyte them.

The particuler loue whiche princes shew to one more then an other, breedeth oftentimes muche enuie in their Realmes. For the one being loued, and the other hated, of this cometh hatred, & of hatred cometh euil thoughtes, of euill thoughtes proceedeth malice, and of malice cometh euil wordes, the whiche breake out into worse deedes: finally when a prince sheweth not to equalles his fauoure indifferently, he setteth fyre in his comon wealthe. Princes ought to forbidde, and Sages ought not to consente, that rebelles and quarellers should trouble those whiche are quiet and peace makers: for when the people rise, immediatly couetousnes is awaked. When couetousnes groweth, iustice falleth, force and violence ruleth, snatchynge reigneth, lecherie is at libertye, the euill haue power, and the good are oppressed: finally all doe reioyce one to lyue to the preiudice of an other, and euery man to seeke his owne priuate commoditie. Many bayne men doe rayse dissensions and quarelles amongst people, thinking that in troubled water, they shoulde augmente their estates, who in shorte space doe not onely loose the hope of that they sought: but also are put out of that they possessed. For it is not onely reasonable, but also moste iuste, that those by experience fele that, whiche their blynde malyce wyl not suffer them to knowe.

It is muche good for the people that the gouernours be not vnfortunate, but that of their nature they were happy. For to lucky Princes, fortune geueth

geueth many thinges euen as they demaunde, yea and geueth them better then they looke for. The noble and valiaunt princes, when they see them selues with other princes, or that they are present in great actes, oughte to shewe the freenes of their harte, the greatnes of their realme, the preheminance of their persone, the loue of their common wealthe, and aboue all the discipline of their courte, and the grauitie of their counsaile and palace. For the sage and curious men shoulde not beholde the prince in the apparayle, whiche he weareth: but the men whiche he hath to counsaile him. The sage men, and those that be not couetous, if they do employe their forces to heape by treasures, ought to remember in their hartes how to employ them selues to spende their money well. Sithe fortune is maistres in all thinges, and that to her they doe impute both good and euil workes, he alone may be called a princely man, who for no contrarietie of fortune is ouercome. For truly that man is of a stout courage, whose harte is not vanquished by the force of fortune. Though we prayse one for valiaunt with the sword, we wyll not therefore prayse him for excellent with the penne. Although he be excellent with his penne, he is not therefore excellent with his tongue. Though he haue a good tongue, he is not therefore well learned. And though he be learned, he hath not therefore good renoume. And though he hath good renoume, he is not therefore of a good lyfe. For we are bounde to receyue the doctrynes of many whiche wyfte: but we are not bounde to folowe the lyues whiche they doe leade. There is no worse office amongst men, then to take the charge to punyshe the vices of an other, and therefore men ought to fye from it, as from the pestylence: for in correctinge byces, hatred is more sure to the correctour, then amendement of lyfe is to the offender. He hath and possesseth much that hath good frendes: for many abyde their frendes, when they woulde haue holpen them more if they couide. For the true loue is not worted to loue, nor ceaseth not to profite. Though sage men haue losse much, they oughte not therefore to dispayre, but that they shall come to it agayne in tyme. For in the ende, tyme doth not cease to doe his accustomed alterations, nor perfecte frendes cease not to doe that which they oughte. The proude and disdainfull man (for the moste parte) alwayes falleth into some euill chaunce, therefore it is a commendable medecine some tymes to be persecuted: for aduersitie maketh a wyse man lyue more safely, and to walke in lesse daunger. For so muche as we doe excuse hym whiche committeth the faulte, there is neither the offender, nor the offence but deserueth payne. For suche a one that committeth the faulte through sodayne anger, dyd euill: and if he dyd committe it by deliberation, he did muche worse. To desyre to doe all thynges by reason is good, and lyke wyse to laye them all in order is good, but it is very harde. For temperate men haue suche respecte in compassing their doynges, and by weyght so cast all the inconueniencies, that scarcely they euer determyne to goe about it. To the man whiche hath gouernement twoo thynges are daungerous, that is to wete, to sone or to late: But of those twoo, the worste is to sone. For if by determining late, a man loseth that whiche he myght haue gotten: by determining to sone, that is losse whiche is nowe gayned, and that whiche a man might haue gayned.

THE FIRST BOOKE

To men which are to hasty, chaunce dayly many euilles and daungers, as saith the prouerbe. The hastie man neuer wanteth woe. For the man being vnpatient, and hauing his vnderstanding high, after ward come quarrels and braylynges, displeasures, varieties, and also vanities, which loo- seth their goodes, and putteth their personnes in daunger. Sithe all naturally desire to be happy, he alone amongst all others may be called happy, of whome they maye truely saye: he gaue good doctrine to lyue, and left a good example to die. These and many other sentences Phalaris the tyrant wrote in his letters, whereof Cicero profited muche in his workes, and Seneca also in his epistles and many other wyrters besydes: for this tyrant was very bryef in wordes, and compendious in sentences. This Phalaris beyng in his citie of Agrigente, a Philosopher of Grece wrote hym a tauntinge letter, chargynge hym with tyranny, to which he answered with this letter followyng.

The letter of Phalaris the tyrant to Popharco the Philosopher.

Phalaris Agrigentine, wyssheth vnto thee Popharco the Philosopher, health and consolation through the comfortable Gods. I receyued thy letter here in Agrigentine, and though it sauoured somewhat Satirlike, I was not agreued therewith: for of philosophers and sages (as thou art) we shuld not be greaued with the sharpe wordes you tell vs, but to consider the intention whereupon you speake them. Quarellers and malicious persons, will haue the wordes by weight and measure, but the vertuous and patient me, doe not regarde but the intentions. For if we should goe about to examine euery worde they speake vnto vs: we should geue our selues to much paine, and we should alwaies set in the common wealth debate. I am a tyrant, & as yet am in tyrannie: but I sweare vnto the immortall gods, whether the worde were good, or bad, I neuer altered it. For if a good man tell it me, I take it for my pastime. Thou wyrttest vnto me that all Grece is offended with me there: but I let them vnderstande that all Agrigentine is all edified with thee here. And thereof thou maiste praise me. For if the tyrantes were not so muche dispraised, the philosophers should not be so well loued. Thou art counted for good, & art good: and I am counted for euill, and am euill. But in mine opinion thou shouldest not be proud for the one, neither I shuld dispeire for the other. For the day of the life is long, and therein fortune doth many thinges, & it may wel be, that from a tyrant I shalbe a philosopher: & thou from a philosopher shalt be a tyrant. Se my frend, that the long tyme maketh oftentimes the earth to be turned to siluer: & the siluer & gold becometh nothing worth. I meane, that there neuer was a tyrant in any realme, but that first he had bene brought vp in the studies of Grece. I will not deny, that all the renowned tyrantes haue not bene nourished in Scicile: but also thou shalt not deny me, that they were not borne in Grece. Therfore see and beholde to whom the fault is: from the mother which bare them, or fro the nurse which gaue the suck. I do not say y it shalbe, but I say that it may wel be, that if I were there in Grece, I should be a better philosopher than thou: & if thou were here in Agrigentine, thou wouldest be a worse tyrant than I. I would thou shouldest thinke, that thou mightest be better in Grece where thou art: and that I might be worse in Agrigentine where I am.

For

For thou dost not so muche good as thou mightest doe: and I do not so much euil as I may do. The coming man ^{Perillus} came into these partes and hath made a Bul, wherein he hath put a kind of torment, the most feare fullest in the world: and truly I caused, that that which his malice had inuented, should be of none other than of himselfe experimented. For there is no iustice law, that when any workeman haue inuented engins, to make other men dye: then to put them to the torments by them inuented, to know the experience in them selues. I beseeche the hartely to come and se me, and be thou assured thou shalt make me good. For it is a good signe for the sicke, when he acknowledgeth his sickness to the Physitian, I saue no more to the, but that once againe I returne to sollicite the, that thou saylest not to come to se me. For in the end, if I do not profite of the, I am sure thou shalt profite by me: and if thou winnest, I cannot lose.

How Philippe kyng of Macedonia, Alexander the great, the king Ptolomeus, the king Antigonus, the king Archelaus, and Pirrus kyng of the Epirotes, were all great louers and frendes of the sages. Cap. lxxii.

If Quintus Curtius deceiue me not, the great Alexander, sonne to kyng Philippe of Macedonie, dyd not deserue to be called great, for that he was accompanied with thousands of men of warre: but he wanne the renowne of great, for that he had more philosophers on his counsaile then all other princes had. This great prince neuer toke vpon him warres, but that firste the order of executyng the same shoulde before his presence be examyned of the sages, and wise philosophers. And truly he had reason. For in affaires, wher good counsaile haue proceeded, they may alwayes loke for a good end. These Historiographers whych wrote of great Alexander (as wel the Grecians as the Latines) knowe not whether the fierynes wherewith he stroke his enemyes was greater, or the humanitie wherewith he embraced his counsaile. Though the sage philosophers whych accompanied the great Alexander were many in nombre: yet not withstanding amongst all those, Aristotle, Anaxarcus, and Onofichrates were his most familiars, And herein Alexander shewed hymselfe very wise. For wise princes ought to take the counsaile of many, but they ought to determine and conclude vpon the opinion of few. The greate Alexander did not contente himselfe, to haue sages with hym, neyther to sende onely to desire those whiche were not his: but oftentimes himselfe in personne woulde goo see theym, vylite theym, and counsaile with theym. Saying that the Princes whiche are the seruantes of sages, come to be made maisters and Lordes ouer all.

In the time of Alexander Magnus, Diogenes the philosopher lyued, who neither for entreatye, nor yet for any promises made, would come to see Alexander the great. Wherfore the great Alexander went to se him, and when he had desired him to go with him, and accompany him, Diogenes answered.

O Alexander, since thou wilt winne honoure in keapinge of menne in thy companye: it is not reason that I shoulde loose it, to forsake my study: for in folowing the, I shall not folow my selfe: and being thyne, I shall cease to be myne.

Thou arte come to haue the name of the greate ALEXANDER,

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for conqueringe the worlde, and I haue attayned to come to renowne of a good Philosopher in flyeng the world. And if thou dost ymagine that thou hast gotten, and wonne: I thinke that I haue not erred, nor lost, And since thou wilt be no lesse in aucthoritye then a king, do not thinke that I wil lose the estimacion of a philosopher. For in the world there is no greater losse vnto a man, then when he looseth his proper lybertie. When hee had spoken these wordes, Alexander said vnto them that were about him with a loude voyce. By the immortall gods I sweare, and as god Mars rule my handes in battaile, if I were not Alexander the greates, I would be Diogenes the Philosopher. And he sayd further, in myne opinion there is no other felycitie vpon the earth, then to be Alexander king, who commaundeth all, or to be Diogenes to commaund Alexander, who commaundeth all. As king Alexander was more familiar with some philosophers, then with others: so he esteemed some bookes more then others. And they say he read oftentimes in the Iliades of Homere, which is a booke where the storpe of the destruction of Troy is: and that when he slept, he layde vnder his head vpon a bolster his sword, and also his booke. When the great king Alexander was bozne, his father king of Macedonie did two notable things. The one was, that he sent many and very riche giftes into the Ile of Delphos, wher the Oracle of Apollo was, to the end to present theym with him, and to praye him, that it would please him to preferue his sonne. The other thing that he did was, that immediatly he wrote a letter to the greates Philosopher Aristotel, wher in he sayd these wordes.

¶ The letter of king Philippe to Aristotle the philosopher.

Philippe king of Macedonie, wissheth health and peace, to the Philosopher Aristotel, which readeth in the vniuersitie of Grece. I let the vnderstand, that Olimpias my wife is brought to bedde of a goodly man child, wherof both she and I, and all Macedonie do reioyce. For kinges & realmes ought to haue great ioy, when there is bozne any sonne successour of the naturall prince of the prouince. I render thankes vnto the immortall gods, & haue sent many great giftes to the Temples, and it was not so much for that I haue a sonne, as for that they haue giuen him vnto me, in y time of so great and excellent philosopher. I hope that thou wilt bringe him vp, and teache him in such sort, that by heritage he shalbe Lord of my patrimonie of Macedonie, and by desert he shalbe lord of all Asia: so that they should call him my sonne, and the his father. Vale felix, iterumque vale. Ptolomeus father in lawe, who was the viii. kinge of the Egyptians, did greatly loue the sages as wel of Caldea, as of Grece, and this thinge was esteemed for a great vertue in king Ptolome. For there was asmuch enuy betwene the Philosophers of Grece, and the sages of Egypt: as betwene the captaines of Rome, and the captaines of Carthage. This Ptolome was very wise, and did desire greatly to be accompanied with philosophers: and after this he learned the letters of the Latynes, Caldes, and Hebrues, for the which cause, though the kinges named Ptolomei were. II. in nombre, and all warreryke men: yet they put this for the chiefe, and captaine of all, not for the battayles which he wanne, but for the sentences which he learned. This king Ptolomeus had for his samplar, a philosopher called Estilpho Megarense, who was so entierlye beloued of this prince that

that (laying aside the gentlenes and benifites which he shewed him) he dyd not only eate with the king at his table: but oftentimes the king made him drinke of his owne cuppe. And as the fauours which princes shew to their seruauntes, are but as a watche to proue the malycious: it chaunced, that when this king gaue the phylosopher to drinke that wyche remayned in his cuppe, an Egyptian knight moued with enuye, sayd vnto king Ptolome, I thinke Lord how that thou art neuer satisfied with drinke, to leaue that whiche remayneth in the cuppe, for the philosopher to drinke after the. To whom the king answered. Thou sayst wel, that the phylosopher Estilpho is neuer fylled with ϵ which I do giue him. For that which remayneth in my cuppe, doth not profite him so much to drinke: as the phylosophye which remayneth in hym should profite the, if thou wouldest take it. The king Antigonus was one of the moste renowned seruauntes, that kinge Alexander the great euer had, who after his death enherited a great part of his empire. For how much happie the king Alexander was in his lyfe, so much he was vnhappie at the tyme of his death: because he had no children whych might enherite his goodes, and that he had such seruauntes as spoyled him of his renowme. This king Antigonus was an vnthrift, and excessiue in all byres: But for all that he loued greatly the Phylosophers, which thing remayned vnto him from kinge Alexander, whose palace was a scoole of all the good Phylosophers of the world. Of this ensample they may se what great profite ensueth, of bringing vp of them that be yonge, for there is none that euer was so wicked or enclyned vnto euyl: but that in longe contynuanne may profyte somewhat in his youth. This kyng Antigonus loued ii. philosophers greatly, the which flourished in that tyme, that is to wete Amenedius, & Abio, of which ii. Abio was wel learned, & very poore. For in that time no phylosopher durst openly read phylosophy, if he were worth any thing in temporal goodes. As Laertius sayth, and as Pulio declareth it better, in the booke of the rulers and noble men of the Greekes. The scholes of the vniuersytie were so correct, that the Phylosopher whych knew most, had least goodes: so that they did not glorifie of any thing els: but to haue pouertye, and to know much of philosophy. The case was such, that the philosopher Abio was sicke, and with that sicknes he was so vered, that they might almost see the bones of his weake body. The king Antigonus set to visite him by his owne sonne, by whom he sent hym much money to he helpe him wyth all. For he lyued in extream pouerty, as it behoued the professours of Philosophy. Abio was sore sicke, being aged, and croked, and though he had made himselfe so leane with sicknes: yet notwithstanding he burned alwayes vpon the weeke of good life. I meane that he had no lesse courage to dispise those giftes: then the kinge Antigonus had nobles to send them. This Phylosopher not contented to haue despised these giftes in such sort, said vnto the sonne of Antigonus, who brought theym. Tell king Antigonus, that I giue him great thanks, for the good enterreinment he gaue me alwayes in my life, and for the giftes he sendeth me now at my death.

For one frende can doo no more to an other, thanne to offer him hys parsonne, and to departe withe his proper goodes. And tell the kyng thy father, that I maruaile what he shoulde meane, that I nowe beinge
four.

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foure score yeres of age, & haue walked al my lyfe time naked in this world, should now be laden with bestures & money, since I must passe so streight a goulfe in the sea, to goe out of this world. The Egyptians haue a custome to lighten the burden of their camels, when they passe the desertes of Arabia which is much better then to ouercharge them. I meane, that he only passeth without trauayle the daungers of the lyfe, which bannisheth from him the thought of temperal goods of this world. Thirde thou shalt say to the king thy father, that from henceforth when any man will dye, he do not succour nor heale him with money, gold, nor riches, but with good and ripe counsaile. For gold wil make him leaue his lyfe with sorow, and good counsaile will mone him to take his death with pacience. The fift king of the Macedonians was called Archelaus, who they say to be y^e grandfather of kinge Philip, father of the great Alexander. This kinge boasteth himselfe to descend from Menelaus, king of the Grecians, and principall captaine which was at the destruction of Troy. This kyng Archelaus was a great frend to the sages, and amongst others there was a Poete with him called Euripides, who at that tyme had no lesse gloyp in his kind of Poetrie: then Archelaus in his kingdome being kyng of Macedonia, for now a days, we esteeme more the sages for the bookes which they wrote: then we do exalt kynges for the realmes which they ruled, or the battayles whych they ouercame. The familiarity whych Euripides had wth the kyng Archelaus was so streight, and his credite wth Archelaus was so great, that in the Realme of Macedonie nothing was done, but first it was examined by the hands of this phylosopher. And as the simple and ignoraunt would not naturally be subiecte to the sage: it chaunced that one nyght Euripides was talkyng a long time wth the kyng, declaring vnto hym the auncient hystories, and when the poore Poete would depart to go home to his house, hys enemyes espyed him, and let hungrye dogges fly vpon hym: the whych dyd not only teare hym in peces, but eate hym euery morfell. So that the intraylles of the dogges, were the wofull graue of the myserable poete. The king Archelaus being certifyed of this woofull case, immedyately (as sone as they told hym) was so chafed, that almost he was bereft of hys senses. And here at merueile not at al. For gentle hartes do alter greatly, when they are aduertysed of any sodayne myshappe. As the loue whych the kyng had to Euripides in hys lyfe was much, so lyke wyse the sorow whych he felte at hys death was very great. For he shed many teares from hys eyes, he cut the heares of hys head, he rounded his beard, he chaunged the apparayle whych he weare, and aboue all, he made as solempne a funeral to Euripides, as if they had buried Vlisses. And not contented wth al these thyngs he was neuer mery, vntil such tyme he had done cruel executioⁿ of the malefactours, for truly the iniury or death whych is done vnto him whome we loue: is no other but as a bath and token of our owne good willes. After iustice was executed of those homycides, and that some of the bones (all gnawen of the dogges) were buryed, a Grecian knight sayd vnto kyng Archelaus, I let the know excellent kyng, that all Macedonia is offended with the, because that for so small a losse thou haste shewed so greates sorow. To whom kyng Archelaus aunswered. Among sages it is a thinge sufficiently tried, that noble hartes oughte not to shewe theymselfes sadde,

sadde, for mishappes and sodaine chaunces: For the king being sadde his realme can not (and though it might, it ought not) shew it selfe mery. I haue heard my father say once, that princes should neuer shedde teares, vnlesse it were for one of these causes.

1 The first, the Prince should bewaile the losse and daunger of his common wealth: for the good Prince ought to pardon the iniuries done to his person: but to reuenge the least act done to the common wealth, he ought to hasard himselfe.

2 The second, the good prince ought to lamente if any man haue touched his honour in any wise: for the Prince which wepeth not droppes of bloud for the thinges touchinge hys honoure, deserueth to be buryed quicke in his graue.

3 The third, the good Prince ought to bewaile those whych can lytle, and suffer muche: For the Prince whych bewayleth not the calamities of the poore, in vaine and without profite lyueth on the earth.

4 The fourth, the good Prince ought to bewaile the glory and prosperitie wherin the Tyrants are: for that prince whych wyth tyrannye of the euil is not displeased, wyth the hartes of the good is vnworthye to be beloued.

5 The fift, the good Prince ought to bewaile the death of wise men: For to a Prince there can come no greater losse, then when a wyse man dyeth in his common wealth.

These were the words, which the king Archelaus aunswered the Grecian knight, who reprobued him because he had wept for the death of Euripides the philosopher. The auncient Historiographers can say no more, of the estimation whych the Philosophers and wyse men had, as well the Greekes as the Latynes: but I wyl tell you one thinge worthy of noting. It is wel known through all the world, that Scipio the Ethnicke, was one of the worthiest that euer was in Rome: for by hys name, and by hys occasion, Rome gotte such a memorie as shall euermore endure. And this was not only for that he conquered Affrycke, but for the great worthynes of hys person. Men ought not to esteeme a lytle these two giftes in one man, that is to wete, to be happye, and aduentures: for many of the auncientes in times past wanne glory by their swordes, & after lost it by their euil liues. The Romaynes historiographers say, that the first he wrote in heroical meeter in the Latin tongue, was Ennius the poete, the workes of whom was so esteemed of Scipio the Ethnicke, that when this aduenturous & so lucky Romaine dyed, he commaunded in hys wil and testament, that they should hange the image of thys Ennius the Poet ouer his graue. By that the great Scipio did at his death, we may wel coniecture how great a frend he was of sages in his life: since he had rather for his honoz, set the statue of Ennius on his graue: than the banner wherewith he wanne and conquered Affricke. In the time of Pirrus (which was king of the Epirotes, & great enemy of the Romaines) flourished a philosopher named Cinas, borne in Theffalie, who (as they say) was the disciple of Demosthenes. The historiographers at that time did so much esteeme this Cinas, that they sayd he was the maister & measure of mans eloquence. For he was very pleasaunt in words, & profound in sentences. This Cinas serued for 3. offices in the palace of king Pirrus.

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1 first he made pastime at his table in that he dyd declare: for he had a good grace in thinges of laughter.

2 Secondly he wrote the valyaunt dedes of his history: for in his stile he had great eloquence, and to write the truth, he was a witnes of syght.

3 Thirldy he went for einbassadoure in affaires of great importaunce: for he was naturally subtile and wittie, and in dispatching busines he was very fortunate. He vled so many meanes in his busines, and had so great perswasion in his wordes, that he neuer toke vpon him to speake of thinges of warre: but either he set a longe truce, or els he made a perpetual peace. The king Pyrrus sayd to this Cynas, O Cynas for thre thinges I thanke the immortal gods.

1 The first, for that they created me a king, and not a seruaunt: for the greatest good that mortal men haue, is to haue lyberty to commaund many, and not to be bound to obey any.

2 The second, I thanke the immortal gods for that they naturally made me stout of hart: for the man which wyth euery tryfle is abashed, it were better for him to leaue his life.

3 The thirde, I giue the immortal gods thanks for that in the gouernment of my common wealth, and for the great affaires and busines of my realme (as wel in warres, as in other thinges) they gaue me such a man (as thou art) in my company: for by thy gentle speach, I haue conquered and obtained many Cyties, which by my cruell sword I could neuer wyne nor attayne. These were the wordes which Pyrrus sayd to his frend Cynas the

Poete. Let every Prince know now, how great louers of
wise men those were in tymes past: and as vpon a
lodaine I haue recyted these few examples,
so with smal study I could haue heaped
infynite Histories.



FINIS.

The ende of the firste Booke.

The Second booke of the Diall of princes, vvhere-
in the Authoure treateth, howe Princes and greate Lordes,
 Should be behaue theym selues towardes their wyues, And
 howe they ought to noyſſe, and byynge by
 their Childzen

Of what excellencye mariage is, and wher as common people ma-
 rie of free will, Princes and noble men oughte to marie of ne-
 cessitie. Cap. i.



Amonge all the frendships and companyes of this lyfe,
 ther is none so naturall, as that betwene the husbände
 and the wife lyuing in one house: for all other compag-
 nies are caused by free wil only, but this procedeth both
 by wil & necessity. Ther is at this day no Lion so fierce,
 no Serpent so venimous, no Viper so infectiue, no As-
 picke so mortall, neyther any beast so tirrible, but at the
 least both male & female do once in the yere mete & con-
 ioyne: and thoughe that in brute beastes there lacketh reason, yet not with-
 standyng they haue a naturall instinctiō to assemble themselves for the
 conseruacion of their kinde. In this case men deserue no lesse reproche then
 beastes merite prayse: for after that the females by generacion are bigge,
 they neuer agre that the males should accompany with them. Accordinge
 to the diuersitye of nations, so amonge themselves they differ the one from
 the other, in lawes, languages, ceremonyes, and customes: but in the ende
 all agre in one thinge, for that they inforce themselves to celebrate mariage.
 As the scriptures teacheth vs, Since the worlde was created, there hath
 nothyng bene more auncient, then the sacrament of mariage: for that daye
 that man was formed, the selfe same day he celebrated mariage with a wo-
 man in the fereseriall paradise. The auncient historiographers (as well Gre-
 kes as latins) wrote many great thinges in the prayse of mariage: but they
 could not say nor write so much, as continuall experience doth shew vs.
 Therfore leauing the superfluous, and taking the most necessary, we saye
 that fyue commodyties folow the sage man, who hath taken the yoke of
 matrimonye.

The first is, the memory whych remayneth to the children as successours
 and heires of their fathers. For as the phylosopher Pithagoras sayth, when a
 father passeth out of this present lyfe, and leaueth behind him a child being
 bys heire, they cannot say vnto him that he dieth, but that he wareth yonge
 in his chylde, since the chylde dooth inherite the fleshe, the goodes, and the
 memorye of the father. Amonge the auncientes it was a common pro-
 uerbe, that the taste of all tastes is bread, the sauor of sauiours is salte, and
 the greatest loue of al loues is from the fathers to the children. And though
 perchaunce

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perchaunce we see the fathers shew some rigor to their children, we ought not therfore to say that they hate them, and dispise them: for the tender loue of the father to the sonne is such, that he cannot endure him to do any thing amysse, or worthe of rebuke. Not only men of reason and brute beastes, but also the hedge and gardeine trees, to their possibilitie procure to continue their kind: and it is plainly sene, in that before the frutes and herbes were formed to be eaten, the seades and kirkelles were made to be kept. Men naturally desire honour in their lyfe, and memory after their death.

Therfore I say, that they come to honour by highe, and noble, and hercical factes, but the memory is left by the good and legitimate children: for the children which are borne in adultery, are begotten in shame, and with great care are nourished.

The second benefite of mariage is, that they aboide adultery, and it is no final matter to auoide this vyce. For the adulterers are not only taken in the chystian religion for offendours: but also amongst the gentyles they are counted infamous.

The sage Solon in the lawes he gaue to the Athenians, comaunded vpon straighte preceptes that they should mary, to auoide adulterie, vpon paine that the chyld that should be borne in adulterie, should be made the comon slaue of the city. The Romaynes (as men foreseeinge all things) ordeyned in the tables of their lawes, that the children which were borne in adulterie, should not be heires of the goodes of their fathers. When the oratoure Eschines was bannished out of Athens, as he came by the Rhodes, he toke no such paines in any one thing as he did in perswadyng the Rhodians to mary and not to liue in adultery: for amonge those barbarous, matrimonye was not common, but only amonge them which were officers of the common wealth. Cicero in a sampler epystell sayth, that the great Romayne Marcus Porcio being gouernour in the common wealth, neuer agreed that an vnle of his shold be maister of the Romaine cheualry, vnlesse he were married: which office was promysed him by the senate. His name was Rufus, a stout and valyaunt man in warre: this notwithstanding Marcus Porcio sayde, that that praise which Rufus deserued for being valyaunt and hardy: he lost againe for lyuing in adultery. And that he would neuer graunt his voyce, nor be in place where they commytted any charge in the warres, to a man that had not a lawfull wife. I say therfore, that if the gentyles and infidels esteemed mariage so much, & dyspised the dedes of adulterers so greatly: much more Christians should be in this case ware & circumspect. For the gentiles feared nothing but only infamy: but the chystians ought to feare both infamy & also paine. Since that of necessity mans sede must increase and that we se men suffer theym selues to be ouercome wyth the fleshe: it weare muche better they should maintaine a househoulde, and lyue vprightly wyth a wife: then to wast their goodes, and burden their conscience with a concubyne. For it is oft tymes sene, that that whiche a gentleman consumeth abrode vppon an harlotte wyth the shame, would keape his wyfe and children at home with honesty.

The thirde commoditie of mariage is, the laudable and louing company,
the

the which is, or ought to be betwene them that are marryed. The auncient Philosophers defining what man was, sayde, that he was a creature, the whych by nature was sociable, communycable, and risible, wherof it foloweth, that the man being solitarie and close in his condicions, can not be in his stomacke but enuyous. Wee that are men loue the good inclination, and do also commend the same in beastes: for all that the sedicious man and the restie horse eate, we thinke it euyl spent. A sad man, a sole man, a man shut in, and solitarie, what profite can he do to the people: for if euery man should be locked vp in his house, the common wealth should forthwith perish. My intencion is to speake against the vacabondes, which without taking vpon them any craft or facultie, passe the age of forty, or fifty yeares, and woulde not, nor wil not marie yet, because they woulde be vicious all the dayes of their lyfe. It is a great shame and conseyence to many men, that neuer determine with them selues to take vpon them any estate, neyther to be marryed, chaste, secular, or ecclesiastical: but as the corke vppon the water the swyme, whether their sensualitye leade them. One of the most laudable & holy compaignes which is in this lyfe, is y^e compaigny of the man & the woman, inespaciallye if the woman be vertuous: for the noble and vertuous wife, withdraueth al the sorowes from the hart of her husband, and accomplisheth his desires, wherby he lyueth at rest. When the wyfe is vertuous, & the husband wise, we ought to beleue that betwene them two is the true loue: for the one not being suspect with the other, and hauing children in the myddest, it is vnpossible but that they should lyne in concord. For al that I haue red and sene I would say, that if the man and the wife do lyue quetly together, a man may not only cal them good married folkes, but also holy personnes: for to speake the truth, the yoke of matrimony is so great, that it cannot be accomplished without much merite. The contrary ought and may be saied of those whych are euill married, whom we wil not cal a compaigny of sayntes, but rather a house of deuylles. For the wife that hath an euill husbände, may say she hath a deuyl in her house: and the husband that hath an euill wife, let him make accompt that he hath hel it selfe in his house. For the euyl wyues are worse then the infernal furyes. Because in hel ther are none tormented but y^e euil only: but the euil woman tormēteth, both the good, and the euyl. Concluding therfore this matter, I say also and affirme, that betwixt the husband and the wife which are wel marryed, is the true and very loue: and they only, and no others, may be called perfite and perpetuall frendes. The other parentes and frendes, if they do loue and praise vs in our presence, they hate vs and dispise vs in our absence. If they giue vs faire wordes, they beare vs euill hartes: finally they loue vs in our prosperitie, and forsake vs in our aduersity: but it is not so amongst the noble and vertuous married personnes. For they loue both within and without the house, in prosperitie, and in aduersitie, in pouer tie, and in riches, in absence, and in presence, seing them selues mery, and perceiuing them selues sad, and if they do it not, trulpe they ought to doo it: for when the husband is troubled in his foote, the wyfe ought to be greued at her hart.

The fourth comodity of mariage is, that the men and women marryed haue more aucthority and grauity then the others. The lawes whych were

THE SECOND BOOKE

made in old time in the fauour of mariage, were many and diuerse. For Chapharoneus, in the lawes þ he gaue to the Egyptians, commaunded and ordeyned vpon greuous paynes, that the man that was not married, should not haue any office of gouernment in the common wealth. And he sayd furder, that he that hath not learned to gouerne his house, can euil gouerne a common wealth. Accordyng to the lawes þ he gaue to the Athenians, he perswaded al those of þ comon wealth to marie themselues voluntarily: but to the heddes and captaynes, which gouerne the affaires of warre, he commaunded to marie of necessity, sayeng that to men which are lecherous, God scldome giueth victories. Licurgus the renoumed gouernour and geuer of the lawes of the Lacedemonians, commaunded, that al captaynes of the armyes, and the priestes of the Temples should be married: sayeng that the sacrifices of married men were more acceptable to the gods, then those of any other. As Plynie sayth, in an epistle that he sent to Falconius his frende, rebuking him for that he was not married, where he declareth that the Romaynes in old time had a law, that the Dictatoure, and the Pretor, the Censour, and the Questor, and al the knightes should of necessity be married: for the man that hath not a wife and children legittymate in his house, cannot haue nor hold greate aucthority in the common wealth. Plutarche, in the booke that he made of the prayse of mariage sayth, that the priestes of the Romaynes dyd not agre to them that were vnmarrried, to come and sytte downe in the Temples: so that the yong maydens prayed without at the church doze, and the yonge men prayed on their knees in the temple, only the married men were permitted to sitte or stande. Plynie in an epistle that he wrote to Fabatus hys father in law sayth, that the Emperour Augustus had a custome, that he neuer suffered any yonge man in his presence to sitte, nor permitted any man married to tel his tale on foote. Plutarche in the booke that he made in the prayse of women sayth, that since the realme of Corinthe was peopled more with Bachelours, then with married men: they ordeyned amongst theyn, that the man or woman that had not bene married and also that had not kept chyl- dren and house, (if they lyued after a certaine age) after their death shoulde not be buried.

The authoure folowing his purpose, declareth that by meanes of marriage, many mortal enemies haue bene made good and parfite frendes. Cap. iiii.

In the sundry examples that we haue declared, and by al that whych remaineth to declare, a man may know wel enoughe of what excellency matrimony is, not only for the charge of conscience, but also for the thinges touching honour: for to say the truth, the men that in the common wealth are married, giue smal occasion to be sleaunded, & haue more cause to be honored. We cannot deny, but that matrimony is troublesome & chargeable to them þ be married. for two causes. The one is in bringyng vp their children, and the other in suffering the importunityes of their mothers. Yet in fine we cannot deny, but that the good & vertuous wife is she that setteth a stay in the house, and kepeth her husband in estimacion in the common wealth: for in the publike affaires, they giue more faith and credit vnto those that

that are charged with children, then vnto others that are loden with yeres.

The fifth commodity that ensueth matrimony, is the peace and reconciliations that are made betwene the enemyes, by meanes of mariage. We in this age are so couetous, so importune, and malicious, that there are very few but haue enemyes, wherby groweth contention and debate: for by our weaknes, we fall dayly into a thousande occasions of enimities: and scarcely we can find one to bring vs againe into frendship. Considering what men desire, what thinges they procure, and wherunto they aspire. I meruaile not that they haue so few frendes: but I much muse that they haue no moe enemyes. For in thinges of weight, they marke not who haue bene their frendes, they consider not they are their neighbours, neyther they regard that they are christians: but their conscience layd a part, and honesty set a side, euery man seeketh for himselfe, and his owne affaires, though it be to the prejudice of all his neighbours. What frendship can ther be amongst proud men, since the one wil go before, and the other disdaineth to come behind? What frendship can ther be amongst enuyous men, since the one purchaseth, and the other possesseth? What loue can there be betwene two couetous men, since the one dare not spend, and the other is neuer satisfied to haue, and heape vp. For al that we can reade, se, go, and trauaile, and for al that we may do, we shall neuer se nor here tell of men that haue lacked enemyes: for eyther they be vicious, or vertuous. If they be euil and vicious, they are alwayes hated of the good: and if they be good and vertuous, they are continually persecuted of the euill. Many of the auncient philosophers spent a great part of their time, & lost much of their goodes, to serche for remedies and meanes to reconcile them that were at debate, & contention, & to make them by gentlenes good frends and louers. Some said that it was good and profitable, to forget the enimities for a time: for many thinges are pardoned in tyme, which by reason could neuer take end. Others sayd that for to appease the enemyes, it was good to offer money, because moneye doth not only breake the feminate and tender hartes, but also the hard and craggy rockes. Others said that the best remedie was, to set good men to be mediatours betwene them, in especially if they were sage and wise men: for the honest faces & stout hartes are ashamed when they are proffered money, and the good do humble them selues by intreaty. These meanes well considered, and the remedies wel soughte out to make frendes, there are none so ready, & so true as mariage: for the mariage done sacramentally is of such & so great excellency, that betwene some it causeth perfite frendship, & betwene others it appeaseth great iniuries. During the time y^e Iulius Cesar kept him selfe as father in law to the great Pompeius, & that Pompeius helde himselfe his sonne in law, ther was neuer euil wil nor quarels betwene the: but after that Pompeius was deuorced from the house of Cesar, hatred, enuy, & enimities engendered betwene them: in such sort y^e they contended in suche & so cruell warres, that Pompeius against his wil lost his head, & also Iulius Cesar shortned his life. When those that dwelled in Rome rauished & robbed the daughters of y^e Sabines, if after they had not chaunged their counsel, & of theues to become husbandes, without doubt the Romaines had bene all destroyed: for the Sabines had made an othe to aduenture both their goodes and

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their lyues, for to reueng the iniuries Done vnto them, their doughters, and wiues: but by the meanes of mariage, they were conferred in great amity and loue. For the Romaines receued in mariage the doughters of the Sabines whom before they had rauished. Greater enmity ther cannot be, then that of god to wards men, through the sinne of Adam: not withstanding ther neuer was, nor neuer shalbe greater frendship then that, which was made by the godly maryage: and for greater aucthouyty to confirme mariage, the sonne of god woulde that his mother should be married, and afterward he himselfe was present at a mariage, where he turned the water into wine, though now a days the euil married men do turne the wine into water. He doth not speake here of religious personnes, nor men of the Church, neither of those which are closed in deuout places: for those (fleing the occasions of the world, and chosing the wayes lesse daungerous) haue offered their soules to god, & with their bodyes haue done him acceptable sacrifices: for ther is difference betwene the relygion of Christ, and the sinfull Synagoge of the Jewes: for they offered kyddes and muttons, but here are not offered but teares and sighes. Leauyng therfore all those secretes apart, which men ought to leaue to God: I say and affirme, that it is a holy and commendable counsel, to vse his profite with the Sacrament of mariage: the which though it be taken of al voluntarily, yet Princes & great lordes ought to take it necessarily. For the pynce that hath no wife nor chyldren shal haue in his realme, much grudgyng and displeasure. Plutarcke in the booke he made of mariage sayth, that amongst the Lidiens ther was a law wel obserued and kept, that of necessity their kings and gouernours should be married: & they had such respect to this thing, and were so circumspect in this matter, that if a prince dyed and left his heire an infant, they would not suffer him to gouerne the realme vntil he were married. And they greatly lamented the day of the departing of their Quene out of this lyfe: for with her death, the gouernement ceased, the royal aucthouyty remained boyd, and the common wealth without gouernment, so long tyme as the king deferred to take another wyfe: & so they were some times, without kyng, or gouernment. For princes are, or ought to be, the mirrour and example of al, to lyue honest, and temperate, the which cannot welbe done vnlesse they be married, or that they se themselves to be conquerers of the flesh, & being so they are satisfied: but if they be not married and the flesh doth assault them, then they lyue immediatly conquered. Wherefore of necessity they must go by their neighbours houses, or els by some other dishonest places scattered abroad, to the reproch and dishonour of them and their kindredes: and oftentimes to the great peryl and daunger of their parsonnes.

Of sundry and diuerse lawes which the auncientes had in contractinge matrimony, not only in the choise of women, but also in the maner of celebrating mariage. Cap. iiii.

In al nations, and in al the Realmes of the world, mariage hath alwayes bene accepted, and maruailously commended: for other wyse the world had not ben peopled, nor yet the number of men multiplyed.

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The auncientes neuer disagreed one from another, in the approbation and acceptation of marriage: but ther was amongst them great difference, a strife, vpon the contractes, ceremonies, and vsages of the same. For they vsed as much difference in contractinge matrimony, and chosinge their wyues: as these Epicures doe desire, the varietie of sundry delicate meates. The deuine Plato in his booke he made of the common wealth, did counsell that al things should be common, and that not onely in brute beastes, in mouables, and heritages, but also that women should be comen: for he saide, that if these twoo wordes, thine, and mine, were abolisshed and out of vse, there shoulde not be debates, nor quarelles in this worlde. They call Plato deuine, for many good thinges whiche he spake: but nowe they may call him worldly, for the counsell profane whiche he gaue. I can not tell what beasteslines it may be called, nor what greater rewdenes may be thought, that the apparrell shuld be proper, and the wyues comen. The brute beaste doth not knowe that whiche came out of her belly, longer then it sucketh of her breastes. And in this sorte it would chaunce to men, yea and worse to, if women were comen in the common wealth. For though one shoulde knowe the mother, whiche hath bozne him: he should not knowe the father that hath begotten him. The Tharentines (whiche were well renoumed amongst the auncientes, and not a litle feared of the Romaines) had in their cite of Tharente a lawe and custome, to marie them selues with a legittimate wife, and to begette children: but besides her a man might yet chole twoo others for his secret pleasures. Spartianus saide that the Emperour Hellus Verus, as thouching women, was very dissolute: and since his wife was younge and faire, and that she did complaine of hym because he ledde no honest lyfe with her, he spake these wordes vnto her. My wyfe, thou haste no cause to complayne of me, synce I remayne with thee vntill suche tyme as thou arte quicke with chylde: For the residue of the tyme, we husbandes haue licence and priuilege to seke out pastimes with other women. For this name of a wyfe, confectioneth in it honour: but for the residue, it is a greuous burden and painfull office. The like matter came to Ptolomeys king of Egypt, of whom the queene his wife did greatly complaine. Admitte that all the Grekes haue bene esteemed to be very wyse, amongst all those the Athenians were esteemed of most excellent vertue: for the sages that gouerned the common wealth, remained in Athens with the philosophers which taught the sciences. The sages of Athens ordeined, that all the neighbours and inhabitauntes might kepe twoo lawfull wiues, & furthermore vpon paine of greuous punishmentes did commaunde, & none shuld presume, nor be so hardie to maintaine any concubine: for they sayde, when men haunte the companie of light women, commonly they misuse their lawfull wiues. As Plutarcke saith in his politiques, the cause why the Grekes made this lawe was, considering that man coulde not, nor ought not to liue without the company of a womā: and therfore they wold that man shuld mary with two wiues. For if the one were diseased and lay in, yet the other might serue in bedde, wayte at the table, and doe other busynes in the house. Those of Athens had an other great respect and consideration to make this lawe, which was this, that if it chaunced the one to be barrayne, the other should bynge forth chyliden in the common wealth:

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and in suche case she that brought forth children, should be esteemed for maistres: and the other that was barraine, should be taken for a seruauant. When this law was made, Socrates was married with Xantippa, and to accomplish the lawe, he toke an other called Mitra, whiche was the daughter of the philosopher Aristides: and sith those two women had great quarrels, & debates together, and that thereby they slandered their neighbours, Socrates sayde vnto them. My wyues, you see righte well that my eyes are holowe, my legges are wythered, my handes are wyncled, my head is balde, the body is litle, and the heares are whyte: why doe ye then that are so faire, stand in contentions and strife for me that am so defourmed? though Socrates sayde these wordes (as it were in ieste) yet suche wordes were occasion, that the quarrelles and strifes betwene them ceased. The Lacedemonians (that in tyme of peace and warre, were alwayes contrarie to the Athenians) obserued it for an inuiolate lawe, not that one man should mary with twoo wyues, but that one woman should mary with twoo husbandes: and the reason was, that when one husbände should go to the warres, the other should tary at home. For they sayde, that a man in no wyse should agree to leaue his wife alone in the common wealthe. Plinie wytyng an Epistle to his frende Locratius, and saint Hyerome wytyng to a friere called Rusticus saith, that the Athenians dyd vse to marie the byetherne with the sisters: but they did not permitte the Auntes to marie with their nephewes, neither the vncles with their neices. For they saide, that brothers and sisters to marie together, was to marie with their semblable: but for vncles to marie nieces, and auntes with nephewes, was as of fathers to daughters, & of mothers to sonnes. Melciades whiche was a man of great renoume amongst the Gretians, had a sonne called Cymonius who was married to his syster called Pinicea, and beinge demanded of one why he toke his sister in mariage, he answered: my syster is fayre, sage, ryche, and made to my appetite, and her father and myne dyd recommaund her vnto me, and since by the commaundement of the Gods a man ought to accomplishe the behestes and requestes of fathers: I haue determined (since nature hath geuen her me for my syster) willingly to take her for my lawfull wyfe. Diodorus Siculus sayth, that before the Egyptians receiued any lawes, euery man had as many wyues as he would: and this was at the libertie of both parties, for as muche as if she would go, she went liberally, and forsooke the man: and likewise he left her, when she displeased him. For they saide that it was impossible for men and women to liue long together, without muche trouble, contentions, and brayles. Diodorus Siculus said one thing, speaking of this matter, that I neuer red in any booke, nor heard of the auncientes paste, whiche was that amongst the Egyptians there was no difference in children: for they accepted them all legitimate, though they were children of slaues. For they saide, that the principall doer of the generation was the father, and not the mother, and that therefore the children whiche were borne among them, toke only the fleshe of the mother, but they did inherite the honour and dignitie of the parte of the father. Julius Caesar in his commentaries saith, that in great Britaine, called nowe Englande) the Britons had an vse, that one woman was married vnto fise men, the which beastlines is not redde to haue bene in any nation of times paste: for if it be
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sclander for one man to haue diuers wyues, why shoulde it not also be a sclanderous and shamefull thing, for one woman to haue many husbandes. The noble and vertuous women ought to be married for twoo causes. The first to the ende God should geue them children, and benediction, to whome they may leaue their goodes, and their memory. The second, to thend they should liue euery one in their owne house, accompanied and honoured with their husbandes. For other wise, I saie for a truthe, that the woman that is not contented and satisfied with her owne propre husbände, will not be contented nor satisfied with all men in the worlde. Plutarcke in his apotheames sayeth, that the Cymbres did vse to mary with their propre & naturall daughters: the whiche custome was taken from them by the Consul Marius, after that he did ouercome them in Germany, and that of them he had triumphed at Rome. For the chylde whiche was bozne of suche mariage, was sonne of the daughter of one sole father, and was sonne and brother of one onely mother, and they were also cosins, nephewes, and brother of one onely father & brother. Truly suche custome procedeth rather of wyld beasts, then of reasonable creatures: for many of the more parte of brute beasts (after the females haue brought forth males) within one yeare after they doe accompany with their dammes which brought them forth. Strabo in the situation of the worlde, and Seneca in an Epistle saye, that the Lydes and the Armenians had a custome, to sende their daughters to the Ryuers and hauens of the sea to gette their mariages, selling their owne bodies to straungers: so that those whiche would marie were firste forced to sell their virginittie. The Romains (whiche in all their affayres and busynesses were more sage and modeste, then other nations) vsed muche circumspection in all their mariages: for they keppe it as an auncient lawe, and vse accustomed, that euery Romaine should marie with one woman, and no mo. For euen as to kepe two wyues among the Christians, is a great conscience: so was it demed amongst the Romaines muche infamie.

Amongest the auncient and renowned oratours of Rome, one was called Metellus Numidicus, the whiche one daye makinge his oration to the Senate, sayde these wordes. Worthy Senatours, I let you vnderstande, that I haue greatly studied what the counsellors should be, that I ought to geue ye touching mariage: for the counsell rather and sodeyne, oftentimes is not profitable. I doe not perswade you at all to mary, neyther doe saye that ye shall not mary: but it is true, that if ye can lyue without a woman, yee shall be free from many troubles. But what shall we doe, O ye Romaines, synce that nature hath made vs such, that to kepe women it is a great trouble: and to lyue without them, it is more danger. I dare saye (if in this case my opinion myght be accepted) that it should not be euill done to resiste the lust, since it cometh by fittes: and not to take wiues, which are continuall troubles. These were the wordes, which Metellus Numidicus spake, the which were not very acceptable, nor pleasaunt to the fathers being in the Senate: for they would not that he shuld haue spoken such wordes against mariage. For there is no estate in this lyfe, wherein fortune sheweth her force more: then in this state of matrimonie. A man maye proue them in this sort, that if the fashions and vsages of the auncientes were diuerse, as concernynge ordinaunce:

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ordinaunce: truly there was no lesse contrarietie in their contractes, and ceremonies. *Boccace* the florentine, in a booke that he made of the mariages of the auncientes, reciteth many and sondrie customes that they vsed in making the mariages, whereof he telleth some, not for to allowe, nor maintaine them: but to reprove and condemne them. For the wyrters did neuer wyte the vices of some, but onely to make the vertues of others more clerely to be knowen. The Cymbres had a custome that when they would marie (after the mariage was now agreed vpon) he that was made sure, shoulde pare his nayles, and sende them to his wife that shoulde be: and she in like sorte sent hers vnto him. And then when she of him, and he of her had receiued the nayles the one of the other, they toke them selues married for euer: and did afterwarde live together as man and wyfe. The Theutonians had a ceremonie, that the man that was sure, rounded the heere of her to whome he was made sure, and she did the lyke vnto him: and when the one suffered the other to doe so, immediately they celebrated mariage. The Armenians hadde a lawe, that the bydegrome shoulde pinche the right eare of the byde, and the byde shoulde likewise pinche the lefte eare of the bydegrome: and then they tooke them selues married for euer. The Elagites had a custome, that both parties whiche were made sure, pycked one the others litle finger vntil they bledde: the whiche blood they did sucke naturally, and this done they were married. The Numidians vsed, that the bydegrome and the byde shoulde gather together a pece of earth, and with their spet tell they tempered it, and therewith the one annointed the foreheade of the other: so that the mariage betwene theym, was to annoynte the one and the other with a litle claye. When those of Dace would be married, the bydegrome and the byde, eche one by them selues, were brought in chariottes, the one metinge the other: and when they came togethers, the bydegrome gaue a newe name to the byde, and she likewise to him, and from that tyme forwarde they liued as in lawfull matrimony. When those of Hungary would marie, the one sent vnto the other a famillier god made of syluer, whom they called Lare, and when they had receiued the God of eche other, the mariage was finished, and they lyued as man and wyfe. The Siconians had a custome and lawe, that when they shoulde mary, the one sent to the other a shooc: and that receiued of both, they agreed to the mariage. The Tharentins had a custome, that when they did marie, they set them selues at the table to eate, and the one did feade the other: so that if by mishappe the one shoulde chaunce to feade him selfe, that mariage was not esteemed for constant, nor good. The Scithes had a custome, and they kept it as a lawe, that when men and women shoulde marie, as now they touche the handes the one of the other: so did they them touche with their feete, afterwards they set together their knees, then they touched with their handes, and then they sette their buttockes together, and so their heades, and in the ende they imbraced the one the other. All these ceremonies done, the mariages were assured, and sufficiently confirmed: and so we might saye of many others, but to auoyde tediousnes we will folowe our matter.

How Princesses and great Ladies ought to loue their husbandes, and that loue ought not by conirations, and enchauntementes to be pzocured: but by wisdom, honestie, and vertue desired. Cap. liii. All

All men that desire to achieve and obteyne any worthy thinge in this life, inuente and searche many meanes to come thereunto: for men by good prouision and circumspection compasse sondrie thinges, whiche other wise they should loose, onlesse they would by force take them. As in the mariages of our christian religion, wherein we doe not suffer, that the man & the wife be parentes, and nigh of blood: leauing a part that the one is a mā, and the other a woman, that the one is strong, & the other weake: oft times it chaunceth, that there is betwene the man and the wyfe more contrarietie in conditions, then diuersitie in linage. I would saye therfore (for healthfull counsel, & necessary aduice) to y^e great Dames, & princeesses, & to al other wiues, since they must nedes eate and drinke with their husoandes, that they must sleape, create, be conuersaunt, & talke, & finally liue & die with their husbands, that they should vse muche diligence to beare with their conditions: for to say the trothe, the wife ought in all thinges to folowe the conditions of her husband, & the husband in some thing to beare with the conditions of his wife. So that she by her patience ought to suffer the imperfections of him, and he likewise by his wisdome ought to dissemble the importunities of her: and in such sorte they ought to agree & loue together, that all those of the common wealth should reioyce at their behauiours. For married men, which are quarrellers & seditious persones, the neighbours in steade of weeping & wailing for the deprivation of their life, demand giftes the one of the other for bringing newes of their death. Admit that the husband be couetous, & vnthrift, that he be deformed in his body, that he be rude in condition, base of linage, rashe in his speache, in aduersities fearefull, in prosperities carelesse, in the end being (as he is) husbände, we can not denie but in the house he ought to be chiefe maister. For the which it is also necessary, that we geue now vnto the wyues some healthfull counsell, whereby they may beare and suffre quietly suche great troubles. For at this daye there is no husbände so louing, nor so vertuous, in whom the wife shall not finde some euill conditions. First of al wiues ought to endeouour them selues to loue their husbandes vnfaignedly, if they desire their husbandes should loue them without dissimulation: for as we see by experience, marriage is seldome broken through pouertie, nor yet continued with riches. For the euill married folkes through debate, and strife, be separated in on week, where as by good and true loue they are preserved all the dayes of their life. To eate drie and vnsauory meates, they vse to take salte for to amende it. I meane, that the burdens of matrimonie are many, and troublesome, the whiche all with loue onely maye be endured. For as Plato the deuine philosopher sayeth, one thinge oughte not to be called more painefull then an other, for the labour we thereunto employ: but for the great or small loue that thereunto we haue. Though some sondry thyngs be troublesome and tedious, yet when with loue it is begonne, it is easely folowed, and ioyefully achieved: for that trauayle is nothyng noysome, where loue is the mediatur. I knowe right well and doe confesse that the counsell whiche I geue to women is sharpe, that is: for an honest woman to loue a dissolute man, for a sage wyfe to loue a foolish husbande, for a vertuous wyfe, to loue a vitious husbande. For as dayly experience sheweth, there are some men of so foolish conditions, & other women of so noble conuersation, that by

OF PRINCES

that by reason apparant they ought to take them for mistresses, rather then they should accepte them for husbandes. Although this, in some particuler cases is true, I saye and affirme, that generally all women are bounde to loue their husbandes, since that willingly, and not by compulsion they were not enforced to take them: for in like manner, if the mariage pleased not the woman, she hath not so much cause to complaine of her husbande for asking her: as she hath reason to complayne of her owne selfe that accepted hym. For the misfortunes that by our folly doe chaunce, though we haue cause to lamente them, we ought also to haue reason to dissemble them. Be the man neuer so wyld and euill brought vp, it is impossible, if the wife loue him, but he must nedes loue her againe. And though perchaunce he can not force his euill condition to loue her, yet at the leaste he shall haue no occasion to hate her. The whiche ought not to be litle esteemed, for there are many wyues not onely of the Plebeians, but also of the noble Dames, that coulde be content to forgeue their husbandes all the pleasure they should doe them, and also all the loue that they ought to shewe: if they would refraine their tongues from speaking iniurious wordes, and kepe their handes from dealinge lothsome stripes. We haue many notable examples in histories, of manye noble and stoute Ladies (as well Grekes as Romaines) whiche after they were married, had so great faithfulness, and bare suche loyaltie to their husbandes: that they not onely folowed them in their trauailes, but also deliuered them in their daungers. Plutarcke in the booke of noble women declareth, that the Lacedemonians, keeping many nobles of the Athenians prisoners (whiche at that tyme were their cruell and mortall enemies) and beinge iudged to die: their wyues concluded to goe to the prison where they laye, and in the ende they obtayned of the Gaylor thereof, that they myght goe in, and talke with their husbandes: for in dede the teares were many that before them were shed, & the giftes were not fewe whiche vnto them were offered. The wiues therefore entring into the prison did not onely chaunge their apparell with their husbandes, but also the libertie of their personnes: for they went out as women, and the women in their steades remained there as men. And when they brought out these innocent wyues from prison, to execute iustice, supposing they were men, the Lacedemonians vnderstandinge the faithfulness of the women, determined that they should not only be pardoned: but also that they should be greatly rewarded, and honoured, for the good examples of other women to whom they were married. The auncient and great renowned Panthea, when newes was brought her that her husbande was dead in the battayle, she her owne selfe determined to goe seke him out, with hope that as yet he was not vtterly dead: and fynding him dead, with the bloud of him she washed all her body, and like wyse her face, stryking with a knife her selfe to the harte, and imbracing her husbande she yelded vp the ghost, & so togethers they were caried to the graue. Porcia, the daughter of Marcus Porcia the great, when she hearde that her husband Brutus was taken and slayn, she felte for that newes so great sorowe, that all her frendes seinge her take the matter so greuously, hidde from her all Ironie where with she might kill her selfe: and did laboure to kepe and preferue her from daungers, wherein she might fall and shorten her life. For she was so excellent a Romaine, and so necessary

so necessary to the common wealth, that if they had lamented the death of Brutus her husband, with teares of their eies: they ought to bewaile the losse of his wife Porcia, with droppes of blood in their hartes. Porcia therefore feeling in her selfe a wofull and afflicted harte, for the death of her entirely beloved husband, to declare that that whiche she did was not fained, nor for to please the people, but to satisfie her great & marueilous loue: since she founde neither swoorde nor knife to kill her selfe, nor corde to hange her selfe, neither welle to drowne her in, she went to the fire, and with as great pleasure did eate the hote fire coales, as an other would haue eaten any delicate meates. We may say that such kinde of death was very straunge and newe, whiche the Romaine founde to encrease, augmente, and manifest her loue: Yet we can not Denie, but that she wanne to the posteritie of her name a perpetuall memorie. For as a noble dame she would quenche with coles of fire her burning harte, that enflamed was with fire brondes of loue. As Diodorus Siculus saith, it was a lawe & custome amongst the Lidians, to mary them selues with many wiues: and whan by chaunce their husbandes died, the wiues which they had met together, and fought in some plaine place. And the women which remained only aliue, and of the conflict had the victorie, cast them selues into the graue of their husbande: so that those women then fought for to die, as men now fight for to liue.

Of the reuenge a woman of Grece toke of him that had killed her husband, in hope to haue her in mariage. Cap. v.

Plutarche in the booke that he made of the noble and worthy women, Declareth a thing worthy of rehersall, and to be had in memory.

In the citie of Galacia were two renowned citezens, whose names were, Sinatus & Sinoris, whiche were by blood cosins, & in familiaritie frendes: and for the loue of a Grekes daughter, being very noble, beautifull, and exceeding gracious, they both strived to haue her in mariage, and for to attain to their desires, they both serued her, they both folowed her, they both loued her, and for her both of them desired to die. For the dart of loue, is as a stroke with a clod of earth: the which being throwen amongst a company, dothe hurte the one, and blinde the others. And as the fatal destinees had ordeined it, Sinatus serued this lady called Camma in suche sorte, that in the ende he obtained her in mariage for his lawfull wife: whiche thing when Sinoris perceived, he was ashamed of his doinges, & was also wounded in his harte. For he lost not only that, which of so long time he had sought, loued, and serued: but also the hope to attaine to that, which chiefly in his life he desired. Sinatus therefore seing that his wife Camma was noble, meke, gracious, faire, and loving, and that in all thinges she was comely and well taught: decreed to offer her to the goddesse Diana, to the end that she would preferue her from perill, and keape her from infamie. Truly we cannot reprove the knight Sinatus for that he did, nor we ought to note him for rather in his counsel: for he sawe that his wife was very faire, and therefore much desired. For with great difficultie that is keppe, whiche of many is desired. Though Camma was now married, and that she was in the protectio of the goddesse Diana: yet not withstanding her olde frend Sinoris died for her sake, and by all meanes possible he serued her, continually he importuned her, daily he folowed her, & howe

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he requi-

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he required her. And all this he did, bypon certayne hope he had, that suche diligent seruice should suffice to make her chaunge her sacred mynde: and as she had chosen Sinatus for her husbände openly, so he thought she shoulde take him for her frend secretly. For many women are as men without tast through sickenes, the which eate more of that that is hurtful and forbidden: then of that whiche is healthsome, and commaunded. Not without a cause Camma was greatly renowmed throughout all Galatia for her beautie: and much more among the vertuous esteemed for her honestie. The which euidently in this was sene, that after she was married, Sinoris could neuer cause her to receiue any iewel, or other gifte, nor that she would heare him speake any worde, nor that she would shew her selfe in the wyndowe, either to him, or to any other, to the ende to be sene in the face. For it is not sufficient for Ladies to be pure good: but also to geue no occasion for men to iudge (that if they durste) they would be euill. As it is true in dede, that the harte which is intangled with loue, dare boldly aduenture him selfe in many kynde of daungers, to accomplishe that whiche he desired: so Sinoris seing that with faire wordes he could not flatter her, nor with any giftes wyne her, determined to kyll Sinatus her husbände, bypon hope that when she should be wydowe, he might easely obtaine her in matrimonie. For he thought although Camma was not euill, it was not for that she wanted desier to do it: but because she had no commodious place to accomplishe it. And to be shorte, Sinoris would neades execute and byng to effect his deuellyshe and damnable intente: so that sone after he bylie slewe his saide compaignion Sinatus. After whose death the noble lady Camma was of Sinoris greatly desired, and by his parentes muche importuned, that she would condescende to take and mary him, and that she would forgyue him the death of her husband Sinatus, whiche then was buried. And as she was in all her doinges suche a princely woman, she imagened with her selfe, that vnder the pretence of mariage, she might haue opportunitie to accomplishe her desiers: wherfore she answered vnto his parentes, that she did accepte their counsel, and saide to Sinoris that she did choose him for her husbände, speaking these wordes more for to comforte him, then with intente to pardon him. And as amongst those of Galatia there was a custome, that the newe married folkes shoulde eate togethers in one dishe, and drynke in one cuppe: the dape that the marriage was celebrated, Camma determined to prepare a cuppe with popson, and also a lute, wherewith she began to playe, and singe with her propre voyce before the goddesse Diana in this maner.

TO the Dian, whose endles reigne both stretch
 Aboue the boundes, of all the heauenly route
 And eke whose aide, with royall hande to reche
 Chiefe of all gods, is moste proclaimed oute.
 I sweare, and with vnspotted faith protest
 That though till nowe, I haue refered my brest
 For no entent it was, but thus distressed
 With waylefull ende, to weeke Senatus deth.

And

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Fol. 92

And if in mynde, I had not thus decreed
Wherto should I, my penlife daies haue spent
With longer dwle: for that forpasse dede
Whose ofte recozd, nowe sozowes still hath bent.

But oh synce him, their kindled spite hath slaine
With tender loue, whom I haue waide so dere
Synce he by fate, is rest from fortunes rayne
For whose decaye, I dydelesse perishe here:

Synce him by whom, my only lyfe I ledd
Throughe wretched handes, the gaping earth nowe haue
Dught I by wyshe, to lye in eny stedd
But close with him, together in the graue?

O bright Dian, synce senceles him I see
And makeles I, here to remaine alone,
Synce he is graue, where greedie woymes nowe bee
And I suruiue, surmounted with my sone,

Synce he is prest, with lumps of wretched soyle
And I thus chargd, with flame of frosen care:
Thou knowest Dian, howe harde with restles toyle
Of hoot abhorring mynde, my life I spare.

For howe can this, vnquiet brest resarne
The fainting brest, that strives to dye his last
Synce that euen then, my bleng harte did starue
When my dead phere, in swalowyng earth was cast.

The first black dape, my husbände slept in graue
By cruell sworde, my lyfe I thought to spende
And synce a thousande times, I sought to haue
A stretching corde, my sozowes wath to ende.

And if till nowe, to waite my pining daies,
I haue deserue, by slaughter of my hande
It was but loe, a fitter cause to raise
Whereon his sharpe reuenge, might iustly stande.

Now since I may in full suffising wyse
Redeme his breath, (if waywarde will would let)
Poze depe offence, by not reuenge might rise
Then Sinoris erst, by gittles bloud did get.

Thee therfoze mightte loue, I iustly crane
And eke thy doughter chaste, in thankfull sozte
That loe the offering, whiche of my selfe ye haue
Ye wil bouchesafe, into your heauenly sozte.

Synce Sinatus, with soone enflamed eles
Amongest the Achaian routes, me chiefly detwed
And eke amidst, the ptease of Grekes likewyse
Chose for his phere, when swetely he had sedwed.

Synce at my will, the froth of waisting welth
With gladsome mynde, he trained was to spend
Synce that his youth, which slippeth loe by stely
To waite on me he, freely did commend.

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Since he such heapes, of lingring harmes did waite
Aye to contente, my wanton youthly will
And that his bzeath, to fade did passe so fast
To glut their thirst, that thus his bloud did spill.

Though great the dutie be, which that I owe
Unto his graued ghost, and cindzed moulde
Yet loe me scames, my duetic well I shoue
Performing that, my feble power coulde.

For since for me, bntwined was his thzeede
Of gittles life, that ought to purchase bzeath
Can reasons doome conclude, I ought to dzeede
For his decaye, to clyme the steppes of death.

In wretched earth, my father graued lyes
My deere mother, hath ronns her rase of life
The pryde of loue, no moze can dawnt mine eyes
My waiked goodes, ar shonke by fortunes strife.

My honours sone, eclipsed is by fate
My yong delight, is loe fordone by chaunce
My broken life, these passed happes so hate
As can my graued hart, no moze aduauunce.

And now remains, to ductie with my phere
So moze but refuse loe, my pkesome life
With willing mynde, followed eke with dzeere
Whiche I resigne, as sitteth for a wife.

And thou Sinoris, whiche Iunos poke doest craue
To presse my corpe, to feede thy liking lust
The route of Homers gods, the graunt to haue
In steade of roiall seates, a thzone of dust.

In chaunge of collic robes, and riche arase
A simple winding sheete, they deigne the giue
And eke in steede, of honest wedlockes state
They singe thy dirge, and not boughsaue the liue,

In place of htmens hie bnfiled bedde
They laie thee by, in closure of thy graue.
In steed with precious meates, for to be fedde
They make the woymes, for sister prae thee haue
In steed of songe, and musikes tuned solone
They waite on thee, with loude lamenting voice
In chaunge of ioyfull life, and hie renolue
Thy cruell death, may sprede with wretched noyse.

For you, great gods, that stalled be on hie
Should not be iust, ne yet suche titles clame
Unles this wretche, ye rutbles cause to die
That liueth nowe, to sclaunder of your name.

And thou Dian, that haunted courtes doost shonne
Knowst, with what great delight, this life I leane
And when the race, of spending bzeath is donne
Will perss the soile, that did my phere receaur.

And

And if perchaunce, the paled ghostes despise
 Suche fatall fine, with grudge of thankeles minde
 Yet at the least, the shamefast liuing eyes
 Shall haue a glasse, rare wysely gistes to finde
 Wherin I will, that Lucrese seate shall gaze
 But none that lyue, like Helens line in blase.

AND when the praier was ended, that this faire and vertuous Camma
 made, she dranke, and gaue to drynke to Sinoris of this cuppe of poyson,
 who thought to drynke no other but good wyne and water: and the
 case was suche, that he died at noone daies, and she like wyse in the eueninge
 after. And truly her death of all Grece, with as great sorowe was lamented:
 as her life of all men was desired. Princesses and great Ladies, may mooste
 euidently perceiue by the examples herein conteyned, howe honest and ho-
 nourable it is for them to loue, and endeouore them selues to be beloued of
 their husbandes: and that not onely in their lyfe, but also after their deathe.
 For the wyfe to serue her husbände in his life, seameth oft tymes to proceade
 of feare: but to loue and honour him in his graue, proceadeth of loue. Prin-
 cesses and great Ladies ought not to doe that, which many other women of
 the common people doe, that is to wete, to seke some drynkes and inuente
 some shamefull sorceries to be beloued of their husbandes: for albeit it is a
 great burden of conscience, and lacke of shame in lyke maner to vse such su-
 perstitions, yet it should be a thing to vniust and very flaundersous, that for
 to be beloued of their husbandes, they should procure to bee hated of God.
 Truly to loue, to serue, and contente God, it is not hurtefull to the woman,
 for that she should be the better beloued of her husbände: but yet God hathe
 suffered, and doth permitte oft tymes, that the women beinge feble, defor-
 med pooze, and negligent, should be better beloued of their husbandes, then
 the diligent, faire, and ryche. And this is not for the seruices they doe to their
 husbandes, but for the good intention they haue to serue, & loue God, whiche
 sheweth them this especiall fauour: for otherwyse God doth not suffer, that
 he being with her displeased, she should lyue with her husbände contented. If
 women would take this counsell that I geue them in this case, I will teache
 them furthermore a notable enchauntment, to obtaine the loue of their hus-
 bandes, whiche is: that they be quiet, meke, patient, solitary, and honest, with
 which fīue herbes they may make a confection, the which neither seene nor
 tasted of their husbandes, shal not onely cause them to be beloued, but also ho-
 noured. For women ought to knowe that for their beautie they are despyed:
 but for their vertue onely they are beloued.

That Princesses and great Ladies ought to be obedient to their hus-
 bandes, and that it is a great shame to the husbände, that his wyfe
 should commaunde him. Cap. vi.

MANY auncient historiographers trauailed greatly, and consumed long
 tyme in wytyng, to declare what authoritie the man ought to haue o-
 uer the woman, and what seruitude the woman oweth to the man:
 and some for to auance the dignitie of the man, and others to excuse the
 frailtie of the woman, alleged such bayne thinges, that it had bene more ho-
 nour for

THE SECOND BOOKE

nour for them not to haue written at all, then in suche sorte as they did. For it is not possible but the wyrters should erre, whiche wyrt not as reason teacheth, but rather as their fantasie leadeth. Those that defende the frailtie of the women saied, that the woman hath a body as a man, she hath a soule as a man, she hath reason as a man, dieth as a man, and was as necessarie for generation as man, she liueth as a man, and therefore they thought it not niere that she should be more subiect to man, then man to her: for it is not reason that that whiche nature hath made free, should by any lawes of man be made bond. They saide furthermore, that God created not the creatours, but to augmente the generation of mankinde, and that in this case the woman was more necessary then the man: for the man engendreth without payne or trauayle, but the woman is deliuered with perill and daunger, and with payne and trauayle noyseth by the childe. wherfore it seemeth great unkindnes and crueltie, that the women (whiche are deliuered with peryll, and daunger of their lyues, and bynge by their chyldren with labour, and toyle of their bodys) should be vsed of their husbandes as slaues. They sayed further, that men are those that curse, that moue seditions, that make warres, that mayntayne enmytie, that weare weapons, that sheade mans bloude, and committe sondrie other mischiefes, whiche the women doe not: but in steade of kylling menne, sheading bloude, and other notozious euilles that men doe, they imploie them selues to increase men. And since it is so, then women, rather then men, oughte to haue dominion, and commaunde in the common wealthe: for women increase the common wealth, and men dyminishe it. For nether deuine nor humayne lawe commaundeth, that the foolyshe man should be free, and gouerne: and that the wyse woman should be bonde, and serue. Those of Achaia affirmed this opinion, and groundeth them selues vppon this reason, and obserued it as a custome: that the husbandes should obeye, and the wyues commaunde. And so they dyd, as Plutarke sayeth in the booke of consolation: for the husbände swept and made cleane the house, made the bedde, washed the bucke, couered the table, dyessed the dynner, and went for water. And of the contrary part, his wyfe gouerned the goodes, aunswered the affayres, kepte the money, & if she were angrie, shee gaue hym not onely foule woordes: but also ofte tymes layed her handes on hym, to reuenge her anger. And hereof came this auncient prouerbe, the which of many is redde, and of fewe vnderstanded: that is to wete, *Vita Achaia*, the lyfe of an Achaian. When in Rome the husband suffred to be ruled & commaunded of his wyfe, the neighbours would saie vnto him in maner of a reproche, *Vita Achaia*: whiche is as muche as if a man would say, go, go, as thou art, since thou liuest after the lawe of Achaia, where men haue so litle discretion, that they suffer them selues to be gouerned (be it well or euil) of their wyues, and that euery woman commaundeth her husbände. Plinie in an epistle that he wrote, reproued greatly his frende Fabatus, for that he kepte in his house a wyfe, the whiche in al his doinges ruled and commaunded him: wherein he tolde him that he durst do nothinge, without her commaundement. And to make the matter to seme more heinous, in the latter ende of his epistle he saide these wordes, *Me valde poenitet quod tu solus Rome polles vita Achaia*: whiche is, it greueth me muche that thou alone

thou alone in Rome shouldest leade the life of one of Achaia. Iulius Capitoli-
nus sayth, that Anthonius Caracalla, being in loue with a faire Lady of Persia,
and seing that he could not enioy her nor obtaine his desire, promised to ma-
rie her according to the lawe of Achaia: and truly she shewed her selfe more
wise in her aunswere, the he did in his demaund, telling him that she would
not, nor might not marye, for because she had promised her selfe to the god-
desse Vesta, and that she had rather be a seruaunte of the gods, then a mis-
tresse of men. The Parthes had a law contrary to them, and likewise those of
Thrace, the which so lytle esteamed women, that their husbandes vsed them
none otherwise then lyke seruauntes.

And in this case men had so great lybertie, or to say better, lightnes: that
after a woman had borne and brought forth twelue children, the children re-
mayned in the house, and the husbandes sold their wiues to them that wold
giue most, or els they chaunged them for others that were more yong.

And the children agreed to the selling of their owne mother, to thintent
that their father might refresh himselfe with another that was more yong:
and the old and baren woman, should eyther be buried quicke, or els serue
as a slaue. Dionisius Halicarnaseus sayth, that the Lides had a law, and the Nu-
midians in lyke maner, that the woman should commaund thinges without
the house, and the man should prouide for those that were within. But ac-
cording to my poore iudgement, I cannot tell how this law was kept, nor
how they could fulfil it, for by reason the wife should not go out of the house
but very lytel, and therfore me thinketh that they ought not to commaund
any thing abroad, nor the husband should enter into another mans house,
for to commaund there. Ligurgus in the lawes that he gaue to the Lacedemo-
nians sayth, that the husbandes should prouide abroad, see al thinges necessa-
rie for the house, and that the wiues should keape and dispose them within:
so that this good philosopher deuised the trauaile betwene the man and
the woman, but yet notwithstanding he reserued the rule and aucthority to
the man for to say the truth, it is a monstrous thing that the wife shoulde
commaund the husband in his house. Under our Christian religion ther is
neyther deuine, nor humaine lawes, but wil preferre man aboue all other
thinges: and though some philosophers would dispute to the contrary, &
that manye men would haue folowed theym, yet me thinketh that a man
should not prayse nor commend them for their opinyons. For there can be
nothyng more vaine nor lyght, then by mans lawe to giue that aucthority
to woman, which by nature is denyed her.

we se by experience that women of nature are al weake, fraile, feareful,
and tender: and finally in matters of weight not very wise. Then if mat-
ters of gouernment requyre not only science & experience, but also strengthe
& courage to enterpryse doubtfull things, wisdom for to know them, force
to execute them, diligence for to folow them, pacyence to suffer them, mea-
nes to endure theym, and aboue all great strengthe and hope to compasse
them: why then wyl they take frome man the gouernemente, in whom
all these thynges abound, and giue it to the woman, in whome all these
these thynges do want? The ende whye I speake these thynges before,
is to requyre, to counsell, to admonishe, and to perswade Princeses, and

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great Ladies, that they thinke it spoken (if they wilbe happie in mariage) to thend they should be obedient to their husban des: for speaking the truth, in that house where the wife commaundeth the husband, we may cal her a masculyne woman, and him a feminine man. Many women are deceyued, in thinking that in commaunding their husoands they lyue more honorably and be better esteamed: but truly it is not so, for all those that see, and perceiue it, accompteth the woman for vaine, and the men in lyke maner for folysh. I know, and can tel right wel, that there are some husbandes so excessive in spending, and so wanton in liuing, that it were not only good that their wiues should rule them, but also chastice theym, but yet in the end I saye, that notwithstandinge all this is better and more tollerable that all the goodes be lost, then betwene them any malycie, hate or dissencion should ryle. If a womans chyldren dye, she may bring forth others, if she loose her goods, she may get them againe, if her seruauntes goeth from her, she may find others, if she se her self sad, God may comfort her, if she be sicke, she may be healed, but if she be at debate with her husband, I cannot tell what she shal do: for the wife that forsaketh the frendship of her husband, gyueth to all men occasion to speake of her follye. Sith women naturally are all gelouse, and that of gelousye procedeth suspition, I counsel them, if they will not that their husbandes commit a fault, that they do not anger nor chase them: for if in gage she haue his hart, no other woman shal haue his body, because from that which he would not absteyne for consience, he will refraine for shame. Oft times husbands come home chafed, troubled, wrathfull, angry, and bered: and then women ought to take hede that they overthwart them not, for if they do it cannot be otherwise, but that they shal haue eyther euil wordes with his tongue, or els suffer soze blowes with his fistes. Truly it is not mete, neyther in any case profitable, that Princesses & great Dames should overthwarte their husbandes with froward wordes, nor that they should vse to striue against them, but rather that the wife in all cases should be obedient, and louyng to her husbände: for it may happen and dayly it doth chaunce, that they begin to argeu in leste, and afterward they end in earnest. The woman which is sage, wise, and vertuous, ought to weye with her selfe, that eyther her husband hath occasion so to taunt her, or els peraduenture he doth it of a wil. I say that in this case if he haue occasion, she ought to suffer and endure him: if he doth it of will, she ought to dissemble with him. For otherwise, it myght so take her in the hed, that she would burden him with many euill wordes: so that he beginnyng then the debate should remayne excused, and she being without fault at the beginning, might in the end be condemned.

There is nothing wherein a woman sheweth her wisdom more, then to endure a rashe husoād. A woman in nothing sheweth her sagesnes more, then to dissemble with a foolyshe husband. Her honesty in nothing can be shewed more, then in suffering a wanton husband. She can shew her worthines in nothyng so much, as in bearing with an vnworthy husband. I meane, though she vnderstode that her husband hath lytle, that he knoweth lytle, and that he were worth lytle: yet she should make men beleue that he hath much, that he knoweth enough, and can do much. For al the honour which she

she shal giue so to her husoand, shal wholly againe redounde on her selfe. It is an euyl thinge (me thinketh) that women should be so bold to speake against their husbandes: for they can not say euyl of them, but that they must witness dishonour of them selues. For if her husband be a dronkard, they will say that she is a dronkardes wife, and if he be a foole, that she is the wife of a foole, and what more: when the husband shal come to amende, and to moderate himselfe, the woman in the end shalbe blamed. For if she burden him with euill wordes, he acquitteth her with sharpe stripes. But if she toucheth his honour, it may chaunce he taketh away her life. If perhappes the husband should commaund the wife any vniust thing, I would be of opinion that she should obey him, but not resist him: and after that his raging fure were past, & his choler qualified, then she might say vnto him, that he was very rashe to commaund, and she verie wise to obey. For if she be quicke of tongue, to aunswere to euery word that he shal speake, without doubt they wil not lyue one day in concord. Reading therfore that which I haue redde, hearing that whych I haue heard, and hauing sene also that I haue sene, I would counsel women that they should not presume to commaunde their husbandes: and I would admonyshe husbandes that they would not suffer their wiues to rule them. For in doing the contrary, it is none other wise, then to eate with the feete and trauaile with the handes, to go with the fingers, and to feede them selues with theyr toothes. My mind is not here to speake against the woman, nor against the Princesses and great Ladies, which of their patrimonye and herytage possesse many Townes, and Cyties: for to such I wyl not take away the seruices, which are due vnto theym by theyr subiectes, but I do perswade theym to the obedyence which they ought to haue to their husbandes. It is no merueyle thoughte that women of meane estate haue some tymes quarrelled wth their husbandes: for they haue smal riches to lose, and lesse honour to aduenture, then the Princesses and great Dames haue, the whych synce they do aduenture to commaund many, why wil they not humble themselves to obey one? speaking with due reuerence, It is for aboundaunce of follye, and want of wisedom, that a woman shold haue presumption to gouerne a whole Realme, and that she hath not grace to obey one husband. Seneca in a Tragedye saith, that in the time of the warre of Mithridates, it chanced in Rome that the Consulles sent to the old knightes, ad commaunded that they should al be in a redynes to go with Silla the Consull into the warres. And it happened that when they came into ones house in Rome to publishe the edicte, to warne him to be redye they found not the husband but the wife, who made answere and sayd: that her husband ought not nor could not go to the warres, and though he would he shoulde not, neither would she giue him lycence. For he was an olde and auncyente knyght, and therefore he oughte to be exempted from the warres.

wth this aunswere, those that herd it were greatly abashed, & the whole senate no lesse offended: wherfore they commaunded that h husband shold be banyshe Rome, and the wife to be caried to the pyson Mamortine, not for that he excused himself for going to the warres: but because she commaunded her husband, and bycause he suffered himselfe to be commaunded of her.

The

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The Senate dyd this to that end, that from that time forwardes no woman should presume or contend with her husband: and that no husbände should giue his wife any occasion to be so bold with him.

¶ That women, and especially Princesses and great Ladies should be very circumspect in going abroad out of their houses, and that though the resort of them that cometh to their houses, they bee not euill spoken of. Chap. vii.

Amonge al the councelles that may or ought to be giuen to Princesses and great Ladies, this is the firste: that they do what they can to haue rest in their houses, and that they go not as strapes to the mansions of other men. For if such Ladies are good, they get much reputation: and if perchaunce they be euill, they take from men all occasion. Whether the husband be present or absent, it is a most necessary and honest thing that the wife be for the most part in the house: for by this meanes the household shalbe wel gouerned, and from the hart of the husband shalbe withdrawen al kind of suspitions. Sithens the office of the husband is to gather goodes and riches, and the office of a wife to kepe and preserue them: the houre that she goeth out of the house, she ought to thinke that her maydens will stray abroad, the children wil runne out to play, the varlettes and seruants wil be out of order, the neighbours wil take occasions to speake euill, and that which is worst of al: some will steale the goodes out of the house, and the others wil speake euill of the renowne of the wife. Oh, god giueth a goodly gift: a grace to that man which hath such and so good a wife, that of her owne nature loueth to kepe her selfe within the house. And truly I say that such one doth excuse many griefes, & saue much money. For she spendeth not the goodes in apparel, nor giueth occasion to men to iudge euil of her personne. The greatest debate that is betwene man and wife, is for that he desireth to get and kepe his goodes to bringe vp his chyldren, and to maintaine his family: and on the other part that she desireth to spend all vpon apparell. For women in this case are so curious in louinge of themselves, that they would absteyne from meates that should mainteyne their life, onely to bye a new gowne to set out their pride. Women naturally do loue to keape, and wil not spend any thinge, except it be in apparell: for euery houre (that is in the day and the night) they desire to haue a new gowne to chaunge. My entencion is not to speake of apparell only, but to perswade Princesses and great Ladies, that they would kepe themselves in their houses: and in so doing, they should excuse these superfluous wastes & expenses. For her neighbour seing her better apparelled then she is, loketh vpon her husband as she were a Lyon. It chaunceth oftentimes (I would to god I had no cause to speake it) that if by chaunce there cometh anye great or solempne feast or mariage, she wil neuer loke longly on his face, before he hath geuen her a new gowne to her backe: and when the poore gentleman hath no money to paye, of necessity he must runne in credit. And when the vanytie of the woman is past, then the time of payment draweth nere and they come to arrest all his goodes: so that they haue cause to lament one hole yeare, for that whych they haue spent in one houre.

Women

women seldome contende for that one is fairer, more nobler of lynage, better married, or more vertuous then an other: but onely for that an other goeth better appaialed then she. For touching apparell, there is no woman can endure that an other meaner woman shoulde make comparison with her, nor that in like maner her equal shoulde excell her. Lyncurgus in the lawes that he gaue to the Lacedemonians, commaunded that their wiues shoulde not goe out of their houses, but at dyuers solempne feastes in the yere. For he sayde, that the women ought to be makinge their prayers in the Temples to the gods, or els in their houses bringing vp their children. For it is not honest, nor commendable, that the wife shold passe her time abroade, trotting from strete to strete as common women. I say that the Princesses and great Ladies are much more bound to kepe them selues at home in their houses, then other women of meaner degre: & without a cause I speake it not, for thereby they shal get them more reputacion. For ther is no vertue wherby the woman winneth more reputacion in the common wealth, then alwayes to be sene resident in her house. I say also that a wife ought the most part of her time to keape her house, bycause she hath lesse occasion then other haue to go abroade. For if the poore wife (the Plebian) go out of her house, she goeth for no other cause but for to seke meate: but if the riche and noble woman goeth out of her house, it is for nothing but to take her pleasure. Let not princesses maruel, nor let not great ladies wonder, if they dispose their feete to trotte, & occuppe their eyes to behold, though their ennemyes and neighbours with cankered hartes doth iudge them, and with euil tongues defame them: for the fond dedes that women do, maketh men to be rash of iudgement. I like it wel that the husbands shoulde loue their wiues, that they shoulde comfort them, and make much of them, and that they shoulde put their trust in them: but I do discommend that the women shoulde go gadding abroad in visitacion, from house to house, & that their husbands dare not gaine say them. For admyt that they be good in their personnes: yet in this doing they giue occasion for men to esteeme them vaine and light. Seneca saith in an epistell, that the great Romaine Cato the censor ordeyned, & no woman shold go out of her house being alone, & if perhappes it were in the night, she shoulde not go alone without company, & that the company shold not be such as she would chose, but such as her husband or parent would assigne: so that with the same countenance we behold now a comen woman, with the selfe same lookes then we beheld her & went oft out of her house. Noble ladies (which loue their honour) ought greatly to consider & way the great incoueniences that may ensue by often gadding abroad: for they spend much to apparel them, they lose much time in trimming them, they kepe gentlewomen to wait vpon them, they wil strue with their husbands to goe, & whiles she is out of the doores, the house shal be euil kept, and al the enemyes & frendes thereby haue matter wherupon to talke: finally I say, that the woman & goeth out of her house, doth not wey the losse of her honour so much, as she doth the pleasure she taketh abroad. Presuming (as I presume) to write with grauitie, I say, that I am ashamed to speake it, yet for al that I wil not refraine to write of the walkes of these Dames & visite & desire to be visited: amongst whom ther is moued oftentimes such vaine communication, & it causeth their husbands to become

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become ennemys: and on the other parte they remember more the gossip-
pings that they haue to go, then their sunnes which they ought to lament.

Of the commodities and discommodities which folowe Princesses and
great Lades that go abroade to visite o: abyde in the house Cap. viii.

Lucretia by the consent of all, was counted the cheafest of all other Ma-
trones of Rome, and not for that that she was more faire, more wise,
of greater parentage, o: more noble. But because she did withdrawe
her selfe from company, and abode solitary. For she was such a one, that in
the heroical vertues there could be nothing more desired: nor in womens
weakenes there was nothinge in her to be amended. The hystoie of the
chast Lucretia, is euident in Titus Linius, that when the husbandes of diuers
Romaines came home from the warres to their houses, they founde their
wiues in such sort, that some were gasing out of the windowes, others de-
basing vainely at their doores, others in the field wandering, others in their
gardeynes banqueting, others in the market byeng, and others in the mid-
des of the streates, here and there gadding: but the famous Lucretia was
found in her house alone, weuing in silke, so that she flyeng company for that
she would not be sene, made her selfe in her honour and renowne better to
be knowen. I wil giue another counsell to Princesses and great Lades,
the which I am willing to giue, so I wishe they would be as desirous to
receiue, that is to wete: if they will be esteemed and counted for honest wo-
men, that they must kepe them selues from euil company. For though the
stinking carreine doth no harne, because we eate it not: yet the vnsauoye
sent therof annoyeth vs by smelling. The honour of women is so delicate a
thing, that if we giue them licence to go abroad to visite women: we must
also giue them leue to be visited of men. For that one Dame should visite an
other, it semeth much charitie: but that men should visite women, I cannot
but thinke it much dishoneste. In the presence of their husbandes and nere
kynnesfolkes, they may be visited and talked withall, and this is to be vn-
derstode, of approued and honest personnes: not withstanding I say if the
husband be not at home, I would it shold be counted sacrilege, if any man
passe the threshold of the doore to visite the wife. Plutarke saith in the booke
of the prayles of women, that the wiues of the Numydians, when their hus-
bandes were gone out of their houses, kept their gates shut, & locked them
selues in their houses: and they had a lawe, that what so euer he were that
knocked at the doore beyng shutte, without calling, he should haue his righte
hand cutte of. Cicero in the booke of his lawes saith, that amongst the Ro-
maines ther was an auncient law, and much vsed: that if perchaunce any
woman did owe any monye to any man, and that the husbände beinge the
dettor were out of his house, the creditour should not aske his wife the debt,
bycause that vnder the couller of recouering the goodes, he should not disho-
nour her in her fame. I would say therefore, that if the creditour was not
permitted in Rome to recouer his good: for that the wife was not of
her husbände accompanied: muche lesse they woulde giue licence to visite
a woman alone. For it were more reason that the creditour shoulde enter
for to recouer his goodes: then thou shouldest enter onely for thy pastime.
The deuine Plato in the bookes of the common wealth sayth, and by pro-
founde

found reasons perswaderth the wiues of Grece, that they haue no secret frendes, but that euery one kepe this saying in memozy for a principall: that the woman ought not to haue any other frend but her husband. For women oughte not to haue lycence to make frendes: nor condicions to make enemyes. Princesses and greate Dames oughte to consider, that euery one of them geueth their bodies, their goodes, and their libertie to their husbands. Then since it is so I say, that with the libertie, she ought also to geue him her will. For it lytel auailleth the man and the wife that their goodes be common, if their willes be priuate: For to the end that god be serued, and the people edified, both ought in one house to abide, at one table togethers to eate, in one bedde to slepe, and besides this, they both ought one thinge to loue. For if the man and the wife in loue do differ, in their lyues they shal neuer be quiete. I admonysh, desire, and counsell all women, if they wil be wel married, that they thinke it good that their husband wil, that they prayse al that he prayseth, that they proue al that he proneth, that they content them selues with that wherewith their husbandes are contented, & aboue al, that they loue no more then their husbandes shal loue: for otherwise it might be that the wife should set her eyes vpon one, and the husband ingage his hart to an other. Plutarke in the booke of his pollytikes sayth, that a woman after she is married, hath nothing propre: for the day that she contracteth marriage, she maketh her husband the only Lord of her goodes, her libertie, and of her personne. So that if the wife willet any other thing, then that which the husband willet, if she would loue any other thing then that that her husband loueth, we wil not cal her a true louer, but an open thefe: for theaues do not so much harme to robbe the husband of his moneye, as the wife doth in withdrawing from him her hart. If the woman wil lyue in peace with her husband, she ought to marke wherunto he is enclyned, for so much as if he be mery, she ought to reioyce, and if he be sadde, she must temper her selfe, if he be couetous, she should kepe, if he be prodigall, she should spend, if he be vnpacient, she should dyssemble, and if he be suspected, she must beware. For the woman which is wise and sage, if she can not as she would, she ought to wyl what she may. Wel, whether the husband be euil inclined, or in his condicions euyl manered, I sweare, that he cannot suffer that his wife should haue any other louers: for though the man be of a meane stocke, he had rather alwayes that his wife should loue him alone, then the best of the nobilitie in the towne. One thing I cannot dissemble, because I se that god is therewith offended. Which is, that many Ladyes make their excuses through sickness, because they would not past once in the weeke come to here scrupce and yet we se them busye dayly trotting about to vylite their frendes, and the worst of al is, that in the morning for cold they wil not ryle to go to the churches, and yet after wardes in the heate of the daye they go a gadding from house to house, wheras they are often tymes vntyl night. I would that the Ladyes would consider with theym selues, before they should go out of their houses on visitacion, to what end they go abroad: and if perchaunce they go abroad to be loked on, let them know for a sewerty, that ther be few that wil prayse their beautie, but ther be manye that will dyscommend their gadding. And wherfore do these Dames assembl together,

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gether, for some graue matters I warrant you, shal I tel you, it is eyther to banquet with some dainty dishes, to talke of their petigres, to denysse of their husbands, to see who hath the best gowne, to note who is euil attired, to flatter the faire, to laugh to scoorne the foule, to murmure of their neighbours, and that which is worst of al, that they them selues which speake euill of them that are absent, do gnaw the one the other with enuye. Sel dome tymes it chaunceth that the Dames chide not with their husbands, after that in this sort they haue bene together: for somuche as the one noteth the euil apparel, the other babblyng, they note the one to be a foole and the other to be simple, so that it semeth not that they are mete to vsite the one the other: but to loke, & accuse the one the other. It is a straung thing for the sage woman to thinke that she shold take pleasure abroad, since she hath her husband at home to whom she may talke: & hath her children to learne, her doughters to teach, her family to order, and her goodes to gouerne: she hath her house to kepe, and her parentes whom she ought to please: then synce she hath within her house such pastime, why do they accept company of straunge men? That marved women should haue priuate frendes, and loue to be vsited: it foloweth oftentimes that god is offended, the husband iniured, and the people slandered: & the woman that is married, taketh lytle profite & it hindereth the mariage of her that is to mary. For in such a case though some desire her for her riches: yet mo wyl forsake her for her euyl fame.

That women great with child, inspecially the Princesses & great Ladyes ought to be very circumspect, for the daunger of the creatures wherein is shewed many misfortunes happened to women with child in the old tyme for suffering them to haue their willes. Cap. ix.

One of the most necessary things for him that taketh in hand any great iorney, ouer any daingerous countries, is at the begynnyng he ought to learne the way which he ought to go: for it is a thing no lesse troublesome then perillous, that when he should come to rest, of necessity he shold be enforced to trauel. No man can deny but that mans lyfe is a long and tedious iorney, the which beginneth at our birth, & endeth at our death: for in the end to haue a long or short life is none other, but to come soner or later to the graue. The chiefest folly of al (in mine opinion) is this, that some in their owne opinions thinke they haue counsel enough for others, and to all others it semeth that they want for them selues. For of right he may be called a foole, that condemneth all other as fooles: and auaunceth himselfe to be wise. Euery man ought to let his neighbour lyue in peace, and though he do esteame himselfe to be wise, yet he oughte not to thinke his neighbour a foole: for ther is none so wyse, but that he may occupie it all. For we neuer saw any man so wise of himselfe, but that he neaded the counsel of an other. And if this want be in those that be very old, truly it is much more in them that be yong: whose fleshe is not dry, but grene, the bloud not cold, but hote, no deadly heate, but very liuely, the bestial motions not mortified, but quickned, and hereof ensueth, that yong men loue their owne aduyce and opinion, and dyspise the counsaile of all other.

When the trees are tender, they bynde theym together: because they may

grow right, they bydel the horse when as yet they are but coltes, to y^e end they may be easly hereafter to the bydel. They take the haukes in the nest, to make them more famylar: & when the beastes are litle, they take them to teach them. I meane, that a man ought to instruct his children, to the end they may know to liue wel here after. I admonish, and tel the mothers that haue Doughters, that ther is no remedy to reforme the euil inclination of our children, but to teach them, and to bring them by wel in their youth: for ther is no wound but is daungerous, if in tyme the playster be not layd therunto. Returnyng now to our purpose, synce that in al thyngs ther is order and measure, we wil declare presently how the male child ought to be taught: & first of al we wil treat, how a man ought to prouide when the infant is begotten, and when as yet it is alpye in the mothers wombe, to the entente Princesses and great Ladyes should lyue very circumspectlye, when they know they are conceyued with child. I should be excused to speake of this matter, since it is not my profession, and that as yet I was neuer married, but by that I haue red of some, and by that I haue hard of others, I will and dare be so bold to say one word. For the sage oft times geueth a better accompt, of that he hath red: then the simple doth of that he hath proued.

This thing seemeth to be true, betwene the physicion and the pacient: for wher the pacient suffereth the euyl, he oft tymes demaundeth the physicion what his sicknes is, & wher it holdeth him, and what it is called, and what remedy ther is for his disease: so the physicion knoweth more by his science, then the pacient by hys experience. A man ought not to deny, that the women and in especially great ladyes know not by experience, how they are altered when they are quicke, and the great paynes they suffer when they are deliuered: we could not deny but that ther is great daunger in the one, & greate peril in the other, but they shal not knowe from whence al cometh and from whence al proceedeth, and what remedy is necessary. For there are many which complayneth of robberyes, but they know not what the theaues are that haue robbed them, first accordyng to my iudgement and opinyon, that which the woman quicke with childe ought to do, is that they go softly & quietly, and that they eschue running, eyther in commyng or goyng: for though she lytel esteeme the helth of her person, yet she ought greatly to regard the lyfe of the creature. The more precious the licour is, and the more weaker the vessell is which conteyneth it: so much the more they ought to feare the daunger, least the licoure shed, and the vessell breake. I meane, that the complection of women (being with child) is very delicate, and that the soule of the creature is precious, & therefore it ought with great diligence to be preserued: for al the treasure of the Indies is not equal in valewe, to that which the woman beareth in her bowelles. When a man plateth a vineyard forthwith he maketh a ditch, or some fence about it, to the end that beastes shold not croppe it while it is yong: nor that trauailers shold gather the grapes when they are ripe. And if the labourer doth this thing for to get a litel wine only, the which for the soule and body is not alwayes profitable: how much more circumspection ought the woman to haue to preserue her chyld, since she shal render an accompte to the creator of her creature, vnto the church of a chrystyan, and vnto her husband of a child. In my opinyon, wher

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the accompt at the houre of death is so streight, it is requisite that in þ time of her life she be circumspect: for god knoweth euery thinge so well in oure lyfe, that ther is none that can begile hym in rendering hys accompt at his death. Ther is no wighte can suffer, nor hart dyssemble, to see a man haue hys desire that is to say, to haue his wife great with child, and redy to bring forth good fruite, & after ward to se the woful mother, through some sodeine accident peryshe, & the innocent babe not to be bozne. When the woman is healthful, & bigge with child, she is worthy of great reproch, if cyther by running, leaping, or dauncing, any mischaunce hap vnto her. And truly the husband hath great cause to lament this case: for without doubt the gardiner fealeth great grefe in his hart, when in the prime time the tre is loden with blofomes, and yet by reason of some sharpe and bitter froste it neuer beareth fruit. It is not only euyl that women should runne & leape when they are bigge, & great with chylde, but it is also dishonest, and specially for great Ladies: for alwayes women that be common dauncers, are esteemed as light housewiues. The wiues in general, princeesses and great ladies in particuler, ought to go temperately, & to be modest in their mouinges: for the modeste gate argueth discretnes in the person. Al women naturally desire to be honoured, & reuerenced: & touching that I let them know, that ther is nothing which in a common wealth is more honor for a woman, then to be wise & ware in speaking, moderate & quyet in going. For it is vnpossibile but that þ woman which is lyght in her going and malpicious in her talking, should be dispised and abhorred. In the yere of the foundation of Rome. 466. the romaines sente Curius Dentatus to make warre agaynst king Pirrus, who kept þ city of Tharent, & did much harme to the people in Rome: for the Romaines had a great corage to conquere straunge realmes, & therfore they could haue no patience to suffer any straunger to inuade theirs. This Curius Dentatus was he which in the end ouercame king Pirrus, & was the fyrst that brought the Oliphantes to Rome in his tryumphe, wherfore the fiercenes of those beasts astonyed the Romaine people much: for they weped lytel the sight of the kyngs loden with irons, but to se the Oliphants (as they did) they wondered much. Curius Dentatus had one only sister the which he intierly loued. They wer seuen children, two of the which dyed in the warres, & other thre by pestilence: so that ther were none left him, but that sister, wherfore he loued her with al his hart. For the death of vnthriftye children, is but as a watch for chylde vnprouided of faouours. This sister of Curius Dentatus was mari:d to a Romaine consul, & was conceiued & gone. 7 moneths with child: and the day that her brother triumphed (for ioy of her brothers honor) she leaped & daunced so much, that in the same place she was deliuered, & so vnluckely, that the mother toke her death, & the chylde neuer lyued, wherupon, the feast of the tryumphe ceased, and the father of the infant for sorow lost hys speach. For the hart which sodainly feleth grefe, incontinently loseth vnderstanding. Tibullus the Grecian, in the third booke De casibus triumphii, declareth the hystorie in good stile, how, and in what sorte it chaunced. Fyne yeares after that the kings of Rome weare bannyshed from the rape that Tarquine dyd to the chaste Lucretia, the Romaine created a dignytie whiche they called DICTATVRA, and the Dictatoure that hadde this office,

was

was aboute al other lord & chiefe: for the Romaines perceiued that the common wealth could not be gouerned, but by one head alone. And because the Dictatour had so great aucthority, as the Emperour hath at this present, & to thend they should not become tirauntes: they prouided that the office of the Dictatourship should last no longer then vi. moneths in the yeare, the which past and expired they chose another. Truly it was a good order that that office dured but vi. moneths. For oft tymes princes thinkinge to haue perpetual aucthority, become negligent in vsing iustice. The first Dictatour in Rome was Largius Mamillus, who was sent against the Volces, the which at that time were the greatest enemies to the Romaines: for Rome was founded in such a signe, that alwayes it was beloued of fewe, and abhorred of many. As Titus Liuius saith, this Largius Mamillus vanquished the Volces, & triumphed ouer them, & in the end of the warre destroyed their mighty citie called Curiola, and also destroyed and ouerthrowe many places and fortresses in that prouince: for the cruel hartes do not only destroy the personnes, but also take vengeance of the stones. The hurtes which Largius Mamillus did in the country of the Volces were maruelous, and the men which he slewe were many, and the treasuries he robbed were infinite, and the captiues which he had in his triumphe were a great number, amongst whom in especial he brought captiue a noble mans daughter, a beautiful gentlewoman, the which he kept in his house for the recreation of his person: for the aunciente Romaines gaue to the people al the treasours to maintayne the warre, & they toke to them selues al the bycious things to kepe in their houses. The case was, & this damsel being with child, Largius Mamillus, brought her to solace herselfe in his orchard, wher were sondry ponge fruites, and as then not ripe to eate, wherof with so great affection he did eate, that forthwith she was deliuered in the same place of a creature: so that on the one part she was deliuered: and on the other part the chylde died.

This thinge chaunced in the gardeins of Vulcan, two dayes after the triumphe of Largius Mamillus, a ruful and lamentable case to declare. forasmuch as both the child that was borne, the mother that was deliuered, and also the father that begat it, the selfe same day dyed, and were buried all in one graue: and this thing was not wythout great waylyng, & lamenting throughout al Rome. For if with teares their lyues myght haue bene restored: wythout doubt none of them should haue ben buried. The first sonne of Rome which rebelled against Rome was Tarquin the proud. The second that wythstode Rome (being as yet in Lucania) was Quintus Marcius. The third & went agaynst Rome was the cruel Silla. The domages which these thre, did to their mother Rome, were such and so great that the thre seuerall warres of Affricke were nothing to be compared, to those thre euil children: for those enemyes could scarcely se the walles of Rome, but these bnnatural chylde had almost not left one stone vpon another. A man ought not greatly to esteeme those buildings that these tirauntes threw to the ground, nor the buildings that they destroyed, neither the men & they slewe, nor the women & they forced, ne yet the orphanes which they made: but aboute al things we ought to lament for that, that they brought into Rome. For the comon wealth is not destroyed for lacke of riches, & sumptuous buildings: but be-

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because vices abound, & vertuous want. Of these thre Romaynes, he whose name was Quintus Marcius, had ben consul thise, once Dictatour, & foure times Censor, and in the end he was with much shame banished from Rome, wherewith to reueng this iniury he came with a great power & army against Rome: for the proud hart, wounded with iniury, is neuer quiet in his life time vntyl he se his enemyes destroyed, or that on them he hath taken vengeance. Quintus Marcius being very nigh to the gates of Rome, was most instantly requyred that he wold not distroy his mother Rome: but he toke no regard, nor would condiscend to any request, vntil such time that his mother issued with a mece of his, whom he loued entierly. At whose intercession & teares he left his anger, & raised his siege from Rome: for many are ouercome sooner wryth teares, then wryth importunate & reasonable requestes. The ladies of Rome vsed much to haue their heares long and yellowe, and to weare their wastes high: and streight. And as the piece of Quintus Marcius was great & bigge with child, the day that the peace was made betwene Quintus Marcius, & Rome, lacinge her selfe to hard in her attire, to seme more proper & comely, she long before her time was deliuered of a creature: & the case was so woeful & vnforgunate, that the creature deliuered dyed: the mother lost her lyfe, and the mother losyng her lyfe, sodainly her graundmother fel dead to the ground, through which occasion al the ioy and mirth was turned into sorow & sadness. For it is comenly sene, when the world is in the greatest ioy, then fortune sodainly turneth it into sorow. The authours hereof are Tibulus and Porphirius both Grecians.

¶ The authour foloweth and declareth other Inconueniences and vnluckye chaunces which haue happened to women with child. Chap. r.

The warres of Tarent being ended, immediatly begonne the warres of Carthage, of whych so long & tedious warres, the possession of the Isles of Maiorica, & Minorica were occasion, forsomuch as the one would take it, and the other defend it. This warre endured wel nyghe the space of 40. yeres, for oft tymes the wastes and domages which are done in the warres are greater: then the profite, for which they contend. The first captayne in this warre of the Romaines was Gaius Duellus, and the fyrst of the Carthaginians was Hammon, the whych wryth their shippes fought on the sea of Sicili, the whych was very cruel: for there they feared both the fury of the sea, and also the cruelty of the pike, the whych two things put mans life in great danger. Of thys cruel battaile the Romaine captaine remayned victorior, forasmuch as he drowned 14 shippes, and toke other 30. he slew .3. thousande men, and brought 3. thousand Carthaginians prysoners: and thys was the first victory that y Romaynes had by sea. And that that the Romaynes most reioysed at was, that by sea also they remained conquerers. The captaine Gaius Duellus departyng from Sicili came to Rome, wher he had a sister no lesse vertuous, then ryche and beautifull, in whose house he lodged, where he made a costly supper to al the senatours of Rome, & to al the captaynes whiche came wryth hym from the warres: for the vicious men knew not wherin to shew their loue to their frendes, but by inuiting them to costly bankettes. The sister of the captaine Gaius Duellus, for ioye of his comming, and for the pleasure of the banquet & feast which was made in her house, did eate more then she was accustomed, & also more then it behoued one in her case, so that

in the presence of al she began to annoy the bidden gesses: for she not onely vomited out the meate of her stomake, but also the blood of her vaines, and therewithal most vnluckely brought forth her fruite, which she had in her intrailles, wherewith immediatly after the soule departed from the body, and so died. Truly this case was no lesse lamentable, then the others, for so much as Gaius lost his sister, the husband lost his wife & his child, & the wife & the child lost their liues: and for that that Rome lost so noble and excellent a Roman, & aboue al for that it so chaunced in such a time of so great ioy and pleasure. For there can come no vnluckier newes, then in the time of much mirth to heare tel of any great mischaunce. Of this matter mention is made in Blundus in the booke of the declination of the Empire. The second warre of Afrike which was betwene Rome and Carthage, was the. 540. yeres after the foundation of Rome, wherin were capitaines Paulus Emilius, and Publius Varro: the which two consules fought the great and famous battaile of Cannas in the prouince of Apulia, I say famous, because Rome neuer lost such nobilitie and Roman youth, as she lost in that day. Of these two consules, Paulus Emilius in the battaile was slaine, and Publius Varro ouercome, and the couragious Hannibal remained conquerour of the field, wherin died. xxx. senatours, and 300. officers of the senate, and aboue. xl. thousand fotemen, & thre thousand horsemen, finally the end of al the Romain people had bene that day, if Hannibal had had the wit to haue folowed so noble a victorie, as he had the corage to giue so cruel a battaile. A litle before that Publius Varro departed to goe to the warres, he was married to a faire & young Romain called Sophia, & with in seuen monethes she was quicke: & as newes was brought her that Paulus Emilius was dead, & her husband ouercome, she died sodenly, the creature remaining alieue in her body. This case aboue al was very pitiful, in that that after he him selfe was vanquished, & that he had sene his compaignion the consul Emilius slaine, with so great a numbre of the Romaine people, fortune would that with his owne eies he should beholde the intrailles of his wife cut to take out the child, & likewise to se the earth opened, to bury his wyfe. Titus Liuius saith, that Publius Varro remained so sorowful in his harte, to see him selfe overcome of his enemies, & to see his wife so sodainly & so vnluckely strikē with death, that al the time that his life endured, he neither comed his beard, slept in bed, nor dined at the table: & hereat we ought not to maruelle, for a man in his hart may so be wounded in one houre, that he shal neuer reioyce all the daies of his life. If we put no doubt in Titus Liuius, the Romans had long & tedious warres against the Samnites, which indured for the space of. lxiij. yeres continually, vntill suche time as the consull Ancus Rutillus (which was a vertuous man) did set a good appointment of peace betwene the Samnites & the Romans: for y noble & stout harts ought alway by vertue to bring their enemies to peace. These warres therefore being so cruell, & obstinate Titus Venurius, & Spurius Posthumius (which were Romain captains) were ouercom by Pontius y valiant captain of y Samnites: who after y victorie did a thing neuer sene nor hard of before. That is to wete, y al y Romain prisoners whom he toke, he put about their necks a yoke, wherin were written these wordes. In spighte of Rome, the Romaines shalbe subiect to the yoke of the Samnites. wherewith in dede the Romans were greatly iniured, wherfore they sought stoutly to be reuēged of the Samnites: for the hartes that are haughty,

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and proud, cannot suffer that others haue their mindes lofty and high. The Romaines therfore created to be captaine of the warre, one named Lucius Papirius, who had comission to go against the Samnites. This Lucius was more fortunate in his doings, then comly of his persone, for he was deformed of his face, notwithstanding he did so good seruice in the warre, & fortune fauoured him so wel, that he did not onely ouercome & vanquish, but also destroyed them: and though the iniury which the Samnites did to the Romains was great, yet truly the iniury which the Romains did to the Samnites was much greater. For fortune is so variable, that those which yesterday we saw in most prosperitie, to day we see in greatest aduersitie. This Lucius Papirius therfore did not only vanquish the Samnites, kept them prisoners, and made yokes for their neckes: but also bounde them with cordes together, in suche sorte, that they made them plough the grounde, drawing twoo and twoo a plough. And yet not herewith contented, but with gaddes they pricked and tormented them. If the Samnites had had pitie of the Romains being overcome, the Romaines likewise would haue taken compassion of them when they were conquerers. And therefore the prosperous haue as muche nede of good counsell, as the miserable haue nede of remedy. For the man whiche is not mercifull in his prosperitie, ought not to meruaile though he finde no frendes in his necessitie. This Lucius Papirius had a daughter married to a senator of Rome, who was called Torquatus, and she was called Ypolita. And about the time that she shold haue bene deliuered, she went forth to receiue her father, the which she ought not to haue done: for the throng of the people in receiuing him being great, & she her selfe being great with childe, by a heuy chaunce, as she would haue passed in at a narrowe gate, she was so presse in the throng, that she chaunged her life for death, & her father turned his mirth & ioy, into sorow & sadnes. For he toke the death of his daughter very heauely, & so much the more because it was so sodeine. I say he tooke it heauily, since he was so stout a man, & so sage withal, that al Rome thought muche that any such sodeaine chaunce should haue dismaied so wise a man, that of his wisdom he could take no profite: but hereat let no man marueile, for there are many that hath hartes to shed the bloud of their enemies, & yet can not withhold the teares of their eies. Annus Seuerus in the third booke De infelice fortuna saith, that the day that this wooful mishap chaunced to Lucius Papirius, he lift by his eies to the heauens, & weping said. O fortune, deceiuoure of all mortall men, thou madest me to conquere in warre, to thintent thou wouldest ouercome me in peace. My mynde was to declare vnto you all these auncient histories, to the end all may knowe, how tender and delicate women with childe are, and howe diligent their husbandes ought to be to preferue them: since there is nothing so tender to be kept, nor any glasse so easly to be broken. For there is much glasse, that though it fall to the grounde, yet it doth not breake: but a woman with childe, only for treading her foote a wy, we see with daunger to be deliuered.

¶ That women great with childe, and especially princesses and great ladies, ought to be gently vsed of their husbandes. Cap. xi.

If we vnderstand the chapter before, we shal finde that womē with child haue bene in great daungers, some through leaping, some by dauncing, or ther by

ther by eatinge, others by banquetinge, others through gaddinge, other by straight lacing, & al this proceedeth through their owne follies, that seeketh to be destroyers of their owne bodie. Truly herein princesses & great ladies are worthy of great rebuke, when through their owne follies they are not safely deliuered of their creatures. And I would gladly they toke example, not only of reasonable men, but also of brute beastes: for there is no beaste so brute in the wyld mountaines, but escheweth that which to his life & death wilbe hurtful. The Beares, & Lionesse, & the wolves, neuer issue out of their caues & denues so long as they be bigge, & this they do to auoide the daunger of the hunters, because at that time they woulde not be coursed. Then since these thinges are done by brute beastes (whose yonglings are alwayes hurtful to men) to thintent & their gredy whealpes might safely be brought forth, to deuour our innocent cattel: how much more then ought the womā to be careful for her fruite, which is the increas of Christian congregation? If women brought not forth, and children were not borne, though there be earth, yet there should be none to people it: for god created al things to serue the creature, & created the creatures to serue their creator. Let women with child take example by the chessenuttes and walnuttes, howe & in what sorte they defende their fruite after that of their blosomes they are depriued: for the chessenut tree defendeth his fruite with a rough & hard huske, & the walnut kepeth her fruite with a thicke shale in like maner, so that the water can not wette them, nor the wynde shake them. Nowe since that the trees whiche haue but a vegetatiue lief, and the beastes a sensitiue lief, take suche hede to them selues when they feeel them ready to bryng forth their fruite: much more women with childe ought to take hede to them selues, since they haue reason and vnderstanding, least through their negligence the creature should perish. Let euery man iudge how litle he looseth, whē he looseth nuts and chessenuts: and for the contrary let euery man iudge what the churche looseth, when the woman with child do not bryng forth their fruite, into the light of baptisme. For our mother the holy churche bewayleth not for that the vines are frozen: but for the soules whiche are lost. To the ende that the man may see the fruitfull blessing whiche he desireth, and that the woman with child may see her self wel deliuered: the husband ought to beware that he enforceth her not much to labour, and the woman likewise ought to be circumspect that she take not to muche idlenes. For in women with childe this is a general rule, that to much traueile causeth them before their time to deliuer: & to much idlenes putteth them in daunger. The man is cruell that wil haue his wife trauaile & take as muche paines when she is bigge, as he would haue her at an other time whē she is not with child: for & man which is clothed, can not runne so swift, as he that is naked. Aristotle in & sixt booke de Animalibus saith, when the Lionesse is bigge with whelpe, the Lyon doth not only hunt for her him self: but also both night & daye he wandreth continually about to watche her. I meane, that princesses & great Ladies when they be with child, should be of their husbandes both tended & serued: for the man can not do the woman so great a pleasure before her lieng down, as she doth to him when she bryngeth forth a sonne. Considering the daunger that the woman abideth in her deliuerance, & beholding the paines that & husband taketh

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taketh in her seruice: without cōparison that is greater which she suffereth,
 then that which he endureth. For when the womā deliuereth, she doth more
 then her power: and the husuand though he serueth her well, doth lesse then
 his dutie. The gentle and louing husuand ought not one moment to forsake
 his wife, specially when he seeth she is great: for in the law of a good husbād
 it is wri:ten, that he should set his eies to behold her, his handes to serue her,
 he should spende his goods to cherishe her, & should geue his harte to cōtent
 her. Let not men thinke it paines to serue their wiues when they are with
 childe: for their labour consisteth in their strengthe, but the trauell of their
 wiues is in their intrailles. And that whiche is moste pitifull is, that when
 the sorowfull women will discharge their burden on the earthe, they often
 times byng them selues vnto the graue. The meane women of the Plebeians
 ought no lesse to be repproued, for that when they are with childe, they would
 be exempted from all busines of the house: the whiche neither they them
 selues ought to desire, nor yet their husbādes to suffer. For idlenesse is not
 only an occasion not to deserue heauen: but also it is a cause whereby womē
 ofte times haue ill successe in their trauaile. For considering bothe the deintie
 Ladie with childe, that hath her pleasure, and doth litle, and on the other side
 the poore mans wyfe whiche moderatly laboureth: you shall see that the
 great Ladies for all their pleasures abyde more daunger, then the other
 doth with all her labour. The husbāde ought to keape his wyfe from ta-
 kyng to muche paines, for so ought he to doe: and the wyfe lyke wyfe ought
 to flee to much pleasure, for it behoueth her. For the meane trauaile is no o-
 ther, but occasion of a safe deliuerie. The women with childe also ought to
 take hede to them selues, and in especially noble and great ladies, that they
 be not to gredy nor hasty in eating. For the woman being with childe ought
 to be sobre: and the woman whiche is a great eater, with great paines shall
 liue chaste. Women with childe ofte times doe disordze them selues in eating
 licozous meates, and vnder the colour of feedinge them selues and their in-
 fant, they take to excessiuelly: which is not onely unholsome for the childe, but
 also dishonour for their mothers. For truly by the great excesse of the mo-
 ther (being with child) commeth many diseases to the infant when it liueth.
 The husbādes also ought neither to displease nor greue their wiues, special-
 ly when thei see them great with child: for of truth ofte times she deliuereth
 with more daunger, by reason of the offences that mē do vnto them: then by
 the abondaunce of meates which they doe eate. Though the woman when
 she is with childe, in some thinges doth offend her husbāde, yet he like a wise
 man ought to forbear her, hauing respect to the child wherewith she is great
 and not to the iniurie that she hath committed: for in thend, the mother can
 not be so great an offender, but that the childe is muche more innocent. For
 the profe of this, it needeth not booke to reade, but only our eies to see: how
 the brute beastes for the moste parte (when the females are bigge) doe not
 touche them, nor yet the females suffer the to be touched. I meane, that the
 noble and high estates ought to absent them selues from their wiues car-
 nally, beyng great with child: and he that in this case shal shewe him selfe
 moste temperate, shall of all men be deamed most vertuous. I do not speake
 this to thend it should bind a man, or that it were an offence then to vse the
 company

company of his wyfe: but vnto men that are vertuous I geue it as a counsell. For some things ought to be done of necessitie, & others ought to be eschewed for honestie. Diodorus Siculus saith, that in the realme of Mauritania there were so few men, & so many women, that euery man had fīue wiues, where there was a law amōgest them, that no man should mary vnder thre wiues: furthermore they had a wonderful & folishe custome, that when any husband died, one of these women should cast her selfe quick in to the graue & be buried with him. And if that within a moneth she did it not, or that she died not, by iustice she was then openly put to death: sayng that it is more honestie to be in company with her husband in the graue, then it is to be alone in her house. In the Isles of Baliares the cōtrary is sene, for there increase so many men, and so few women, that for one woman there was seuen men: and so they had a custome, specially amongest the poore, that one woman should be married with fīue men. For the ryche men sent to seke for women in other straunge Realmes, wherfore then marchauntes came heuie loden with women, as now they do with marchaundise to sell. Upon which occasion there was a custome in those Isles, that (for as much as there were so fewe women) when any woman with chylde dyewe nere the seuen monethes, they were seperated from their husbādes, and shut and locked vp in the Temples, where they gaue them suche thinges as were necessary for them of the commen treasure. For the auncientes had their goodes in suche veneration, that they would not permitte any personne to eate that whiche he brought: but of that whiche vnto the goddess of the Temple was offered. At that tyme the Barbarous kepte their wyues locked in the churche, because the gods hauing them in their Temples, should be more mercifull vnto them in their deliuey, and also to cause them to auoyde the daungers at that tyme: and besydes that, because they tooke it for a great vilany, that the women during that tyme should remaine with their husbādes. The famous and renowned philosopher Pulio, in the fift booke *De moribus antiquorum* said, that in the Realme of Pannonia (whiche now is Hongarie) the women that were great with childe were so highly esteemed, that when any went out of her house, al those which met with her, were bounde to retorne backe with her, & in such sorte as we at this present do reuerence the holy Comunión, so did these Barbarous then the women with child. The women of Carthage being with child (whē Carthage was Carthage) had as great priuileges, as now our sanctuaries haue for y^e safegard of misdoers: for in times past, al such offēdours as could enter into the house wher a woman lay in child bed, should haue ben free frō correction of iustice. As Fronto saith, in his booke of the veneration of y^e gods, the Galloys Transalpines, did not only honour & reuerence y^e womē with child, but also with much care & diligence watched her deliuey: for it litte auailleth the shippe to haue passed safe the daungerous seas, if at the shore she be cast away. The case was in this sort, that al the auncient gentils honoured some gods in their temples, & kept other in their houses, the which were called Lares, & Penates: & when any woman began to labour, eche neighbour brought his familiar god vnto her to present her with all, because they thought that the more gods there were, of so much more power they were to kepe her frō perils. Speaking like a churistian, truly those gods were of small value, since they could

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they could not helpe the woman safely to be deliuered, that was in trauaile.

What the Philosopher Pisto was, and of the rules he gaue concerning women with childe. Cap. xii.

In the tyme of Octauian the Emperour, was a phylosopher called Pisto, whiche was of the secte of Pithagoras, and when Rome flourished, he was very familiar with the Emperour Octauian, and welbeloued of all the people, whiche ought not to be a litle esteemed: for he which of the prince is most fauoured, commonly of the people is moste hated. This Emperour Octauian was a prince very desirous of all vertuous thinges, so that when he dynd with his captaines, he spake of warre, when he supped with the sages, he reasoned of sciences, and he that vttered any dishonest or idle worde in his presence, he alwayes afterward toke him as his enemy. This Pisto was very graue in weightie affaires, very pleasaunt in sientes and iestes, a ofte times he was demaunded many questiōs of the Emperour, whereof the answers of some (according to the demaundes and questions) here foloweth.

The Emperour said to Pisto, of all these that liueth, whom takest thou to be moste foole? to whom the Philosopher aunswered. In my opinion I take him to be moste foole, of whose worde there commeth no profite: for truly he is not so very a foole that slingeth stones into the winde, as he that vttereth bayne wordes.

Tell me Pisto, whom ought we of right to desire to speake, and whom of right to commaunde to be silent? he aunswered. It is good when speache doth profite, and good to kepe silence, when speache is hurtfull: for the one desiring to mainteine the good, and the other to defende the euil, warres beginne throughout all the worlde.

Tell me Pisto, from what thing ought the fathers moste to kepe their children? he sayd. In my opiniō parentes ought in nothing to watche so much, as to kepe them from being vicious: for the father ought rather to haue his sonne die well, then to liue euil.

Tell me Pisto, what shall man do if he be brought to this extremitie? that if he speake truthe, he condempneth him selfe: and if he make a lie, he saueth him selfe. The vertuous man (saide he) ought rather to chose to be overcome by truthe, then to overcome by lies: for it is vnpossible that a man which is a lier, should continue long in prosperitie.

Tell me Pisto, what shall man doe to obtaine reste? he aunswered. As I thinke the man can not haue reste, vnlesse he forsake worldly affaires: for the menne that are occupied with weightie affaires, can not be without great cares are alwayes accompanied of great troubles.

Tell me Pisto, wherein a man sheweth him selfe to be most wyse? he aunswered. There is no greater profe to knowe a wyse man, then if he be paciēt to suffer the ignorant: for in suffering an iniury, the harte is more holpen by wysedome, then by knowledge.

Tell me Pisto, what is that thing that the vertuous man may lawfullye desire? he aunswered. All that that is good (so that it be not to the presudice of any other) may honestly be desired: but in my opinion that onely ought to be desired, whiche openly without shame may be demaunded.

Tell me Pisto, what shal men doe with their wiues when they are great with

with child, to cause that the child in safetie may be deliuered: he aunswored. In the world there is nothyng more perylous, then to haue the charge of a woman with child. For if the husbände serue her, he hath payne & trauaile: and if perchaunce he doe not contente her, she is in daunger.

In this case, the wiues of Rome and their husbandes also oughte to be very diligent, and to the thinges folowynge more careful: the which I shew them more for counsell, then for commaundement. For good counsell ought to haue as much auctoritie in the vertuous, as the commaundement hath in the vicious. Thou Octauian, as thou arte a mercifull and a pitieful Emperour, and that kepest thy Niece *Collucia* great with childe, I know thou desirest that she had presently good and luckye deliuary, and that she were deliuered of her paine: all the whyche thou shalte see, if thou doest marke these thynges that I will shew the here folowynge:

First, the woman oughte to beware of dauncing, leaping, and running: for leaping oftentimes maketh man to loose his speache, and women with childe to loose their life, wherfore it is not reason that the folly of the mother should be permitted to put in hazarde the lyfe of the childe.

The secound, the woman beyng with child ought to beware that she be not so hardye to enter into gardeyns, wher there is much frute, and that for eating to many she be not yll deliuered: for it is no reason that the likerousnes of the mother, be punished with the death of the childe.

The third, the woman with child ought to beware of ouer harde lacing her selfe about the midle: for many Roman Dames for to seme prople, doe weare their gownes so streight, that it is an occasion to kyll their creatures: which is a heynous mater, that the yonge babe should loose hys lyfe, because his mother shoulde seme pretie.

The fourth, the women with child ought to beware of eating in a great banket: for oftentimes there cometh a todayne deliuerance, only through eating without measure, and it is not mete that for tastinge a thyng of litell value, the mother and the child should both loose their liues.

The fiste, the woman beyng with child ought to beware that she giueth no eare to any todayne newes: for she is in more daunger for hearynge a thing that greueth her, then for suffering long sicknes that paineth her: and it were vniust that for knowing of a trifeling matter, the mother that is to be deliuered, & the child that is to be borne, should both in one momēt perishe.

The sixte, the woman with child ought to beware that she go not by any meanes to any feastes, wher ther shalbe any greate assembly of people: for oft times the woman with child, seying her to be to much thrust and preast, beyng not able to say I am here, may immediatly dye in the place, and it is not reason, but an vniust thing, that the woman for the desire to see the children of others, should make of her owne orphanes.

The seuenth, the husband oughte to beware that she being with child, be not denyed any honest thing that she do minde: for in graunting her it can not cost him moche, but in denyeng her he may loose much, and it should not be iust, that since in her byying forth she honoareth and increaseth the common wealth of Rome, that Rome should condescend that any woman with childe should recepue any hurte or dishonour.

OF PRINCES.

These be the answers that Pisto made to the Emperour Octavian, the which he gaue as rules to women with child, whiche beyng so kept, I doe assure you that the great Ladies shoulde deliuer them selues from many perilles, and the husbandes also should escape from many sorowes. Concluding therfore that which aboue is spoken I saye, that pyncesses and greate ladies, when they are with child, ought to bee moze ware and circumspect then other meane women: for where man hopeth to haue most profit, there oughte he most to be carefull. The auctour of this is Pulio in his thirde booke *De moribus antiquorum* and sextus, Cheronensis in his .5. booke *de legibus domesticis*

Of thye counsellies which Lucius Seneca gaue vnto a secretary his frend,
who serued the Emperour Nero: and how the Emperour Marke Aureille
disposed all the holwers of the daye. Chap. xlii.

The Emperour Nero had a Secretary called Emilius Varro, the whyche beyng in Rome builded a sumptuous house ioyning vnto the gate of Salaria, wherunto he inuited one daye Lucius Seneca to a banquet, to the end the house might be moze fortunate: for the Romans had a Prophecie, that accordyng to the good or ill lucke of him that first entred into a newe house, so should it continually be luckye, or vnlucky. Lucius Seneca graunted to the request of his frende Emilius Varro: and when they had welleaned, they went both to see this new building, shewing vnto Lucius Seneca all thinges, at the laste the Secretary sayd thus vnto Seneca. Those betwene both are for gesses, those haules are for marchauntes and suetors, these secrettes are for women, those chambers are for knightes, those galleries which are covered are to auoyde the sonne, this lowest part here is for horses, the Cellers are for the buttry: in the end he shewed him the whole house, for þe furnishing wherof there lacked not one iotte. After the Secretary Emilius Varro had shewed him all his house, he looked when his gess Seneca would greatly prayse and conimend it, but he as though he knew nothing, sayd vnto Emilius Varro as he went out of the doores, whose house is this? wherunto Emilius answered, how now Seneca canst not thou tel? I haue employed all my goodes in building this house, and haue led the all about to see it, and I haue tolde the that it is mine, & yet doest thou aske me againe whose it is? Lucius Seneca answered. Thou haste shewed vs the house for straungers, the house for slaues, the house for women, the house for horses, and in all this house thou hast not shewed me one litel part for thy self, but þe an other man doth enter into it: for if thou hast any interest therein, they haue the best therof, whiche is the possession. I accompt the a wise man, I doe accompt the a man of vnderstanding, and also I know that withal thy hart thou art my frende: and since I haue bene bydden to day by the it is but reason, that for to rewarde that whych thou hast done to me, I do some seruice vnto the, whych shal be to giue vnto the some good counsel. For straungers vse to pay for the feast with money, & vaine men with telling lies, bablers by counting vaine tales, childre by flatteries: but vertuous men ought to pay, by geuing good counselles. This house hath cost þe much paine, great griefes, & much money, and if it cost þe so much, it is but reason that thou inioy þe same. Take therfore these my thre counsellies, & it may be thou wilt finde thy selfe better contented with those, then with þe money of straungers: for many haue wherewithal to
build

builde a house, but they haue not vnderstandyng to gouerne the same.

The first counsell is, though that thou loue thy frende verie well, or thy wife as well, yet that thou neuer discouer all the secrettes of thy harte, neyther to thy frende, nor to thy wyfe: But that thou alwayes reserue some particuler vnto thy selfe. For Plato sayeth, to whom a man committeth his secrettes, to him also he giueth his libertie.

The second counsell is, that neyther in priuate busines, nor in publicke affaires thou occupie thy selfe so much, but at the least thou do reserue .3. houres in the day for thine owne reste.

The third counsel is, that thou haue in thy house some secret place, wherof thou alone shalt haue the key: and therein thou shalt haue bookes, wher thou maiest study of thy affaires, and also talke with thy frendes. Finallye, this place shall be a secretoy of thy counselles, and a rest for thy trauelles.

These were the wordes that Lucius Seneca spake to his frende Emilius Varro, whiche wordes were such as he him selfe was, that is to wete, of a sage and excellent personnage: and though the banquet was riche, yet the paymente of Lucius Seneca was much more worth. For the minde selethe more tast in the good and true counsell: then the bodie doth in sauory and delicate meates. I haue tolde you this example of Lucius Seneca, for to tell an other that happened to the Emperour Marcus Aurelius with his wife Faustine. And to the end that the order of the matter be not tourned without breaking our Historie, first we will declare here the order whiche this Emperour obserued in hys lyfe. For the comen wealth shall neuer be well gouerned, but where the prince gouerneth well his lyfe.

Princes of necessitie ought to be wel ordered in their life, because they may profite the affaires of the Empire, with the perticulers of their house, and because they should vse the perticulers of their house, to the recreation of their personne: and all these thinges ought to be deuided accordyng to time. For a good prince ought to lacke no time to do that thinge well which he hath to do: nor he oughte to haue any tyme vacant to employe him selfe to vice. The worldly call that time good, the which is, or was prosperous vnto the: they call that time euill, which is, or hath bene contrary and vnfortunat vnto the. The Creator wil neuer that this sentence be approued by my penne: but I call that time good, which is imployed in vertues, and that time euill, that is lost in vices. For the times are alwayes as one, but men do tourne from vice to vertue, from vertue to vice. The good Emperour Marcus Aurelius did deuide the time, by time: so that though he had time for him selfe, he had time lyke wise to dispatche his owne and others affaires: for the man that is willing, in a small time dispatcheth much busynesse: the man which is negligent, in a longe tyme doth lytel. This was the order that the Emperour Marcus Aurelius toke in spendyng his time. He slepte .7. houres in the nighte, and one howe rested hym selfe in the day. In dynyng and suppyng he consumed onely .2. howers: and it was not for that he toke great pleasure to be longe in eatinge, but because the philosophers whiche disputed before his presence, were occasion to prolonge the tyme. For in .17. yeares they neuer sawe hym at meate, but one or other redde vnto him some booke, or elles the philosophers reasoned before hym philosophye. As he hadde manie realmes and

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prouinces, so he appointed one howet for the affaires of Asia, for Affryke one
 howet, and for Europe another howet, and for the conuersacion of his wife,
 childzen, and family, he appointed other. 2. howers of time: he had another
 howet for extraordinary affaires, as to here the complaintes of the greued,
 the quarrelles of the poore, the complaintes of the widowes, and the robb-
 ries done to the orphanes. For the mercifull prince geueth no lesse eare vnto
 the poore, which for want can doe ytell: then to the riche, which for abound-
 dance can do much. He occupied all the residue of the day and night to rede
 booke, write woorkes, to make meter, and in studyng of other antiquities, to
 practyse with the sage, and to dyspute with the philosophers: and synally he
 toke no tast of any thing so muche, as he dyd to talke of science: Unlesse the
 cruell warres dyd let hym, or suche lyke affaires troubled him: ordynarily in
 winter he went to bed at. 9. of the clocke, and awaked at. 4. and bycause he
 would not be idle, he had alway a booke vnder his beddes hed, and the resi-
 due of y day he bestowed in readdyng. The romans had an auncient custome
 to beare fyre before them, that is to wete, a torch lyghte in the daye, and a
 lampe burnyng in the night in their chambers, so that wakyng they burned
 ware, and sleapyng they houred oyle. And the cause why the Romans or-
 deryed that the oyle should be made of olyue, and the ware made of bees
 (which was vsed to be borne before the princes) was to the end they should
 remember, that they ought to be as gentell and louing, as the oyle of Olyue
 is swete: and as profytable to the common wealtn, as the Bees are. He did
 rise at. 6. of the clocke, and made him selfe ready openlyre, and with a gentle
 countenaunce he asked them that were about hym, wherein they had spent
 all the nyght, and declared vnto them then what he had dreamed, what he
 had thought, and what he had red: when he was readye, he washed his face
 with odiferous waters, and loued veray wel swete sauoures. For he had so
 quicke a sent, that he was much offended when he passed by any stinking
 place. In the mornynge he vsed to eate. 2. morsels of a lectuary made of Stica-
 des, and dranke. 3. sponesfulls of maluesey, or els two dropes of Aqua Vite, by-
 cause he had a colde stomacke, for that he gaue hym selfe so muche to studye
 in tymes past. We se it by experience, that the greates studentes are perfecti-
 ted more with sycknes, then any others: for in the sweteness of the science,
 they knowe not how their lyfe consumeth. If it were in the sommer season,
 he went in the mornynge to recreate him selfe to the ryuer of Tiber, and wal-
 ked there a fote for. 2. howers, and in this place they talked with hym that
 had busines: and trulye it was a great policie, for wher as the Prince doeth
 not syt, the sewour alwayes abydgeth his talke, And when the day began
 to war hot, he went to y hight capitol. where al the Senate taried for him,
 & from thence he went to y Coliseo, wher the imbassadours of the prouinces
 wer, & there remained a great part of y day: afterwarde he went to y chap-
 pel of the vestal virgines, & ther he hard euery nation by it selfe, accordyng to
 the order which was prescribed. He dyd eate but one meale in the daye, & it
 was veray late, but he did eate wel: not of many & diuers sortes of meates,
 but of fewe and good. For the abundaunce of diuerse and straunge meates
 breadeth sondry dysseases. They sawe him once a weke go thorough Rome,
 and if he wente anye more it was a wonder: at the wyche tyme he was
 alwayes

alwayes without companie, both of his owne, and also of straungers, to thentente all pooze men myghte talke with him of their busines, or com-
 plaine of his officers: for it is vnpossible to reforme the common wealthe, if
 he which ought to remedy it, be not informed of the iniuries done in y^e same.
 He was so gentle in conuersacion, so pleasaunt in wordes, so noble amongst
 the great, so equall with the least, so reasonable in that he dyd aske, so perfyte
 in that he dyd worke, so paciēt in iniuries, so thankefull of benefittes, so good
 to the good, and so seuerer to the euill: that all loued him for beyng good, and
 all the euill feared him for being iuste. A man oughte not lytell to esteeme the
 loue that the people bare to this so good a Prince, and noble Emperour, for
 somuch as the Romans haue bene thus: that for the felicitye of their estate,
 they offered to their gods greater sacryfyce, then they dyd in any other pro-
 uinces. And Sextus Cheronensis sayeth, that the Romans offered more sacryfy-
 ces to y^e gods, because they should lengthen y^e lyfe of the Emperour, then they
 dyd offer for the profyte of the common wealthe. Trulye their reason was
 good, for the Prince that leadeth a good lyfe, is the harte of the common
 wealthe. But I doe not maruaile that the Emperour was so well wylled,
 and beloued of the Romayn empire, for he had neuer porter to hys chamber,
 but the, 2. howers which he remained with his wyfe *Faustine*. All this beyng
 past, the good Emperour went into his house into the secretest place he had
 (accor dyng to the counsell of *Lucius Seneca*) they key whereof he alone had in
 his custodie, and neuer trusted any man therewith, vntyll the hower of hys
 death: and then he gaue it to an old auncient man called *Pompeianus*, sayeng
 vnto hym these wordes. Thou knowest ryght wel *Pompeianus*, y^e thou beyng
 base, I exalted the to honor. Thou beyng pooze, I gaue the riches. Thou
 being persecuted, I drewe the to my pallas. I beyng absente, committed my
 hole honoure to thy trust, thou beyng old, I maryed the with my doughter,
 and doe presently gyue the this key. Behold that in geuing the it, I giue the
 my harte & lyfe. For I will thou know, that death greueth me not so much,
 nor the losse of my wyfe and children, as that I cannot carpe my bookes in-
 to the graue. If the Gods had geuen me the choyse, I had rather chose to
 be in the graue inuyrioned with bookes: then to lyue accompanied wpyth
 fooles: for if the dead doe rede, I take them to be alyue: but if the lyuing doe
 not rede, I take them to be deade.

Under this key which I gyue y^e, remayneth many Greke, Hebrue, latine,
 and Roman bookes, and aboue all. vnder this key remayneth al my paynes,
 swet, and trauayles, al my watchinges, and labours, where also thou shalte
 fynde bokes by me compyled: so that though the wormes of the y^e earth doe
 eate my body: yet men shall fynde my harte hole amongst these bokes.

Once againe I doe require the, and saye that thou oughtest not a lytell to
 esteeme the key which I giue the: for wise men at the hower of their death,
 alwayes recommed that whiche they best loue, to them which in their liues
 they haue most loued. I doe confesse, that in my studie thou shalte fynd ma-
 ny thinges with myne owne hand wrytten and wel ordered: and also I con-
 fesse that thou shalte find many thinges by me left vnperfit. In this case I
 thinke that though thou couldest not wryte them, yet thou shalt worke the
 wel not withystandynge: and by these meanes thou shalte get reward of the

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Gods for workyng them. Consider Pompeian, that I haue ben thy lorde, I haue ben thy father in law, I haue bene thy father, I haue bene thy aduocate, and aboue all, that I haue bene thy speciall frend, which is most of all: for a man ought to esleme more a faithfull frend, then all the parentes of the world. Therfore in the faith of that frendshyp I require, that thou kepe this in memozy, that euen as I haue recommended to others my wife, my children, my goods, and ryches: So I do leaue vnto the in singular recommendation my honoure: for prynces leaue of them selues no greater memozye, then by the good learning that they haue wrytten. I haue bene .18. yeaeres emperour of rome, and it is .lx. and .iii. yeaeres that I haue remayned in thys wofull life, during whiche time I haue ouercome many battailles, I haue slayne many pirattes, I haue exalted many good, I haue punished manye euil, I haue wonne many realmes, & I haue destroyed many tirauntes. But what shal I do, woful man & I am, lithe all my companions which were witnessses with me of al these worthy feates, shalbe my companions in the graue with the gredy wormes: A thousand yeaeres hence, when those that are now alpye shal then be dead: what is he that shal say, I saw Marcus Aurelius triumphe ouer the Parthians, I saw him make the buildings in Auentino, I saw him welbeloued of the people. I saw him father of the orphanes, I saw him the scourg of tirauntes: truly if al these thinges had not ben declared by my bookes, or of my frendes, the dead would neuer haue rysen agayn to haue declared them. What is it for to se a prync (from the time he is bozne, vntil the time he come to dye) to se the pouerty he passeth, the perilles he endureth, the euil that he suffereth, the shaine that he dyssembleth, the frendshyp that he sayneth, the teares which he sheadeth, & sighes that he fetchith, the promyses that he maketh, and doeth not endure for any othyr cause the myseries of this life: but onely to leaue a memozye of him after his death? There is no prync in the worlde that desireth not to keape a good house, to keape a good table, to apparel him selfe rychely, & to pay those that serue hym in his house: but by this vaine honour, they suffer & water to passe thorowgh their lippes not drynking therof. As one that hath proued it, it is reason that I be beloued in this case, and that is: that the entent of prynces to conquare strange Realmes, and to permit their owne to suffer wronges is for no othyr thng, but because that the commendacions which they speake of the prynces past, they should lyke wyse talke the same of them that be to come. Concluding therfore my mynde, and declaring my intencion, I say that the Prince that is noble, and desireth to leaue of him selfe some fame, let hym consider and se what it is that those can write of him, which writ his history: for it profiteth lifel that he atchieue greate affayers by the swerde, if there be no writer to sette them fourth with the penne, and afterwarde to exalte them with the tonge.

These wordes thus spoken by & noble Emperour Marcus Aurelius, he gaue the key of his studye to the honourable old man Pompeianus, that toke all the wrytynges, and put them in the high Capitol, where the Romans honored them, as the christians the holpe Scriptures: all these wrytynges besydes many others perished in rome, when by the Barbarous it was destroyed. For the Gothes, (utterly to extinguiſhe the name of rome) destroyed not onely the walles

walles thereof, but also the booke that were therein: and fruite in this case the Goethes shewed more crueltie to the Romans, then if they had slayne the children of their bodies, or bet downe the walles of their Cities. For without doubt the lyuely letter is a moresowerer wytnes of renoume, that alwayes speaketh: then eyther the lyme, sand, or stone, wherewith fortresses are buylded.

Of the importunate sute of the Emperesse Faustine, to the Emperour Marke Aureille Concerning the key of his closet. Chap. xiiii.

VVe haue Declared, howe the Emperoure Marcus Aurelius had his studie in the secretest place of al the palace, and how that he him selfe did kepe the key. It is to be vnderstande, that he would neuer let his wife, hys children, nor any other of his familer frendes come into it, for he said: I had rather suffer that they shoulde take from me my treasoures, then that any man should turne the leaues of my bookes. It chaunced, that on a daie the Emperesse Faustine being great with child, importuned the Emperour muche by all the meanes she could, that he would be so fauourable vnto her, as to grue her the key of his study, and it is no meruaile: for naturallie women dispise that which is geuen them, and lust for th at that is denayd them, Faustine instantly besought him, not once, but manye times, not onely with fayre wordes, but with aboundaunt teares, alleagynge vnto him these reasons. I haue: equyred the sondye tymes, that thou wouldest grue me the key of thy chamber, and thou haste by iesting made frustrate my request, the wherch thou (my Lorde) oughte not to haue done, consyderinge that I am with childe: for ofetymes it chaunceth, that that wherfore the husbände reioyce this daie, to morow he doeth lamente. Thou oughtest to remember that I am that Faustine the renoumed, the which in thy eyes am the fairest, and of thy tonge haue bene most commended, of thy parson I was best beloued, and of thy harte I am most desired: then since it is true, that thou hast me so depely in hart, why then doubttest thou to shew me the writings of thy study: Thou doest communicate with me the secretes of the empire, and thou hydest from me the booke of thy study. Thou hast geuen me thy tender harte of flesh, and now thou deniest me thy harde key of yron: now I must neades thinke that thy loue was fayned, that thy wordes were doble, and that thy thoughtes wer others then they seamed. For if they had ben otherwise, it had ben vnposs. ble thou shouldest haue denaid me the key that I do aske the: for where loue is vnfayned, though the requeste be meruillously asked, yet it is wplyngly graunted. It is a comen custome, that you men vse to deceiue vs symple women, you present vs great gyftes, you grue many fayre wordes, you make vs faier promyses, you saye you will do marueilles, but in the end you doe nothing but deceiue vs: for we are persecuted more of you, then of any others. When men in such wyse importune the women if the women hadde power to denaye and withstande, we shoulde in shorte space byynge ye vnder the yoke, and leade you by the noses: but when we suffer oure selues to be ouercome, then you beginne to forsake vs, and despise vs. Let me therfore (my Lorde) see thy chamber, consyder I am with childe, and that I dye onlesse I see it. If thou doest not to doe me pleasure, yet do it at the least because I may no more importune the. For if I come

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I come in daunger thorough this my longing I shall but lose my lyfe. but thou shalt lose the childe that should be borne, and the mother also that oughte to beare it. I know not why thou shouldest put thy noble harte into such a daungerous fortune, whereby both thou and I at one time shoulde perishe: I in dyeng so yong, and thou in losyng so lounge a wyfe.

By the immortall gods I do beseeche the, and by the mother Berecinthia I coniure the, that thou geue me the key, or that thou let me enter into the study: and speke not with me thy wyfe in this my small request, but chaunge thy opinion: for all that which without consideration is ordeyned, by importunate sewte may be reuoked. We see dayly that men by reading in bookes loue their children, but I neuer sawe harte of man fall in such sorte. that by readyng and lokyng in bookes he should despyse his children: for in the end bookes are by the wordes of others made: but children are with their owne proper bloud begotten. Before that any thinge of wysedom is begon, they alwayes regard the inconueniences that maye folowe. Therefore if thou wilt not geue me this key, and that thou arte determyned to be stoberne still in thy will, thou shalt lose thy Faustine, thou shalt lose so lounge a wyfe, thou shalt lose the creature wherewith she is bigge, thou shalt lose the auctoritie of thy palace, thou shalt geue occasion to all Rome to speake of the wickednes, and this greife shall neuer departe from thy harte: for the harte shall neuer be comforted, that knoweth that he onely is the occasion of his owne griefe. If the Gods doe suffer it by their secrete iudgementes, and if my wofull myshappes deserue it, and if thou (my Lord) desirest it for no other cause, but euen to do after thy wil, for denyng me this key, I should dye: I would wyllingly dye. But of that I thinke thou wilt repente: for it chaunceth oftentimes to wysemen, that when remedy is gone, y^e repentaunce commeth sodeinlye. And then it is to late (as they saye) to shutte the stable doore, when the steade is stollen.

I marueill much at the my Lord, why thou shouldest shew thy selfe so froward in this case, since thou knowest that all the time we haue bene together, thy wil and myne hath alway bene one, if thou wilt not geue me thy key, for that I am thy welbeloued Faustine, if thou wilt not let me haue it, sinse I am thy deare beloued wyfe, if thou wilt not geue it me, for that I am great with childe. I beseeche the geue it me in vertue of the auncient law. for thou knowest it is an inuiolate law among the Romaynes, that a man cannot deny his wife with child her desiers. I haue sene sondry times with myne eyes, many women sew their husbandes at the law in this behalfe: and thou Lorde commaundest that a man should not breake the priuileges of women.

Then if this thing be true (as it is true in dead) why wilt thou that the lawes of strang children should be kepte, and that they should be broken to thine owne children? Speakyng according to the reuerence that I owe vnto the, though thou wouldest, I wil not, though thou doest it, I will not agree therunto, and though thou doest commaund it, in this case I wil not obey the. For if the husband doe not accept the iuste request of his wyfe, the wyfe is not bounde to obey the vniust commaundement of her husbände.

You husbandes desier that your wyues should serue you, you desier that

your wiues should obey you in all, and ye will condescende to nothing that they desyer. Be menne saye, that we women haue no certainte in our loue, but in dead you haue no loue at all. For by this it appeareth, that your loue is fained, in that it no longer continueth then your desires are satisfied.

You saye furthermore, that the women are suspitious, and that is true in you al, men may see, and not in vs: for none other cause there are so manye euell married in Rome, but bycause their husbandes haue of them suche iuell opinions. There is a great dyfference betwene the suspition of the woman, and the ielousye of the man: for if a man will vnderstande the suspition of the woman, it is no other thyng, but to shewe to her husbände that she loueth hym with all her hearte. For the innocent women knowe no others, desire no others but their husbandes only, and they woulde that their husbandes should knowe none others, nor serche for anye others, nor loue any others, nor will anye others, but them onely: for the hearte that is bente to loue one onely, would not that into that house should enter anye other.

But you men knowe so manye meanes, and vse so manye subtelties, that you prayse youre selues for to offende them, you vaunt youre selues to deceiue them, and that it is trewe, a man can in nothyng so muche shewe his noblenes, as to susteyne and fauoure a Courtisan.

The husbandes pleaseth their wyues speakyng vnto them some merye wordes, and immediately their backs being tourned, to another they geue bothe their bodyes and their good. I sweare vnto the (my Lorde) that if women had the libertie and auctorite ouer men, as men haue ouer women: they should fynde moze malice, dysceiptfulnes, and crasste, by them committed in one daye, then they should fynde in the women all the dayes of their lyfe. You men saye that women are euill speakers, it is true in dede that youre tonges are none other, but the stynges of serpentes: for ye doe condempne the good men, and defame the Roman women. And thynke not (yf you speake euill of other women) to excuse your owne: for the man that by his tonge dyshonoreth straunge women, doeth not so much iuel, as he doeth by defamyng his owne wyfe by suspition. For the husbände that suspectith hys wyfe, geueth all men licence to accompt her for noughte. Sythe we women goe lytell oute of the house, we trauaile not farre, and sithe we see fewe thinges, though we woulde we cannot be euill tonged: but you menne heare muche, you see muche, you know muche, you wander abroad muche, and continually you murmure. All the euill that we selye women can do, is to listen to our frendes when they are vexed, to chide oure seruantes when they are negligent, to enuye our neighbours if they be faier, and to curse those that doeth vs iniurpe: finallye though we speake euill, we cannot murmure, but at those that dwelleth in the same streete where wee dwell. But you menne defame youre wyues by suspition, you dyshonoure youre neyghbours in youre wordes, you speake agaynste strangers with crueltye. you neyther keape saythe nor promyse to youre wyues, you shewe youre selues extreme agaynste youre enemyes, you murmure bothe at those that bee presente, and also at them that be absente: finally on the one parte you are so doble, and on the other parte you are so vnthankfull, that to those whom you desire, you make faire promyses,

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promyses, & those whose bodies you haue enioyed, you litle esteame. I confesse that the woman is not so good as she oughte to be, and that it is necessarye that she should be kepte in the house, and so she shall leade a good lyfe, and being of good lyfe, she shall haue good renowme, and hauing good renowme, she shalbe wel willed: but if perchaunce any of those do want in her, yet for all that she oughte not to be reiecte of her husbände. For the frailenes that menne finde in women is but litell: but the euils that women tast in men is veraye great. I haue talked lenger then I thought, and haue sayed more boldly then I ought, but pardon me (my lord) for mine intentio was not to bere the, but to perswade the. For in the end he is a foole that taketh that for iniury, whiche passeth betwene the man and the wyfe in secret. I sticke alwayes to my first poynt, and if it neade, once againe I require the that thou wilt geue me the key of thy study: & if thou do otherwise (as thou mayst) thou shalt do such a thyng, as thou oughtest not to doe. I am not angry so much for þe thou doest, as for the occasio thou geuest me.

Therefore to auoyde the perill of my deliury, and to take from me all suspition, I praye the (my lord) deliuer me the key of thy study: for otherwise I cannot be perswaded in my harte, but that you haue a woman locked in your study. For men that in their youth haue bene vnconstant, though the apparell that they haue be not woyn: yet notwithstanding they desire to haue new. Therefore once againe to preferue me from perill in my deliury, and to lyghten my hart of this thought, it shalbe well done that you let me enter into your studie.

The aunswere of the Emperour to Faustine concerning her demaunde
of the key of the studie. Chap. xv.

The Emperour hearing the wordes of Faustine, and seying that she spake them so earnestly, that she bathed her woofull wordes with bitter teares determined also to aunswere her as earnestly, and sayd vnto her these wordes. Wise Faustine, thou hast told me all that thou wouldest, and I haue heard al thy complaint. Therefore I desire the now to haue as much pacience to here my aunswere: as I haue had paine to heare thy demaunde. And prepare thy cares to here my wordes: as I haue listned mine to heare thy folly. For in like matter, when the tong doth applie it selfe to speake any word, the eares ought immediately to prepare them to heare it, for to make aunswere. For this is most sure, that he that speaketh what he would, shall here what he would not. Before I tell the what thou arte, and what thou oughtest to be, I will first tel what I am, and what I ought to be: for I wil thou vnderstand Faustine, that I am so euil, that þe the which mine enemyes doth report of me, is but a trifle in respect of that which my familiers, & frendes woulde say if they knew me. To the end the prince be good, he ought not to be couetous of tributes, neither proud in commaundementes, nor vnthankfull of seruices, nor to be forgetfull of the temples: he ought not to be deaffe to here griefes, complaints, & quarells, nor cruel to orphanes, nor yet negligēt in affaires. And the man that shall want these vices, shall be both beloued of men, & fauoured of the gods. I confesse first of all þe I haue bene couetous: for in dede those which with troubles annoy princes lest, & with money serue them most: are of all other men beloued best.

Secondarily,

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Secondarily, I confesse that I am proude: for there is no prince at this day in the world so brought vnder, but when fortune is most lowest, he hath his harte very haughtie.

Thirdly, I confesse that I am vnthankful: for amongst vs that are princes, the seruices that they doe vnto vs are greate, and the rewardes that we geue vnto them are litell.

Fourthly, I do confesse that I am an euill founder of temples: for amongst vs princes we do not sacrifice vnto the gods very oft, vnlesse it be when we see our selues to be inuironned with enemies.

Fifthly, I confesse that I am negligent to heare the plaintes of the oppressed: for flatterers haue towardes their princes more easy audience by their flattery, then the poore, pleadyng to declare their complaints by truth.

Sixthly, I confesse that I am carelesse for the orphanes: for in the courtes and pallaces of princes the riche and mightie are most familiar, but the miserable and poore orphanes are scarcely hearde.

Seuenthly, I confesse that I am negligent in dispatching poore mens causes: for princes ofte times, not prouidyng in time for their affaires, many and great perilles ensueth to their Realmes.

Mark here Faustyne, how I haue told y^e what (according to reason) I ought to be, & what according to the sensualitie I am: and meruayle not though I confesse mine errour. For the man that acknowledge his faulte, & giueth hope of amendement. Let vs now come to talke of the, and by that I haue spoken of me, thou maiest iudge of thy selfe: for we men are so euill conditioned, y^e we behold y^e vttermost the offences of an other, but we wil not heare the faultes of our selues. It is a true thing, my wife Faustyne, y^e when a woman is merry, she alwayes speaketh more with her tong, then she knoweth in her harte: for women light of tong, speake many thinges in companye, the which they do lament after whē they are alone. All the contrary cometh to wofull men, for they doe not speake the halfe of their grefes: because their heauy and wofull hartes commaundeth their eyes to wepe, and their tonges to be silent. Vaine and foolish men, by vaine and foolish wordes do publishe their vaine and light pleasures: and the wise men, by wise wordes doe dissimble their greuous sorowes. For though they fele the troubles of this lyfe, they dissimble them as men. Amongest the sages he is most wisest, that presumeth to know least: & amongst the simple he is most ignorant, that thinketh to know most. For if ther be found one that knoweth much: yet alwayes ther is found an other y^e knoweth more. This is one difference whereby y^e wise men are known from those that be simple, that is to wete, that the wise man to one that asketh him a questiō answereth slowly & gravely, and the simple mā, though he be not asked, answereth quicke & lightly. For in y^e house wher noblenesse & wisdom ar, they giue riches without measure, but they giue wordes by ounces. I haue told the al this Faustyne, because thy wordes haue wounded me in such sorte, thy teares in such wise haue cōpelled me, and thy bayne Iudgements haue weryed me so much, that I can not say what I would, nor I thinke thou canst perceiue what I say. Those which wrote of mariage, wrote many thinges: but they wrote not so many troubles in al their booke, as one womā causeth her husbād to fele in on day.

The

OF PRINCES.

The auncientes spake well when they reasoned of mariages: for at all tymes when they talked of mariage, at the beginning they put these wordes, *Onus Matrimonij*. That is to saye, the yoke of mariage. For truly if the man be not well married, all the troubles that maye happen vnto him in all the time of hys lyfe, are but small in respect to be matched one daye with an euill wyfe.

Doest thou thinke *Faustine*, that it is a small trouble for the husbände to suffre the brawlinges of his wyfe: to indure her vayne wordes: to beare with her fonde wordes: to gyue her what she requireth: to seeke that she desireth: and to dissemble with all their vanities: trulpe it is so vnpatiēt a trouble, that I would not desire any greater reuengement of my enemye, then to see him married with a brawlynge wyfe.

If the husbände be proude, you doe humble him: for there is no proude man, what so euer he be, but a fyerce woman will make him stoupe.

If the husbände be foolyshe, you restore him his senses againe: for there is no greater wysedome in the world, then to know how to endure a brawlynge woman. If the husbände be wyld, you make him tame: for the time is so much that you occupie in brawling, that he can haue no time to speake. If the husbände be slow, you make him ruine: for he desireth so much your contentation in harte, that the wofull man can not eate in quiete, nor sleape in rest. If the husband be a great talker, in shorte space you make him dōme: for the floutes and mockes that you gyue hym at euery worde, are so many in nombze, that he hath none other remedye but to refraine his tonge.

If the husband be suspicious, you make him chaunge his minde: for the tryfelles that you aske at euery houre are such, and so many, and you therewith so seife willed, that he dare not tell what he seeth in hys owne house.

If the husband be a wanderer abroade, you make him forthwith to be abidēt at home: for you looke so yll to the house and goodes, that he findeth no other remedye but to be alwayes at home. If the husband be bitious, you restraine him immediatly: for you burden his hart with so manye thoughtes, that his bodye hath no delight to vse any pleasures. Finally I say that if the husbände be peaceable, within shorte space you make hym vnquiete: for your paines are suche, so many, and so continuall, that there is no harte can wholye dissemble them, nor tong that vtterly can kepe them secret. Naturally women haue in al thinges the sprite of contradiction, for so muche as if the husbādes wil speake, they wil hold their peace. If he go forth, they wil tarye at home. If he wil laughe, they wil weape. If he wil take pleasure, they wil bere him. If he be sorowfull, they wil be merke. If he desire peace, they would haue warre. If he would eate, they wil fast. If he would faste, they would eate. If he would slepe, they wil wathe: and yf thou wilt wathe, they wil sleape. Finally I say, that they are of so euill a condicion, that they loue all that we dispise: and dispise al that we loue. In mine opinion, the men that are wise, and will obtaine that which they desire of their wiues: let them not demaunde of them that which they would obtaine, yf they wil come to their desire. For to them which are diseased, the letting of blood is most profitable, when the vaine in the contrarye side is opened. It is no other thing to be let blood in the contrarye side, but to aske of the wo-

man

man with his mouthe, the contrary of that whiche he desireth with his harte: for otherwyle, neither by fayre wordes of his mouth, nor by the bitter teares of his eyes, he shall euer obtayne that whiche his harte desireth. I confesse Faustine it is a pleasaunte sporte to beholde the younge Babes, and thou canste not denaye me, but it is a cruell torment to endure the importunities of their mothers. Chyldren now and then minstre vnto vs occasions of pleasures: but you that are their mothers neuer doe any thinge, but that whiche turneth vs to trouble. It is muche pleasure to the husbarde when he commeth home to fynde the house cleane swepte, to fynde the table covered, and to fynde the meate ready dressed: this is to be vnderstanded, if all other thinges be well. But what shall we saie when he seeth the contrarie? and that he findeth his chyliden weeping, his neighbours offended, his seruantes troubled, and aboue all, when he findeth his wyfe brawling. Truly it is better to the wofull husbarde, to goe his waye fastinge: then to tary and cate at home with brawling. I durst take vpon me to cause, that al married men would be content to forbear all the pleasures of the chyliden, with cōdition that they might be free from y annoyaunce of the mothers: for in the end, the pleasures of the chyliden endeth quickly with laughter, but the griefes of y mothers endureth al their life with sorow. I haue sene one thing in Rome, wherein I was neuer deceiued, which is, that though men committe great offences in this worlde, yet God alwayes deferreth the punishment thereof vntyll another: But if for any womans pleasure we committe any faulte, God permitteth, that by the same women, in this worlde we shall suffer the payne. There is no crueller enemy to man, nor more troublesome to liue with all, then the woman is that he kepeth in his house: for if he suffer her once to haue her owne wyll, then let him be assured neuer after to bring her vnto obedience. The younge men of Rome folowe the Ladies of Capua, but they may well repente them: for there was neuer man that haunted of any longe tyme the company of women, but in the ende to their procurement, either by death, or with infamie he was defaced. For the Gods esteeme the honour aboue all thinges, and as they suffer the wickednes of the euill men: so we see the sharpe punishmentes that they ordeine for them. I am well assured Faustine of one thing, and I doe not speake it by heare saye, but because continually I haue proued it, and it is: that the husband which condescendeth to all that the wyfe desireth, causeth his wife to doe nothing of that her husband commaundeth. For there is nothing that kepeth a womā more vnder obedience to her husband: then when oft times he denieth with sharpe wordes her vnlawfull request. In my opinion it is muche crueltie of the barbarous, to kepe (as they do) their wiues like sclaues: but it is muche more folly of the Romaines, to kepe them (as they doe) like Ladies. The fleshe ought not to be so leane that it be in eating drie, nor yet so fat that there be no leane: but it would participate both of the fat and of the leane, to the intent it might geue the more nourishment. I meane, that the man of vnderstanding ought not to kepe his wyfe so shorte, that she should seme to be his seruant: nor yet to geue her so muche libertie, that she becommeth his mistresse. For the husbarde that suffereth his wife to commaunde more then she ought, is the cause why he him selfe afterwarde is not esteemed as he should

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should be. Beholde Faustine, you women are in all thinges so extreame, that
 for a litle fauour you waxe proude: and for a litle displeasure you become
 great enemies. There is no woman that willingly can suffer to haue any
 superiour, nor yet scarcely can endure to haue any equal: for we see that you
 loue not the highest, nor desire to be loued of the lowest. For where as the lo-
 uers be not equal, there their loue can not be persite. I knowe well Faustine
 that thou doest not vnderstande me, therefore harken what I doe tell thee,
 more then thou thinkest, and more then thou wouldest. O what and howe
 many women haue I sene in Rome, the which though they had two thou-
 sand pound of rent in their houses, yet they had thre thousand follies in their
 heades: and the worste of all is, that oftentimes her husbände dieth, and she
 looseth her rente, yet for all that ceaseth not her folly. Nowe listen Faustine,
 and I will tell thee more. All women will speake, and they will that others
 be silent. All wil commaunde, and will not that they be commaunded. All
 wil haue libertie, and they wil that al be captiues to them. Al wil gonerne,
 and wil not be gouerned. Finally they al in this one thing agree, and that is
 that they will cherishe theyin that they loue, and reuenge theym of those
 that they hate. Of that whiche before is saide it may be gathered, that they
 make fooles and sclaues of the young & vaine men which folow them: and
 persecute the wise men, as enemies that sie them. For in the end where as
 they loue vs moste, their loue may be measured: but where as they hate vs
 leaste, their hate exceedeth reason. In the Annales of Pompeius I remember I
 haue redde, & doe note one thinge worthy of knowledg, that when Pom-
 peius the great passed first into Asia, as by chaunce he came by the mountaines
 of Rypheos, he founde in those places a Barbarous nation, that liued in the
 sharpe mountaines as wilde beastes: and doe not marueile that I doe call
 them beastly, that liue in those mountaines. For as the sheepe & cowes that
 feede on the fine grasse, haue their wolfe softe and fine: so the men which are
 brought by in the sharpe & wylde mountaines, vse them selues after a rude
 behauiour. These Barbarous had therfore a lawe among them, that euery
 neighbour had in those mountaines two caues: for the sharpnes of the hyl-
 les permitted not that they should haue any houses. Therefore in one caue,
 the husbādes, the sonnes, and the seruantes were: and in the other,
 his wife, his daughters, and his handmaydes abode: they did eate toge-
 thers twise in the weeke, they slept togethers other twise in the weeke, and
 al y residue of the time, they were seporate the one from the other. The great
 Pompeius asked them what the cause was why they liued so, sithe it was so
 that in all the world there was neuer sene nor redde such extreme lawe, nor
 so straunge a custome. The histoure saith in that place, that an auncient man
 aunswered him, saying beholde Pompeius, that the gods haue geuen short life
 vnto vs that be present, in respect of that whiche he gaue to our fathers that
 are past: and since we lyue but fourty or fiftie peres at the vttermost, we de-
 sire to enioye those daies in peace: for the life is so shorte, and oure trouble so
 longe, that we haue small tyme to reioyce in peace after we retourne from
 the warres. It is true, that amongst you Romaines, whiche enioye plea-
 sure and richesse, life seemeth to short: but vnto vs that haue toyle with po-
 uertie, lyfe semeth to longe: for through out all the peare we neuer keape
 suche

suche solempne feastes, as when one passeth out of his life. Consider Pompeius, that if men liued many yeares, there should be time to laugh & weepe, to be good and to be euill, to be pooze and to be ryche, to be mery and sadde, to lyue in peace and warre: but why wyll men seeke contention in their lyfe, synce it is so shorte? In keping with vs (as you doe) our owne wyues, in liuing we should die, for the nightes should passe in hearing their cōplaintes, and the dayes in suffering their brawlinges: but keping them as we doe, we see not their heauy countenaunce, we heare not the crring of our chyldren, we heare not their greuous cōplaintes, nor listen vnto their sorowefull wordes, neyther we are troubled with their importunate lutes, and yet the chyldren are nourysed in peace, and the father soloweth the warre: so that they are well, and we are better. This was the aunswere that this olde man gaue, at the requeste of the great Pompeius. Truly Faustine I saye, that though we call the Messagetes Barbarous, in this case they knowe more then the Latynes. For he that is free from a brawling woman, hath escaped no small pestilence. I ask thee nowe Faustine, synce those barbarous coulde not agree, nor would not haue their wyues with them in those sharpe mountaines, howe shall we other agree, and please you that lyue in these pleasures in Rome? One thing I wil tel thee Faustine, and I besech the Gods that thou mayest vnderstande it, whiche is. If the beastly motions of the fleashe dyd not force men to wyll, and also to desyre women, I doubt whether there should be any woman in the worlde beloued or suffered. For though nature geueth them giftes worthy to be beloued: yet they through their small discretion cause them selues to be hated. If the Gods had made this loue voluntarie, as they made it natural, so that we might haue loued as we would and lefte agayne at our pleasure: that man ought worthely to haue ben punished, whiche for the loue of any woman would putte his life in daunger. The gods haue kept this great secret vnto them selues, and the mystery that they gaue vnto men is very great: since that vnto so weake fleshe, he gaue so strong a harte, the whiche doth procure that whiche doth vs harme, and soloweth that whiche we ought to abhorre. This is an other secreete, that all men knowe when they offende, but I see no man that seketh amendement: for I heare all complaine of the fleshe, and yet I see all like Bochers folowe the fleshe: and when it can doe least good, then it is moste greddy. I enuy not the Gods liuing, nor the men that be dead, saue onely for twoo thinges, whiche be these. First I enuy the Gods, because they liue without feare of the malicious. Secondarely I enuie the dead, for that they liue without nede of women. For women are so corrupte, that they corrupte all: and they be suche mortall plagues, that both fleshe and harte by them are brought to ende. O Faustine, the loue of the fleshe is so naturall to the fleshe, that when from you the body flieth in sport, we then leaue our hartes engaged to you in earnest. And though reason as reason putteth desire to flight: yet the flesh, as fleshe, yeldeth it selfe as prysoner.

¶ The Emperour solowynge his matter admonisheth men of the great daungers whiche ensue vnto them by excessiue haunting the company of women. And reciteth certayne rules for married men, which (if they obserue) maye cause them to liue in peace with their wyues. Cap. xvi.

THE SECOND BOOK E

I Remember that in my youth, as I was of fleshe, I trembled for feare of the fleshe, with mynde neuer to retourne agayne, and I doe confesse that ofte tymes I reuolued in my harte, many holy and chaste meditations: but yet not withstanding I gaue my body immediatly to sondrie filthy vices. It is a naturall thing, that when man hath committeth any vice, forthwith he repenteth him of his dede: and so againe after his newe repentance, he turneth to his olde vices. For during the time that we liue in the house of this fraile fleshe, Sensualitie beareth so great a rule, that she will not suffer reason to enter in at the gate. There is no man in Rome, (if a man doeth aske him) but wil marueile to declare with his tongue the thoughtes that he hath had in his hart, in especially to be chaste, to be true, to be pacient, & to be vertuous: and peradventure ye talke with those that somewhat communicate with them, & let a man inquire of his neighbours, they shall finde that he is a deceiuer, a lier, and a blasphemour. Finally, they deceiue men by their faire wordes, & offended the gods by their euil workes. It profiteth litle to blase vertues with wordes, if the hand be negligent to worke them in dede: for a man is not called iust, only desiring to be good in name, but for to labour to be vertuous in workes. The trayterous worlde in no one thinge beguileth worldlings so much, as by leading them with vaine hope, saying that they shall haue time enough to be vertuous: so that these blinde men, when they are once depely rooted in vices, & whiles they hope for this light of amende-ment, then sodainly assaulteth the dreadfull dart of death. Oh how many haue promised vnto men, & bowed vnto the gods, & determined with them selues, that before so many daies they would beginne to be vertuous: whom in short space after we haue sene to engage the selues to the hūgry wormes of the earth. The gods wil that we be vertuous: & for the contrary the world and the fleshe willet that we be vitious. We thinketh that it is better to obey the gods, then to doe that the world & the fleshe desireth: for the praise of vertue is honour, & the paine of vice is insamie. If thou doest consider Faustine, thou shalt see that the gods are on the one parte, which procureth vs to vertues: and on the other part is the world, & the flesh, which inticeth vs vnto vices. My opinion is we should saye vnto the gods, that we desire to be vertuous, & that we should say to the world & the flesh, that from henceforth we wil geue our selues no more to be vitious. We ought in suche case to satisfie y gods with workes, & to enterteine the world, & the flesh with wordes: that we imploy so much time in leading a good life, that we haue no time vacant to speake an idle worde. I let the wete Faustine, that al that I haue told thee, I haue spoken it against my selfe: for alwayes from my youth I had a good minde, & yet for al that I haue ben ouerthrowen with vices. Oh how many times in my youth I knew womē, I accompanied with womē, I talked with women, & beleued women, y which in the ende haue deceiued me, misused me, & defamed me. At y last I withdrew my self & forsoke the, but I do confesse, y if reason kept me frō their houses. x. daies, sensualitie kept me w the. x. wekes. Oh cruel gods, oh wicked world, oh fraile fleshe, tel me what it meaneth, that reason leadeth me voluntarily to vertues, & that sensualitie against my wil draweth me vnto vices? Doest y not thinke Faustine, y I consider what a great good it is for to be good, & what an euill it is to be euill?

But

But what shall I doe, wofull man, since at this daye there is not so cruell a scourge of my honoure, nor so great an enemy of my renoume, as myne owne fleshe is,, the which against me doth make such cruell warres. Wherefore I beseeche the immortall gods, sicke my beinge here is against my wyll, that they doe defende me in this so cruell warre. The frayle fleshe is somewhat to blame, but muche more is the foolishhe and lyght woman in faulte. For if men were certaine that women were chaste, shamefaste, and solitary, they would not dispose their hartes, their bodies, nor bend their bowes to shoote at their buttes: they would not consume their time to folowe them, loose their goodes to serue them, neither would they suffer so many shames to sclaunder them. For where the harte hath no hope to obtaine, there he wil geue ouer his lufe. But what shal we doe now ^{Faustine} (I praie thee tel me) since thou knowest better then I, that the shame of the Romaine women is now gone, and the women of Italie are so dissolute: that though men doe not regarde them, yet they doe entyse them. If men flie, they call them: If men goe backe, they approche: If men are sadde, they make them mery: If men are silente, they force them to speake: and finally men begynne the loue in sporte, and they temper it in suche sorte, that they tourne it all into earnest. I let thee wete ^{Faustine}, that the meanes whereby nature worketh in man is very straunge: but the shame whiche the Gods put in women is more marueilous. And if it be true, (as it is true in dede) that the men doe loose the styng of the fleshe, and that the women doe not loose the shame of the visage: I thynke it is impossible that there should be a chaste or vertuous woman in Rome. For there is no common wealth more vndone, then that where the women haue lost their shame. O women, what reason haue they whiche flie from you, whiche are wery of you, whiche forsake you, whiche forget you, whiche make them selues straungers, and furthermore whiche are dead and buried. For the hungrie wormes gnawe in the graue onely the frayle and flymie fleashe of the dead: but you women destroy the goodes, honoure, and lyfe of the liuing. Oh if the noble hartes knewe what euill doth folowe them, for dallieng with women: I sweare vnto them, that they would not serue them continually as they doe serue them: but also they would haue no luste nor desier to beholde them. What wilt thou I saye any more to thee ^{Faustine}, but that some scape out of your handes for effeminate and sclaundered, others hurte by your tongues, others persecuted with your workes, other deceiued with your countenaunces, others despyed through your hatred, others desperate through your inconstancie, others condemned by your light iudgementes, others troubled through your vnkynndnes, finally those that escape beste, are of your hartes abhored, and through your folly destroyed. Then since the man knoweth that he muste passe all those daungers, I can not tel what foole he is, that wyll either loue or serue you. For the brute beaste that once hath felte the sharpe teethe of the dogge, wil vnwillingly euer after come nere vnto the stake. Oh vnto what perils doth he offer him selfe, whiche continually doth haunte the company of women. For as much as if he loue them not, they despyse him, and take him for a foole. If he doth loue them, they accompt him for light. If he forsake the they esteeme him for no body. If he followe them, he is accompted loste.

THE SECOND BOOKE

If he serue them, they doe not regarde him. If he doe not serue them, they despise hym. If he wyl haue them, they wyl not. If he will not, they persecute him. If he doe aduance him selfe forth, they call hym importunate. If he flie, they saye he is a coward. If he speake, they saye he is a bragger. If he holde his peace, they saye he is a dislarde. If he laughe, they saye he is a foole. If he laughe not, they say he is solempne. If he geueth them any thing, they say it is litle worth: & he that geueth them nothing, he is a pinchpurse. Finally he that haunteth them, is by them sclandered: and he that doth not frequent them, is esteemed lesse then a man. These thinges so sene, so harde, and so knowen, what shall the poore and miserable man doe, inesppecially if he be a man of vnderstanding? For though he would absent hym selfe from women, the flesh doth not geue him licence: & though he would folow wisdom, wisdom wyl not condiscende. Some men thinke in al their thoughts, that by seruices and pleasures they may content women. But I let them knowe, if they know it not, that the woman is neuer contented though mā doth what he can as maide, & that he do al that he ought to do as a husband: though he taketh paines for her sake aboue his force, & though with the sweet of his browes he releaueth her neade: though euery houre he putteth him self in daunger, yee in the end she wil geue him no thanks: but will say that he loueth an other, & that he doth but that to please and satisfie her. It is a long time since I desired to tel thee this *Faustine*, but I haue deferred it vntil this present houre, hoping thou wouldest not geue occasion to tel it thee. For among wise men those wordes ought chiefly to be esteemed, which fittely to the purpose are declared. I remember that it is sice yeres since *Anthonius Pius* (thy father) chose me to be his sonne in law, and that thou chocest me for thy husband, & I thee for my wife: all the which thinges were done, my wofull aduentures permitting it, & *Adrian* my lord commaunding it. The good *Anthonius Pius* gaue his onely doughter in marriage vnto me, and gaue me likewise his noble Empire with great treasures: he gaue me also the gardes of *Vulcanali* to passe the time therein. But I thinke that on both sides we were deceiued. He in chosing me for his sonne in lawe, & I in taking thee for my wife. O *Faustine*, thy father and my father in law was called *Anthonius Pius*, because to al he was merciful, saue only to me to whom he was most cruel: for with a litle flesh he gaue me many bones. And I confesse the truthe vnto thee, that now I haue no more teethe to byte, nor heate in my stomake to digcaste: and the worste of all is, that many tymes I haue thought to rage on my selfe. I wyl tell thee one worde, though it doth displease thee, whiche is, that for thy betwixte thou art desyred of many: and for thy euil conditions thou arte despysed of all. For the fayre women are lyke vnto the golden pylls: the whiche in sighte are very pleasaunte, and in eatinge veray noysome. Thou knowest well *Faustine* and I also, that we saue on a daye *Drusio*, and *Braxille* his wife, which were our neighbours, and as they were brauling together, I spake vnto *Drusio* suche wordes: what meane th this lord *Drusio*? that being now the feast of *Berecinthia*; and being as we are adioyninge to her house, and presente before so honourable assemble, and furthermore thy wyfe beinge so faire as she is, howe is it possible there shoulde bee any stryfe betweene you? When which are married to deformed personnes,

personnes, to the end that they might kill them quickly, should alwaies fall out
 with their wiues: but those that are married to fayer women, they oughte
 alwayes to liue together in ioy and pleasure, to the end they may liue long.
 for when a fayer woman dyeth, though she haue lyued a hundred yeres,
 yet she dyeth to sone: and though a deformed woman lyueth a smal time, yet
 not withstanding she dieth to late. Drusio as a man being vered, lifting vp
 his eyes into the heauens, fetchinge a greuous sighe from the bottome of
 his hart sayed these wordes. The mother ^{Berecinthia} pardon me, and her ho-
 ly house also, and al the companie besides forgiue me, for by the immortall
 Gods I sweare vnto the, that I had rather haue bene married with a ^{Schoore}
 of Calde that is so foule, then beinge married as I am, with a Romaine be-
 ing very faier: for she is not soo faire and white as my life is wofull and
 blacke. Thou knowest well ^{Faustine} that when Drusio spake these wordes,
 I did wypp the teares from his eyes, and I gaue him a worde in his eare
 that he should procede no further in this matter: for such women ought to
 be chastened in secrete, and afterwarde to be honoured openly. O thou art
 infortunate ^{Faustine}: and the Gods haue euill deuised with the, geuing the
 bewtye and riches to vndoe thy selfe: and denayeng thee the best, whiche is
 wisdom and good condicions to kepe thy honour, Oh what euyl lucke
 cometh vnto a man, when God sendeth him a fayer doughter, vnesse fur-
 thermore the gods do permit that she be sage, and honest: for the woman
 which is pong, folysh, and faier, destroyeth the common wealth, and defa-
 meth al her parentage. I say vnto the againe ^{Faustine}, that the Gods were
 very cruel against thee, since they swallowe the vp by the goulfes, wher all
 the euil perisheth: and toke from the all the sayles and owers, whereby the
 good do escape. I remained xxxviii. yeres vnmarrid, and these vi. yeres on-
 ly which I haue bene married, me thinketh I haue passed vi. hundred yeres
 of my life: for nothing can be called a torment, but the euyl that man doth
 suffer that is euyl married. I wil enstue the of one thinge ^{Faustine}, that if I
 had knowen before, which now I know, and that I had felte that whiche
 now I fele, though the gods had commaunded me and the emperour ^{Adrian}
 an my Lord desired me, I had not chaunged my pouertie for thy riches, nei-
 ther my rest for thy Emprye: but since it is fallen to thine and myne euyl for-
 tune, I am contented to speake lytel, and to suffer much. I haue so muche
 dissembled with the ^{Faustine}, that I can no more: but I confesse vnto the,
 that no husband doth suffer his wife so much, but that he is bound to suffer
 her more, considering that he is a man, & that she is a woman. For the man
 which willingly goeth into y^e byers, must thinke before to endure y^e prickes.
 The woman is so bold that doth contend with her husband: but the hus-
 band is more foole which openly quarrelleth wth his wife. For if she be good,
 he ought to fauour her to the end she may be better: if she be unhappie, he
 oughte to suffer her to the end she be not worse. Trulye when the woman
 thinketh that her husband taketh her for euil, it is a great occasion to make
 her to be worse: for women are so ambitious, that those which comonly are
 euyl, wil make vs beleue y^e they are better then others. Beleue me ^{Faustine},
 that if the feare of the gods, the infamy of the person, and the speach of men
 do not refraine y^e woman, al the chastisements of y^e world wil not make her

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refraine from byce: for all things suffereth chastisement and correction, the woman only except, the which must be wonne by intreacy. The hart of the man is very noble, and that of the woman very delicate: bycause for a lytle good he wil geue a great reward, and for a great offence he wil geue no punishment. Before the wise man marieth, let him beware what he doth: and when he shall determine to take the companye of a woman, he ought to be lyke vnto him that entereth into the warre, that determineth with himselfe to suffer al that may happen, be it good or euil. I do not cal that life a warre without a cause, which the euill married man leadeth in his house: for women do more hurt with their tongues, then the enemyes do with their swoordes. It is a great simplicitie for a wise man to make accompt, or esteeme the simplicitie of his wife at euery tyme: for if they would marke, and take hede to that which their wife doth, or sayth, I let them know that they shal neuer come to an ende. O Faustine, if the Romaine woman would alwayes one thing, that they would procure one thing, that they would be resolued in one thing, though it were to our great charges we would haue pleasure to condescend vnto their desires: but what shal we do, sinse I which now pleaseeth you, a while after displeaseth you, I which you aske for in the morning, ye wil not haue at none, that which you enioye at none days, do trouble you in the night, that which in the night you loue, ye care not for in the morninge, that which yesterday ye greatly esteemed, to day ye as much despise. If ye desired to see a thing the last yere, this yere ye wil not heare talke of it, that which before made you to reioyce, doth now make you to be sad, that which ye were wont and ought to lament, at the selfe same thinge a man seeth you laughe. Finally ye women are as children, which are appeased with an aple, and casteth the golde to the earthe not wayeng it. I haue dyuers times thought with my selfe, if I could say or write any good rule, in keeping the which, I might teach men to be quiet in their house. And by my counte I find (hauing experimented it also with the Faustine) that it is vnpossible to geue a rule to married men: and if a man could geue them, they should scarcely profite therewith, sinse their wiues lyue without rule. But notwithstanding that, I wil declare some rules how the married folkes shold kepe themselves in their houses: and how they shall (if they lyst) auoide strifes and debates betwene them. For the husbandes and the wiues hauing warres together, it is impossible there should be peace in the common wealth. And though this present writinge hath not profited me, vnluckey and vnfortunate man: yet it may profite others which haue good wyues. For oft times the medycen whiche profiteth not for the tender eyes, suffiseth to heale the hard heales. I know wel Faustine, that for that I haue sayd, and for that I wil say vnto the, thou and others such like shall greatly enuye me. We will marke the words that I speake, more then the intencion that I meane: but I protest before the Gods, that in this case my end is for none other intent, but to aduertise the good, wherof there are a great manye: and to punyssh the euyl, whych are many moe. And though perchance neyther the one nor the other wil beleue, that my intencion in speaking these thinges was good: yet therfore I wil not cease to know the good from the euyl, and to choose the euil from the good. For in my fantasy the good wife is as the sea saunt,

whose

whose feathers we lytle esteame, and regard much the bodye: but the euill woman is as the Harterne, whose skynne we greatly esteeme, and vtterly despise the fleshe. I wil therfore declare the rules wherby the husbands may liue in peace with their owne proper wyues.

The Rules are these.

The firste, the husband must neades haue pacience and suffer his wyfe when she is displeased: for in Libia ther is no serpent so spiteful as an euill woman when she is vered.

The second, the husband ought to prouide for his wife (accordyng to his abylitie) al that is necessary for her, as wel for her personne, as for her house: for oft times it chaunceth, that women seking things necessarie, find things superfluous, and not very honest.

The third, the husband ought to prouide that his wife do kepe good company: for women oft times are more troubled, with the wordes that their euill neighbours speake against them, then for any occasion that their husbands geue them.

The fourth, that the husband ought to vse a meane, that his wife be not to much a subiect, nor that she stray to much abroad: for the woman that gad-deth muche in the strectes, bothe loseth her good name, and spendeth his goodes.

The fifth, the husband ought to take hede that he striueth not so with his wife, that she be brought past shame: for the woman that towards her husbande is shamelesse, hath no respect what dishonestye shee committeth.

The sixt, the husband ought to let his wife vnderstand that he doth trust her: for the woman is of such condicion, that that which a wise man would not she should do: she wyl do sonest, and that wherin she should take paynes, she wil do nothing.

The seuenth, the husband ought to be circumspect that he do not holy trust his wife with the goods and treasours of the house, nor yet vtterly distrust her: for if the wife haue the charge of the goods of the house, truly she wyl augment lytel, and if the husband do suspect her, she wil steale much.

The 8. the husband ought to loke vpon his wife merily, & at other times agayne sadly: for women are of such condicion, that when their husbandes sheweth them a merye countenance they loue them, and when they shew them selues demure, they feare them.

The 9. the husband ought (if he be wise) in this to take good aduysement, that his wife quarel not with his neighbours, for we haue oft times sene in Rome, that for the quarrel of his wife against his neighbour, the husband hath lost his life, she hath lost her goodes, and a slaunder hath risen thorough out the common wealth.

The 10. the husband ought to be so patient, & if he saw his wife comit any fault, in no wise he should correct her openly, but in secret: for the husband that correcteth his wife before witnes, doth as he whiche spitteth into the element, and the spittel falleth againe into his eyes.

The 11. the husband ought to haue much temperaunce, lest he lay hands on his wife to punishe her: for truly the wife that with sharpe words doth not amend, with al the chastysmentes of the world wyl neuer be good.

The

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The 12. if the husbände wil be in quyet wyth his wife, he ought to prayse her before his neyghbours and straungers: for amongst all other thinges women haue thys proprietye, that of all they woulde be praysed, and of none corrected.

The 13. the husband ought to beware to prayse any other then his owne wife, she being present: for women are of this condicion, that the same day the husbände commendeth any other woman, the same day his wife wyll cast hym out of her harte, thinkinge that he loueth another and dyspyseth her.

The 14. the husband oughte to make his wife beleue that she is faier, though in dede she be foule: for ther is betwene them no greater strife, then to thinke that her husband forsaketh her for being foule.

The 15. the husband ought to put his wife in remembraunce of the infamy, that they speake of them that be euyl in the cite: for women are glorious, & because they woulde be loth that men should talke such thing by them, as they talke of others, peraduenture they will refraine from those byces that others commit.

The 16. the husband ought to take hede that his wife accept no new frendes: for through acceptyng of new frendes, there grow cominently betwene them great discention.

The 17. the husband ought to take heade that his wife beleue, that he loueth not them whom she hateth: for women are of such a condicion, that if the husbändes loueth al them that they hate, immediatly they wil hate all those which they loue.

The 18. the husband ought sometime in matters, which are not preiudicial vnto him, confesse him selfe to be overcome: for women desire rather to be counted the best in reasoning (though it be of no value) then to haue otherwise a greater iewel geuen them.

In this sort Faustine I wil say no more to the, but wishe that thou shouldest se what I se, and fele what I fele: and aboue al, that my dissimulacion should suffice to amend thy life.

¶ The Emperour aunswereth moze particularlye concerning the Key of his studye. Cap. xlii.

NOW Faustine, since I haue the old benym from my hart expelled, I wil aunswere to thy present demaund: for vnto demaundes & aunswers that passeth betwene the sages, & tongue ought neuer to speake word, but that first he aske the hart lycence. And it is a general rule amongst the phisicians, that the medicens do not profite the sicke, vnlesse they first take away the opilacions of the stomacke. I meane by this, that no mā can speake to his frend (as he ought) vnlesse before he sheweth what thing greueth him: for it is better to repaier the rouses of the houses that be olde, then to go about to build them new.

Thou requirest me Faustine that I geue thee the keye of my studye, and thou doest threaten me that if I geue it not vnto the, that thou shalt forthwith be deliuered. I marueile not at that thou sayest, neyther I am abashed of that thou demaundest, nor yet of that that thou wouldest do: for you women are very extream in your desires, very suspicious in your demaundes, very

very obstinate in your willes, and as vnpacient in your sufferinges. I say not without a cause that women are extream in their desires: for there are thinges wherof women are so desirous, that it is wonder though neuer living creature saw them, nor hard speake of them. I haue not sayd without a cause that women are suspicious in their demaunds: for the Romaine women are of such a condicion, that as sone as a woman desireth any thing, she forthwith commaundeth the tongue to aske it, the fecte to seke it, the eyes to se it, the hands to fele it, and likewise the hart to loue it. I say not without a cause that women are obstinate in their willes: for if a Romaine woman beareth any inalyce to any man, she wil not forbear to accuse him for anye slander, nor faile to pursue him for any pouerty, nor feare to kil him for any Justice. I say not without a cause that women are vnpacient to suffer: for many are of such condicion (I say not al) that if a man giue not spedely that whiche they desire, they chaunge their coullour, their eyes looke read, their tongues runne quicke, their voyces are sharpe. they frette with them selues, they trouble their neighbours abroad, and are so out of order that no man dare speake vnto them within. You haue this good trade among ye womē that vnder coullour of being with child, you wil that we husbands graunt ye al your desires. When the sacred senate, in the time of the valyaunt Camillus, made a law in the fauour of the Romaine Matrones with child, the women at that time longed not so much as they do at this present: but I can not tel what this presently meaneth, that al ye are annoynted with that that is good, & that ye are all desirous of that that is euyl. I wil tel the (Faustine) the occasiō why this law was made in Rome, & therby thou shalt se if thou deseruest to enioy the priuiledge therof or no: For the lawes are but as yokes vnder the which the euyl doth labour, and they are winges wherewith the good doth flye. The case therof was such, that Camillus the valyaunt capitaine went forth to the warres, he made a solempne vow to the mother Berecynthia, that if the gods gaue him the byctorie, he would offer vnto her an Image of siluer: and after Camillus wanne the victorie, & that he would haue accomplished his vow to y^e mother Berecynthia: nother he had any riches, nor Rome had any siluer. For at that time, Rome was rich of vertues, and poore of money. And know thou Faustine, that our aunciēt fathers were deuout to wards the gods, & curious in repairing the temples, the which they esteemed to be great deuotions: & they were in such sort obserued of their vowes, that neither for slouth, nor pouerty, they would obmitte their promises towards their gods. And in these things they were so precise, that they graunted to no man any triumphe, onlesse he did sweare that he had vnto the gods made a vow, & after ward also proued how he performed it.

At that time flourished in Rome manye vertuous Romaynes, and manye greeke phylosophers, manye hardye Captaynes, and manye sumptuous buildinges: and aboue all thinges, Rome was vnpeopeled of malycies, and adorneed with vertuous Ladies. The Historiographers made (and not withoute a cause) greate accompte of these vertuous matrones: for the commonne wealthe hathe as muche neade of vertuous women, as the warres haue of valyaunte Captaynes. They beyng therefore (as they weare) soo vertuous and noble Matrones (without the motion of anye woman

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woman) determined all to go into the high Capitoll, & ther to offer al their Jewelles and treasours that they had, their cheynes, their ringes, their garments, their bracelettes, their girdels, their buttons, and hangers of golde, of siluer, and precious stones of all sortes with al their tablettes. The Annales of this time say, that after the Romaine women had layed so greate a multitude of riches, at the feete of the sacret senate, in the name of them all one of them spake, whose name was called Lucina, & said in this sort. Fathers cōscript, esteeme not much these our Jewelles, which we geue you to make ymage of the mother Berecinthia: but esteeme much this, that we will ynge put in ieopardye our husoandes, and children, to win you the byctory. And if in this case you accept our pooze seruyce, haue no respect to the lytel which we do offer: but to the great which (if we were able) we would giue. Truly y Romaines, though the treasure which their wiues offered was great: Yet not withstanding they did more esteeme the good wil wherwith they gaue it, then they did the giftes them selues. For ther was so much in dede, that sufficed both to make the ymage of the goddesse Berecinthia, and also for a long time to maintaine the warres. Therfore from that day that those matrones presented their Jewelles in the highe Capitoll, the senate forthwith in remembraunce of the gentlenes, graunted them these fīue thinges as a priuiledge: for at that time Rome neuer receyued seruyce, or benefyt of any person, but she rewarded it with double payment.

The first thing that the senate graunted the Romaine women was, that in the day of their burial, the Oratours might openly make oracions in the praise of their lyues: for in old time men bled neyther to exalt them when they were dead, nor yet to accompany them to their graues.

The second thing that was graunted them was, that they might sit in the temples: for in the old time when the Romaynes did offer sacrifices to their gods, the aged did alwayes sit, the priestes kneele, the married men did leane, but the women, though they were of noble and high linage, could neyther be suffered to talke, sit, nor to leane.

The third thing that the senate graunted the women of Rome was, that euery one of them might haue .ii. rich gownes, and that they should not aske the Senate leue to weare them: for in the olde time if any women were apparelled, or did bye any newe gowne withoute askinge licence of the Senate, shee shoulde immediatlye loose her Gowne, and bycause her husbaude did condiscende vnto the same, he was bannysed the common wealthe.

The fourth thing which they graunted them was, that they shold drinke wine when they were sicke: for there was in Rome a custome inuolable, that though the lyfe was in hazard, they durst not drinke wine but water. For when Rome was wel corrected, a woman that druncke wine was as much slandered among the people: as if she had committed adulterye towards her husband.

The fift thing graunted by the senate vnto the women was, that a man might not Denay a Romaine being with chyld, any honest and lawfull thing that she demaunded. I cannot tell why the auncientes of Rome esteemed more women with child, then others that had no children.

All these five things were iustly graunted to the Matrones, and noble Romaine Ladies. And I can tel the Faustine, that they were of the Senate most willingly graunted. For it is reason that women which in vertues do excell, should with all meanes be honoured. I wil tel the Faustine the especiall cause that moued the Romaynes to graunte vnto you Matrones this last pryuyledge: that is to wete, that a man cannot deny them any thinge being with child. Thou oughtest to know, that the others (aswel Grekes as Latynes) did neuer giue lawes, nor institutions vnto their people, without great occasions: For the great multitude of lawes are comonly euill kept, and on the other part are cause of sondry troubles. We cannot deny but that the auncientes did wel auoyde the great number of institutions: For it is better for a man to lyue as reason commaundeth him, then as the lawe constrayneth him. The case therfore was, that in the yere of the foundation of Rome. 364. Fuluius Torquatus then being Consul, in the warre againste the Volces, the knightes of Mauritania broughte to Rome an huge monster with one eye, called Monoculus: which he had found in the desertes of Egypt. At that time the wife of Torquatus called Macrina, shold haue bene deliuered of child: for the Consul did leaue her great. This Macrina amongst al was so honest, & they spent as much time in Rome to prayse her for her vertues: as they did set forth her husband for his victories. They rede in the Annalles of that time that the first time that this Consul Torquatus went into Asia, he was eleuen yeres out of his countrey, and it is found for a truth, that in al the time that Torquatus was absente, his wife was neuer sene loke out at the windowe, whiche was not a thinge smally esteemed: for though it was a custome in Rome to kepe the doze shut, it was lawfull notwithstandinge to speake to women at the windowes. Though men at that time were not so bold, & the women were so honest: yet Macrina, wife to Torquatus, lyued so close and solitary to her selfe, that in all these 11. yeres ther was neuer man that saw her go through Rome, nor that euer saw her doze open, neither that she consented at any time (from the time that she was viii. yeres of age) that any man should enter into her house: & moze ouer, ther was neuer man saw her face wholly vncouered. This Romaine Lady did this, to leaue of her a memory: & to giue example of her vertue. She had also iii. children, whereof the eldest was but v. yeres old: and so when they were viii. yeres of age, immediatly she sent them out of her house towards their parentes, lest vnder the colour to visite the children, others should come to visite her. O Faustine, howe many haue I hard that haue lamented this excellent Romaine: and what wil they thinke that shal solow her life, who could presently restraigne a Romaine woman from going to the window. 11. yeres, since thinges nowe a daies are so dissolute, that they do not only desire to se them, but also runne in the streetes to bable of them: who should cause now a dayes a Romaine woman, that in the 11. yeres she should not open her dozes, since it is so, that when the husband commaunded her to shut one doze, she wil make the hole house to ringe of her voyce? He that now would commaund his wife to tarry at home, and let her of her bagaries into the towne, shal perceiue that ther is no Basilic nor Viper that carrieth suche poison in her tayle, as she wil spitt with her tongue. who could make a Romaine women to be 11. yeres continually

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tinuallly without shewing her face to any man: since it is so that they spend the most part of their time in loking in a glasse, setting their ruffes, brushing their clothes, and painting their faces: who would cause a Romaine woman to kepe her selfe, xi yeres from being vsited of her neighbours, and frends, since it is true that now women thinke them greatest enemyes, whych by site them most seldom? Retournyng therfore to the monstre, as they led this monstre before the doore of Torquatus house, she being great wyth child, & her husbände in the warre: by chaunce a maide of his tolde her how that this monstre passed by, wherfore so great a desire toke her to see the monstre that for to kepe that she had begon, sodeinly for this desire she dyed. Truly I tel the Faustine, that this monstre had passed many times by the street wher she dwelt, & she would neuer notwithstanding go to the window: and muche lesse go out of her doore to see it. The death of this Romaine of many was lamented: for it was a long time that Rome had neuer heard of so honest & vertuous a Romaine wherfor at the petition of al the Romaine people, and by the commaundement of al the sacred senate, they set on her tombe these verses.

The worthy Macrine, resteth here in graue
Whom wyse Torquatus, lodged in Iunos bedde
Who reked not, a happy lyfe to haue
So that for aye, her honest fame was spreadde.

Behold therfore Faustine, in my opinyon, the law was not made to remedye the death of this noble Romaine, since she was already dead: but to the end that you Princesses shoulde take example of her lyfe, and that through al Rome ther should be a memoire of her death. It is reason, synce the law was ordeyued for those women which are honest, that it should be obserued in none, but vppon those that are vertuous: let the women with chylid marke the words of the law, which commaund them to aske things honest. wherfore I let the know Faustine, that in the seuenth table of our lawes are wyrtten these wordes: we wil that wher ther is corruption of manners, the man shal not be bound to obserue their libertie.

That princesses and noble women ought not to be ashamed to giue
their chylzen sucke with their owne breastes. Cap. xviii.

A noble men, that are of hault courages, watch continually to bringe that to effect which they couet, and to kepe that which they haue: for by strength one commeth to honour, and by wisdom, honoz, & life, are both preserued. By these wordes I meane, that she that hath boine. 9. monthes (through trauaile) the creature in her wombe with so much paine & that afterwards is deliuered with so greate perill, & by the grace of god from so many daungers escaped, me thinke it is not wel that in this point (which for the nourishment of the babe is most expedient) the mothers should shew them so negligent. For that wanteth no soly, that by extream labour is procured, and with much lightnes afterward despised. The thinges that women naturally desire are infinite, among the whych, these are foure cheafely.

The first thing that women desire, is to be very faire: for they had rather be

be poore and faire, then to be riche and foule.

The second thing which they desire, is to se them selues married: for vntill such time as the woman doth see her selfe married, from the bottome of the hart she alwayes sigheth.

The third thing that women desire, is to se them selues great with child, & herein they haue reason. For vntil such time as the woman hath had a child, it semeth that she taketh him more for a louer then for a husband.

The fourth thing that they desire, is to se them selues deliuered, and in this case more then all the rest they haue reason: For it is greate pitie to see in the prime time a yong tre loden with blosomes: and afterward the fruite to be destroyed throughe the abondaunce of caterpillers. Then since god suffereth that they are borne faire, that they se them selues married, that they be with child, and that they are deliuered: why be they so vnkind, as to send them out of their houses, to be nourished in other rude cotages? In my opinion the womā that is vertuous, ought as sone as she is deliuered, to lift vp her eyes, and with her hart to giue god thanks for her frute: For the woman that from her deliuerie is escaped, ought to accompt her selfe as one newly borne. The woman likewise seing her selfe deliuered of her creature, ought to geue it sucke with her owne brestes, for it is a monstrous thinge, that she that hath brought forth the creature out of her owne proper wombe, should geue it to be nourished, of a straunge dugges. In speaking more plainly (it is al one to me whether she be a noble woman, or a woman of meane condicion) I say & affirme, that god hath deliuered her of al her trauaile, she her self ought with her owne pappes to nourish and geue sucke to their babes: for nature did not only make women able to beare men, but also besides that prouided milke in their brestes, to nourishe their children. We haue neither redde vntil this present, nor sene, that any beastes (wild or tame) after they had yong, would commit them to any other to be nourished. This which I haue spoken is not so worthy of noting, as that which I will speake. And it is, that many beastes new borne, before they open their eyes to know their fathers, haue now all ready taken nourishmēt in the teates of their mothers: & more then that, to se some of those litle beastes haue. x. litle whealpes, the which without h aide of any others nourished them al with the substance of their owne teates, & the womā that hath but one child disdaineth to giue it sucke. Al that shal read this writing shal find it true, & if they wil, they may se as I haue sene it by experience: h after the she Ape hath had her yonglings, she alwayes hath them in her armes so long as they sucke, so h oftentimes ther is such strife betwene the male, & the female, which of them shal haue the yonglings in their armes, that the beholders are enforced to part them with battes. Let vs leaue the beastes that are in the fields, & talke of the byrdes that are in h neasts: the which do lay egges to haue yong, yet haue they no milke to bring them vp. What thing is so straung to se, as a smal bird that hath vnder her winges v. or vi. litle naked byrds, the which when she hath hached, she hath neither milke to nourish them, nor corne to giue them, they haue neither wings to fly, fethers to couer them, nor any other thing to defend them: yet in al this weaknes & pouertie their mother forsaketh them not, nor committeth them to any other but bringeth them vp al her selfe. That which na-

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ture provided for the swannes is no lesse marueilous, in especiallpe when they nourishe their yong signettes in the water: forasmuch as duringe the tyme that they can not swimme, the mothers alwayes in the day are vnder their yong signettes in their neastes, and in the night the fathers carie them vnder their proper winges (to refresh theym) vnto the water: It is therfore to be thought, since these swannes so louyngly beare their yonglings vnder their wings, that they would cary them in their armes if they were men, and also giue them sucke with their owne breasts if they were women Aristotle sayth in his fift booke *De animalibus*, that the Lyons, the beares, the wolues, the Eagles, & griffins, & generally al beasts, neuer are, wer, nor that be sene so fierce nor so cruel, as when they haue yonglings, and this thing semeth to be true: for at that tyme, we se that many beasts might escape the hunters, yet to saue their yonglings they turne backe & put their proper lyues in daunger. Plato sayth in his booke of lawes, that the childre are neuer so welbeloued of their mothers, as when they are nourished wyth their proper breasts, & that their fathers dauncerth them of their knees. The whych thing is true: for the first loue, in al things is the truest loue. I was willing to shew the bringing vp of brute beasts, to shew the women with chyld, how pitiful parents they are in nourishing their yonglings with their owne breasts: & how cruel mothers women are, in committing their childre to straungers. It is a meruailous thyng to here the mothers say that they loue their children, & on the contrary side to se how they hate them. In this case, I cannot tel whether they loue moze, eyther the child, or the money: for I se that they couet greatlye to hound by riches into their cheastes, and likewise they desyre asmuch to cast out theyr children out of theyr houses. Ther are dyuerse reasons wherby the mothers oughte to be moued to nourishe their children (which they bare in their wombes) wyth their owne propre breasts.

The first reaso is, that the mother ought to haue respect how & yong babe was borne alone, how litle he was, how pooze, dilicate, naked, tender, & without vnderstanding: and since that the mother brought it forth so weake, & feable, it is neither mete nor conuenient that in tyme of such necessitie she shold forsake it & conuinit it into the hands of a straung nurse. Let women pardon me, whether they be ladyes, brought by in pleasures, or other of meaner estate, accustomed with trauelles, I force not: but I saye, that those which forsake their children in such extremeties, are not pitiful mothers but cruel enemies. If it be crueltie not to cloth him that is naked, who is moze naked then the child new borne: if it be cruelty not to comfort the sad, who is moze sad, desolate, and sorrowful, then the child which is borne weping: if it be vngentleness not to succoure the pooze nedy, who is moze neady, or moze pooze then the innocent child newly borne, that knoweth not as yet neyther to go, nor to speake: If it be crueltie to doo euil to the innocent that can not speake, who is moze innocent then the infant, that can not complaine of that whiche is done vnto him: The mother that casteth oute of her house the children borne of her owne bodye, howe can we beleue that she will receiue in any other of straungers: when the infante is nowe greate, when he is stronge, when he can speake, when hee can goo, when hee canne profite him selfe, and get his meate, the mother maketh much of hym, and leadeth hym

him about with her, but is lytle thanke vnto her: for then the mother hath more neade of the child to be serued, then the child hath of the mother to be cherished: If the children were borne of the nayles, of the fingers, of the fete, or of the hands, it were a smal mater though their mothers sent them forth to noyse: but I cannot tell what hart can endure to suffer this, since the child is borne of their propre intrayles, that they do commit it (to be brought vp) into the handes of a straunger. Is there peraduenture at this day in the world any Ladye, that hath so great confidence in any of her frendes, parents, or neighbours, that she durst trust any of them with the key of her coffer, wherein her Jewelles, money, & riches lyeth? truly I thinke none. O vnkind mothers, my penne had almost called you cruel stepmothers, since you lay vp in your hart the cursed moucke of the ground, and sende out of your houles that which sprang of your bloud. And if women shold say vnto me y they are weake, feable, & tender, & that now they haue found a good nourse, to this I aunswere: that y nourse hath smal loue to y child which she nourisheth, when she seeth the vngentlenes of the mother y bare it. For truly she alone doth nourish y child with loue, that heretofore hath borne it with paine.

The second reason is, that it is a thing very iust that women should nourish their children, to the end they may be lyke vnto their conditions: for otherwise they are no children, but are enemyes: for the child that doth not reuerence his mother that bare him, can not enioye a prosperous life, Synce the intention of the parentes in bringing vp their children is for none other purpose, but to be serued of them when they are old: they shal vnderstande, that for this purpos ther is nothing more necessary, then the milke of the proper mother: for wher the child sucketh the milke of a straunger, it is vnlkely that it shoul haue the condicions of the mother. If a kidde sucke a shepe, they shal perceiue it shal haue the wolles more faire, & the nature more gentle, then if he had sucke a Goate, which hath y wolles more hard, & of nature is more wild: wherein y prouerbe is veriefied, not from whence thou comest, but wherof thou feedest. It auayleth a man much to haue a good inclination: but it helpeth him much more from his infancye to be wel taught. For in the end we profite more, with the customes wher with we lyue, then we do by nature from whence we came.

The third reason is, that women ought to nourish their owne children, because they shold be hole mothers, & not vnperfect: for the woman is counted but halfe a mother that beareth it, & likewise halfe a mother that nourisheth it: but she is the hole mother, that both beareth it, & nourisheth it. After the duetie considered vnto the father that hath created vs, & vnto the sonne that hath redeamed vs, me thinketh next we owe y greatest duty vnto y mother, that hath borne vs in her body: and much more it is that we shoulde beare vnto her, if she had nourished vs with her owne breastes. For when the good child shall behold his mother, he ought more to loue her bycause she nourished hym wyth her mylke: thenne bycause she hath borne hym in her body.

¶ The Authour stil perswadeth women to giue their owne children sucke. Cap. xix.

In the yere of the foundation of Rome siue hundred & two, After the obstinate & cruel warre betwene Rome & Carthage, where the renowned captaines

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captaines wer Hannibal for the Carthagians & Scipio for the Romaines: sone after that warre followed the warre of Macedonie against kinge Philip, The which when it was ended, that of Siria began against Antiochus king of Siria. For in .630. yeres the Romanes had alwaies continuall warres in Asia, in Affricke, or in Europe. The noble Romanes sent the consul Cornelius Scipio (brother to the great Scipio y^e Affrican) for captaine of that warre. And after many battayles, fortune shewed her force in a Citie called Sepila, the which is in Asia the great, where king Antiochus was overcome, and all his realme discomfited: for trees that haue their rootes plucked vpp, must nedes within short time lose their fruites. After that kinge Antiochus was overcome & his land spoiled, Cornelius Scipio came vnto Rome triumphinge, for the victorie y^e he had of Asia: so that as his brother (for the victorie that he had of Affrica) was called Affricane, so he was called Scipio the Asian, because he vanquished Asia. The captaines of Rome loued honour so much, that they would no other reward, nor recompence of their trauaile, but y^e they shoulde geue them the renowne of the realme which they had overcome. Truly they had reason, for the noble hartes ought lytle to esteeme the increase of their riches, & ought greatly to esteeme the perpetuite of their good name. As Sextus Cheronensis saithe in his third booke De ambigua iusticia, that Cornelius Scipio had a long time the gouernment of the people, forasmuch as he was consul, censour, and Dictatour of Rome: for he was not onely hardy and couragious, but also he was sage and wise, which thinge ought greatly to be esteemed in a man. For Aristotle doth not determine it, which of these two is most excellēt: eyther stoutnes to fight in y^e warres, or policie to rule in peace. Scipio therfore being Dictatour (which was an office then as the Emperour is now) it chaunced that the .i. captaines which had bene with him in the warres, violently fought to haue entred into the Monastery of the virgines vestalles: wherfore the Dictatour commaunded their heades to be cut of. For the Romaines punished more cruelly those, that only required the virgins vestalls: then those that forced the married matrones. Cornelius Scipio was besought of many in Rome, y^e he would moderate & chaunge his so cruel sentence. And he which most in this case did importune him, was his brother Scipio the Affrican whose praier was not accepted: how be it in the end they sayde the captaines, wer pardoned, by the request of a sister of the said Dictatour Scipio y^e Affrican. And bycause he blamed his brother Scipio, that he had done more for the doughter of his nurse: then for the sonne of his proper mother, he answered. I let the wete brother, that I take her more for my mother that brought me vp, and did not beare me: then she which hath borne me, and in my infancy hath forsaken me. And since I haue had her for my true mother, it is but reasonne that I haue thys for my deare and welbeloued sister. These were the wordes which passed betwene these two brethren. I haue diligently red in holy, and prophane wytynges, that many tirauntes haue caused their owne mothers to be killed whiche bare them: but I could neuer find that they haue done any discourtesye or disobedience, to the nurses whyche gaue them milke. For the cruell tirauntes doo thirste after the bloude of others: but they feare theym whose milke they sucke,

The fourthe reasonne that byndethe womenne to nourishe their children

children is, to kepe them in more obedience: for if the fathers liue long time, they must of force come into the handes of their children. And let not olde fathers make their accompts, saying that during the time that they shall haue the gouernement of the house, their children shall be kepte in obedience: for in so doing they might abuse them selues. For yong men in their youth, fele not the trauayles of this life: nor knowe not as yet, what it meaneth to make prouision for householde. For to the stomacke that is ful, and cloyed with eating, al meates seemeth both vnsauery and noysome. It maye wel be, that since the childre are not nourished in the house, that they know not their seruantes, that they loue not their parentes, that they come not nere their brethren, nor talke with their sisters, that they are ignoraunt of their fathers, & do disobey their mothers: wherfore since litle feare doeth abounde, and good wyl fayle, one daye they commit some mischeauous offence, whereby they doe loose their life worthely, and the fathers loose the riches, and likewise their honour deseruedly, to the intent that the fathers alwayes keape their proper chyldren vnder obedience, there is no better meane then to bring them vp in their owne houses, the mother to geue them sucke, and the father to teache them: for when the mother desireth any thing of her chyld, she should not shewe him the belly from whence he came, but the dugges which he did sucke. For all that whiche is asked vs by the milke that we did sucke, truly there is no harte so hard that can deny her. The historiographers say that Antipater among all the Grecians, was the most renowned tyraunt: and among the Romaines Nero. And these two wicked princes wer not great tyrauntes because they had committed many tyrannies: but because they did committe one, which was most greuous of all others. For they doe not call a man a glutton, or cormoraunt, because he eateth euery houre, but because he deuoureth more at one paste, then others doe in one daye. The case was, that Antipater in Grece, and Nero in Rome, determined to kyll their own mothers. And the historiographers saye, that when Nero commaunded his mother to be killed, she sent to aske of him why he would put her to death: wher vnto he answered, that he was cloyed to beholde the armes wherin he was nourished, and therfore he caused her to be killed, to see the intrayles out of the which he came. This case was so horrible, that it semed to many not to speake it: but concluding I say, as vniuersally as the mothers losse the mortall life: so iustly did the children get for them immortal infamy. Nothing can be more wicked & detestable to the children, then to kil their mothers which did beare them with paine, & did nourish them with loue: but notwithstanding al this, we do not rede that euer they did kill, dishonoure, nor yet disobey their nurses, which gaue them milke. Iunius Rusticus, in the fift booke of the bynyng vp of childre saith, that y two Gracchi (renowned & famous Romaines) had a thirde brother being a bastarde, who shewed him self as valiaunt & hardy in the warres of Asia: as the other twoo did in the warres of Africa. The which as he came one day to come to visite his house, he found therein his mother which bare him, & the nurse which gaue him suck. To y which nurse he gaue a girdle of gold, & to his own mother he gaue a iewel of siluer. Of y which things y mother being ashamed, considring what her son had done, she asked him why he had geue y nurse y gold, which did but only geue him suck

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and that he had not geuen the gydle of golde to her, as well as the Jewell of siluer, since she had borne him, and brought him into the world. wherunto he answered in this maner. maruell not thereat mother why I doe this thing, for thou diddest beare me but nyne monethes in thy wombe, and she hath geuen me sucke and nourished me these thre yeres with her own propre pappes: and when thou diddest cast me from thee out of thy sight, she receiued me and nourished me in her propre armes.

Fifthly, women ought to enforce them selues to nourishe their children, to the ende they may kepe them the better, and that in their cradels they be not chaunged for others. Aristotle saith, that the Cocowe commeth to the neaste of another birde when she hath laide her egges, & sucketh them, and layeth in the same place her own egges: so that the other birde thinking that they are her owne, hatchieth and nourisheth them by as her owne, vntill suche tyme as they are able to flie. Then the Cocow killeth, and eateth the silly birde that hath nourished her. through the which occasion the males of those birdes, are at so great contention (that they haue bene so deceiued) that the one of them killeth the other the whiche they might let, if euery bird did nourishe her owne. In the same tyme that Philip reigned in Macedonia, (whiche was the father of the great Alexander) Arthebanus was kynge of the Epirotes, who in his age had a childe borne, the whiche was stolen out of the cradell, and an other put in his steade. The nurse whiche did nourishe it, through couetousnes of money consented to that treason: for the harte that is with couetousnes overcome, wyll not feare to committe any treason. It chaunced not long after that kyng Arthebanus died, and lefte (as he thought) his own sonne for his heire: but within fewe dayes after the nurse her self, whiche had consented vnto the robbery, discouered the thefte, and sayd that she could tell where the lawfull childe of the good kyng Arthebanus was, and that that childe whiche nowe was heire, was but the sonne of a meane knight: but in dede it had bene better for those of the miserable realme, that the woman had neuer discouered the secreete. For it chaunceth oftentimes that a man maketh suche haste of his horse, that he hurteth his legge, & through that occasion afterwarde falleth and breaketh his necke. But what shal we saye to the Plebeical women, of base and meane estate (I doe not meane the noble, gentle, and vertuous ladies) whereof they are many, that though in great secreete their chiefe friends telleth them any thinge, yet before they drinke they will vtter it to another. Thus when the treason was discouered, cruel warres betwene these two princes began: so that in the end, in a great battayle they were both slayne, the one in defending, and the other in assaulting. At that tyme Olympias reigned, who was the faire and worthy wyfe of Philip, and mother of Alexander. She had a brother named Alexander, who was both politique, and hardie, and hearing the Epirotes were in controuersie, and that twoo kinges were slaine in the fiede, he placed him selfe in the Realme, more of will, then of right. And let no man marueile, that this kyng occupied the Realme: for in the olde time, all the tyrannous princes thought that all that whiche they could obtaine without resistance: did vnto them belonge by iustice. This king Alexander was he, whiche came into Italy in the fauoure of the Tarentines, when they rebelled against the Romaines: who afterwarde

afterwarde was slaine in battaille at Capua, where his body was vnburied. And truly it was a iuste sentence, that the tyrant which bereueth many of their liues, should him selfe taste some shamefull death. I haue declared this history to this ende, that princesses and great ladies should see, that if the wyfe of kyng Arthebanus had nourished his sonne, they coulde not haue robbed it in the cradell, nor these twoo princes had not bene slayne in battayle, nor the common wealch had not bene destroyed, nor Alexander had not entered into the lande of another, nor had not come to conquere the contrey of Italy, nor the dead corps had not wanted his graue: for oftentimes it chaunceth, for not quenching a litle coale of fier, a whole forest & house is burned. The deuine Plato among the Grekes, and Licurgus among the Lacedemonians, commaunded and ordeined in all their lawes, that al the Plebeical women, & those of meane estate, should nourishe al their children, and that those which were princesses and great ladies, should at the least nourishe their eldest and first begotten. Plutarche in the booke of the reigne of princes saith, that the first kyng of the Lacedemonians was Thomistes, the whiche when he died lefte two children, of which the second inherited the realme, because the Quene her selfe had brought it vp: and the first did not inherite, because a straunge nource had geuen it sucke, and brought it vp. And hereof remained a custome in the moste parte of the realmes of Asia, that the childe whiche was not nourysed with the pappes of his mother, shoulde inherite none of his mothers goodes. There was neuer, nor neuer shalbe a mother that had suche a sonne as the mother of God, which had Iesus Christe: nor there was neuer, nor neuer shalbe a sonne, which had suche a mother in the worlde. But the infante would neuer sucke other milke, because he would not be bounde to call any other mother, nor the mother did geue him to nourish to any other mother, because that no other woman should call him sonne. I doe not marueile at al, that princesses and great ladies doe geue their children forth to nourishe: but that which moste I marueile at is, that she whiche hath conceived and brought forth a child, is ashamed to geue it sucke and to nourishe it. I suppose that the ladies doe thinke, that they deserue to conceiue them in their wombes, and that they sinne in nourishing them in their armes. I can not tell how to wypte, and much lesse howe to vtter that which I would say: which is, that women are now a daies come into such folly: that they thinke and esteeme it a state, to haue in their armes some litle dogges: & they are ashamed to nourish & geue the childre sucke with their own breastes. O cruel mothers, I cannot thinke that your hartes can be so stony, to endure to see and keape fantasticall birdes in the cages, vnhappy Monkeis in the wyndowes, sitting spaniels betwene your armes, and so neglect and despise the swete babes, casting them out of your houses where they were bozne, and to put them into a straunge place where they are vknownen? It is a thing which cannot be in nature, neither that honestie can endure, conscience permit, nor yet consonant either to deuine or humaine lawes, that those which God hath made mothers of children, shoulde make them selues nourses of dogs. Iunius Rusticus in the third booke of the sayings of the auncientes saith, that Marcus Porcio whose life and doctrine, was a lanterne and example to al the Romain people, as a man much offended, saied on a day to the senate.

¶ fathers

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O fathers conscripte, O cursed Rome, I can not tell what nowe I shoulde saye, siſhe I haue ſene in Rome ſuche monſterous thinges (that is to wete) to ſee women cary Parrottes on their fiſtes, and to ſee women to nourishe dogges, geuing them mylke from their owne breastes. They replied in the ſenate and ſayde. Tell vs Marcus Porcio what wouldeſt thou we ſhould doe whiche lyue nowe, to reſemble our fathers whiche are dead? Marcus Porcio aunſwered them. The woman that preſumeth to be a Romaine Matrone, ought to be founde weauing in her houſe, and out of that to be found in the temple praying to God: and the noble and ſtoute Romaine, ought to be found in his houſe reding bookes, and out of his houſe, fighting in the playn fieldes for the honour of his countrey. And ſuer theſe were wordes worthy of ſuche a man: Annius Minutius was a noble Romaine, and captaine of great Pompeius, who was a great friende to Iulius Caſar after the battail of Farſaliz: for he was an auncient, and on that could geue good counsell, wherefore he neuer ſcaped, but that he was choſen in Rome for Senatour, Conſul, or Cenſor for euery yeare, for Iulius Caſar was ſo mercifull to them that he pardoned, that thoſe whiche had bene his moſte enemies in the warres, were of hym in peate beſt beloued. This Annius Minutius then beinge choſen Cenſor within Rome (which was an office hauing charge of iuſtice) by chaunce as he went to viſite the wyfe of an other friende of his, the whiche laye in child bedde, (becauſe ſhe had great aboundaunce of mylke) he founde that a litle pretie bitche did ſucke her, vpon the whiche occaſion they ſaye he ſaid theſe wordes to the Senate: fathers conſcripte, a preſent miſchiefe is nowe at hande according to the token I haue ſene this daye (that is to wete) I haue ſcene a Romaine woman denie her owne chyldren her mylke, and gaue to ſucke to a filthy bitche. And truly Annias had reaſon to eſtyme this caſe as a wonder: for the true and ſweete loues are not but betwene the fathers and chyldren, and where the mother embraceth the brute beaſte, and forſaketh her naturall childe whiche ſhe hath brought forth, it cannot be other wyſe, but there either wyſedome wanteth, or folly aboundeth: for the foole loueth that he ought to deſpiſe, and deſpiſeth that whiche he ought to loue. Yet though the mothers wyll not geue their chyldren ſucke, they oughte to doe it for the daunger whiche may come to the helthe of their perſonnes: for as the womē which bring forth chyldren, do lyue more healthful then thoſe which beare none: ſo theſe which do nourishe them, haue more health, then thoſe which doe not nourishe them. For although the byrnyng vp of chyldren be troubleſome to women, it is profitable for their health. I am aſhamed to tell it, but it is more ſhame for ladies to do it, to ſee what plaſters they put to their breastes to drie vp their milke: and hereof commeth the juſt iudgement of God, that in that place ofte tymes where they ſeke to ſtoppe their mylke, in the ſelfe ſame place, they them ſelues procure their ſodaine death. I aſke now, if women doe not enioye their chyldren beinge younge, what pleaſure hope they to haue of them when they are olde. What a grrat comforte is it for the parentes to ſee the younge babe, when he wyll laughe, howe he twinkleth his litle eyes: when he wyll weape, howe he wyll hange the pretie lippe: when he woulde ſpeake, howe he wyll make ſignes with his litle fynghers: when he wyll goe, howe he caſteth forwarde his feete: and aboue all, when he beginneth to

neth to bable, howe he doubled in his wordes. what thing is more pleasant to the father then to see them, and to the mother to agree to it, when the chyliden doe sucke, they plucke forth the brestes with the one hande, and with the other they plucke their heere, and further they beate their feete together, and with their wanton eies, they caste on their parentes a thousande louyng lookes? what is it to see them when they are vered and angry, how they wyl not be taken of the fathers, howe they stryke their mother: they caste awaye things of golde, and immediatly they are appeased with a litle apple or rushe? what a thing is it to see the innocentes howe they aunswer when a man asketh them, what follies they speake, when they speake to them, how they play with the dogges and runne after the cattes, how they dresse them in wallowing in the dust, how they make houses of earth in the streates, how they weape after the birdes when they see them flie away? Al the which thinges are not to the eies of the fathers and mothers, but as Airingales to sing, and as bread and meate to eate. The mothers peraduenture will saye that they will not brynge by their chyliden, because when they are younge they are troublesome, but that after they shoulde be nourished and brought by, they would be glad. To this I answere them, that the mothers shal not Denay me, but that some of these things must neades meate in their chyliden: that when they be old, they shalbe either proud, enuious, couetous, or negligent: that they shalbe lecherous, or els theues, that they shalbe blasphemours, or els glottons, that they shalbe rebelles, or fooles, and disobedient vnto their fathers. I beleue that at this daie there are many mothers in the worlde, which did hope to be honoured, a serued with the chyliden which they had brought by: and afterwarde perceiuing their maners, would willingly forgo the pleasures whiche they hoped for, so that they might also be deliuered fro the troubles, which through their euill demeanours are like to ensue. For that time which the parentes hoped to passe with their chyliden in pleasures, they consume (seing their vnthifty life) in sorowfull sighes. I counsel, admonishe, & humbly require pyncesses, & great ladies, to nourishe & enioy their chyliden when they are younge and tender: for after that they are great, a man shal bring them newes euery day of diuerse sortes, and maners they vse, for as much as the one shal say that her sonne is in pryson, & another shal say that he is soze wounded, another that he is hid, others that he hath plaied his cloke, others that he is sclaundered with a comon harlot, another that he stealeth his goodes from him, another that his enemies do seke him, another that he accompanieth with vnthiftes, and finally they are so sturdy, vnhappy, and so farre from that which is good: that oftentimes the fathers would reioyce to see them die, rather then to see the liue so euill a life. We thinketh that the knot of loue betwene the mother and the childe is so great, that not onely she ought not to suffer them to be nourished out of the house one whole yere: but also she ought not to suffer the to be out of her presence one only day. For in seing him, she seeth & which is borne of her intrails she seeth that which she hath with so great paines deliuered, she seeth hym who ought to inherite all her goodes, she seeth him in whom the memory of their auncestours remaineth: and she seeth him, who after her death ought to haue the charge of her affayres and busines. Concludynge therefore that whiche aboue is spoken, I saye that whiche the greate Plutarche sayed, from

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saied, from whom I haue drawen the moste parte of this chapter: that the mother (to be a good mother) ought to haue & kepe her chylde in her armes to nourishe him, and afterwarde when he shalbe great, she ought to haue him in her harte to helpe him. For we see oftentimes great euils ensewe, to the mother, and to the chylde, because she did not bringe hym vp her selfe: and to put hym to nourishe to a straunge breste, there commeth neither honour, nor profite.

¶ That princesses and great Ladies ought to be very circumspecte in chosinge their nourses. Of seuen properties whiche a good nource should haue. Chap. rr.

Those whiche ordeined lawes for the people to lyue were these. Prometheus whiche gaue lawes to the Egyptians, Solon Solimon to the Grekes, Moyse to the Jewes, Licurgus to the Lacedemonians, and Numa Pompilius to the Romaines: for before these princes came, their people were not gouerned by written lawes, but by good auncient customes. The intention of those excellent princes was, not to geue lawes to their predecessours, for they were now dead: neither they gaue them onely for those which lyued in their tyme being wicked, but also for those which were to come, whom they did presuppose would not be good. For the more the worlde increaseth in yeares, so muche the more it is loden with vices. By this that I haue spoken I meane, that if the princesses and great ladies, euery one of them woulde nourishe their owne childe, I neede not to geue them counsell. But since I suppose that the women which shalbe deliuered hereafter, wilbe as proude, and vaine glorious, as those whiche were in times past: we will not let to declare here some lawes and aduises how the ladie ought to behaue her self with her nource, and howe the nource ought to contente her selfe with the creature. For it is but iuste, that if the mother be cruell, and hardy to forsake the creature: that she be sage, pitiefull, and aduised, to choose her nource. If a man finde great treasure, and afterward care not how to kepe it, but doth commit it into the handes of suspected persons: truely we would call hym a foole. For that which naturally is beloued, is alwayes of al best kept. The woman oughte more wofely kepe the treasure of her owne body, then the treasure of all the earth if she had it. And the mother which doth the contrary, and that committeth her child to the custody of a straunge nource, not to her whom she thinketh best, but whom she findeth best cheape: we will not call her a foolish beast, (for the name is to vnseamely) but we will call her a sott, which is somewhat more honest. One of the things that doth make vs moste beleue that the ende of the worlde is at hande: is to see the litle loue which the mother doth beare to the child being young, and to see the wante of loue which the childe hath to his mother beinge aged. That whiche the childe doth to the father and the mother, is the iust iudgement of God, that euen as the father would not nourishe the childe in his house, beinge younge: so likewise that the sonne should not suffer the father in his house, he beinge olde. Retourning therefore to the matter, that sith the woman dothe determine to drie and shut vp the fountaines of milke, whiche nature hath geuen her, she ought to be very diligent to serch out a good nource: the which ought not only to content her self to haue her milke whole, but also that she be good of life.

of lyfe. For otherwife, the child shall not haue so muche profit by the milke which he sucketh: as the nourse shall do it harme, if she be a woman of an euil life. I do aduise princesses and great dames, that they watche diligently to know what their nourses are, before they commytte their children to them: for if such nourses be euil, and slaundered, they are as serpentes which do bite the mother with their mouth, and do stinge the child with her taile. In my opinion it were lesse euill, the mother should suffer that her childe should perish in Deliuering it: then for to kepe in her house an euill woman. For the sorow of the death of the child, is forgotten and brought to nought in time: but the slaunder of her house, shall endure as long as she liueth. Sextus Cheronensis sayeth, that the Emperour Marcus Aurelius commaunded his sonne to be broughte vp of a woman, the which was more faire then vertuous. And when the good Emperour was aduertised therof, he dyd not only send her from his pallace, but also he banished and exyled her fro Rome: swering that if she had not nourished his sone with her pappes, he would haue commaunded her to haue bene torne in piéces with beastes. For the woman of an euil renouwme, may iustly be condemned and put to death. Princesses and great ladies ought not greatlye to passe, whether the nourses be faire or foule: for if the milke be swete, whyt, and tender, it littel skilleth though the face of y^e nource be whit, or blacke. Sextus Cheronensis saith, in the booke of the nourture of children, that euen as the blacke earth is more fertile then is the white earthe: so likewise y^e woman which is browne in countenance, hath alwaies the most substaunciall milke. Paulus Diaconus in hys greatest history sayeth, that the Emperour Adocerus did mary him selfe with the daughter of an other emperour his predecessour called Zeno, & the Emperesse was called Arielna. The which in bringing forth a Sonne, had a woman of Hungarye marueylous fayre to nourishe it, & the case succeeded in such sorte that the nource for being faire, had by y^e emperour. iii. children the one after the other: & his wofull wife neuer had any but the first alone. A man ought to beleue y^e the emperesse Arielna did not only repent her selfe, for taking into her house so faire a nource: but also was sorowfull that euer she had any at all, syth the rybald therby was mystrisse in the house, & she remained without husband all her life. I do not say it, for that ther are not many foule women vitious, nor yet because ther are not many faire women vertuous: but that princesses and great ladies (accoording to the qualities of their husbands) ought to be profitable and tender nourses, to bring vp their childre. For in this case there are some men of so weake cōplection, that in seying a litell cleane water, immediatly they dye to drinke therof. Let therfore this be the first counsell in chousing nourses, that the nource before she enter into y^e house be examined, if she be honest, & vertuous. For it is a tryfell whether y^e nource be faire or foule: but that she be of a good life, and of an honest behauiour.

Secondarily, it is necessary that the nource which nourissheth y^e child, be not only good in y^e behauiour of her life: but also it is necessary y^e she be hole, as touching y^e bodily health. For it is a rule vnfailible, that of y^e milke which we do suck in our infancy, Dependeth all y^e corporall health of our life. A child geue to the nource to nourish, is as a tree remoued fro one place to an other. And if it be so (as in dead it is) it behoueth in al pointes, that if y^e earth wher

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in it shalbe new put were no better, that at the lest it be not worse: for thys should be a great crueltie, that the mother beyng hole, strong, and well disposed, should geue her child to a leane womā to nource, which is feable, soe, and diseased. Princesses and great ladies do chole leane women, weake, and sycke, for to nourishe their infantcs. And in that they do sayle, it is not for that they would erre: but it is bycause that such feable and weake nources (by a vaine desire they haue to be nources in a gentilmāns house) on the one part they say they will litel money, & on the other parte they do make great sutes. What a thing is it when a princess or a noble woman is deliuered of a child, to se the deuyces of other women among them selues, who shalbe the nource, and how thole the whyche neuer nourished their owne children, do preferue y milke to nouryshe the children of others. To procure this thing for women me thinketh it proceedeth of aboundaunce of folly: and to condescend to their requestes, me thinketh it is for wante of wisdomie. They looke not alwayes to the manners and habilitie of the nource, how apte she is to nource their childe, but how diligent she is in procurynge to haue it to nourishe. They care not greatly whether they be good or no: for if the firste be not good, they will take the second, and if the second please them not, they will haue the thirde, and so vpwordes vntill they haue founde a good nource. But I let you to wete (you princesses and great ladies) that it is more daunger for the children to chaunge diuerse mylkes: then vnto the old men, to eate dyuerse meates. Wee see dayly by experiance, that without comparison there dieth more children of noble women, then children of women of the meaner estate. And we will not say, that it is for that they do flatter their children more, nor for that the wiues of labourers do eate fine meates: but that it chaiceth oft times, that the children of a poore woman: doth neither eat, nor drinke: but of one kinde of meate, or milke in .ii. yeares, and the childe of a Ladye shall chaung and alter .iii. nources in .ii. monethes. If princesses and great ladies were circumspect in chousing their nources, and that they did loke whether they were hole without diseases, and honest in their maners, and would not regarde so much the importunitie of their sutes: the mothers should excuse them selues from many sorowes, & the children likewise should be deliuered from many diseases. One of the most renowned princes in times past, was Titus the sonne of Vaspasian, and brother of Domitian, Lampridius saith, that this good Emperour Titus (the most parte of his lyfe) was subiect to greuous diseases and infirmities of his persone, and the cause was, for that when he was yong he was geuen to a syck nourse to be nourished, so that this good Emperour sucking her dugge but a while, was constrained to passe all his lyfe in paine.

Thirdeley, Princesses & great Ladies ought to know, and vnderstand the complexion of their children, to the end y accordyng to the same they myghte seke pitieful nources, that is to wete, if y child wer cholerycke, flegmaticke, sanguine, or melancolye: For looke what humour the child is of, of the same quantitie the milke of the nource should be. If vnto an old corrupted mā they minstre medecines, conformable to hys diseases for to cure hym: why then should not the mother seeke a hole some nource to the tender babe, a greable to his complexion, to nourish hym: And if thou sayest it is iuste, that the flesh olde

old and corrupted be sustained: I tel the likewise that it is much moze necessary, that the children should be curiously & well nourished, to multiplye the world. For in the end we do not say, it is time that the yong leaue the bread for the aged: but contrarie it is time that y^e old leaue the bread for the yong. Aristotle in the booke *De secretis secretorum*, & Iunius Rusticus, in y^e.x. booke *de gelis Perfarum* say, that the vnfortunat king Darius (who was ouercome by Alexander the great) had a doughter of a merueilous beautie. And they saye that the nource which gaue sucke to this doughter all the time that she did nourishe it, did neither eate nor drinke any thing but poison: and at the end of .iii. yeares, when the child was weyned, & plucked from the dugges, she did eate nothing but Colubers, and other venemous wormes. I haue heard say many times that the Emperours had a custome, to nourish their heires, & children with popsons when they were yong: to the entent y^e they should not be hurt by popson, afterward whē they wer old. And this errour cometh of those which presume much, and knowe litel. And therfore I say, that I haue heard say, without sayeng I haue read it. For some declare histories, moze for that they haue heard say of others: then for that they haue read them selues. The truth in this case is, that as we vse at this present, to were Cheynes of gold about our necks, or Jewels on our fingers, so did y^e Gentils in times past a ryng on their fingers, or some Jewel in their bosome replenished with poison. And bycause y^e Panims did neither feare hel, nor hope for heauen, they had that custome, for if at any times in battaile they should find them selues in distresse, they had rather end their liues with poison, then to receyue any iniury of their enemies. Then if it were true that those Princes had bene nourished with y^e poison, they would not haue caried it about thē to haue ended their lyues. Further I saye, that the princes of Persia did vse when they had any child borne, to geue him milke to sucke agreeable to y^e complectiō he had. Since this doughter of Darius was of melancholpe humour, they determined to bring her vp with venim and popson, because all those which are pure malancolpe, do liue with sorow, & dye with pleasure. Ignacius the Venetian in the life of y^e.v. emperours Palleolus (which wer valiaunt emperours in Constantinople) saith, that the second of y^e name called Palleolles y^e hardie, was after the .xl. yeares of his age so troubled with infirmities and diseases, that alwayes of the .xii. monethes of the yeare he was in his bed sycke ix. monethes: and beyng so sicke as he was, the affaires and busines of the empire were but slenderly done & looked vnto. For the prince can not haue so small a feuer, but the people in the common wealth must haue it double. This Emperour Palleolus had a wyfe, whose name was Huldouina, the which after she had brought all the Phisitions of Asia vnto her husbände, and that she had ministred vnto him all the medecins she could learne to healde him, and in the end seying nothing auaille: ther came by chaunce an olde woman, a Grecian boine, who presumed to haue great knowlege in herbes, and sayd vnto the emperesse noble Emperesse Huldouina, If thou wilt that the Emperour thy husband doe liue longe, see that thou chafe, angre, and bere him euery weeke at the least twyse: for he is of a pure malancoly humour, and therfore he that doth him pleasure, augmenteth his disease: & he that bereth him shal prolong his life. The emperesse Huldouina folowed the counsel of this Greeke

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Woman, which was occasion that the emperour lyued afterwardees sounde and hole many yeres: so that of the .ix. monethes which he was accustomed to be sicke euery yere: in .xx. yeaeres afterwardees he was not sicke .iii. monethes. For wher as this Greke woman commaunded the emperesse to angre her husbände but twise in the weeke, she accustomedly angred hym .iii. times in the daye.

Fourthly, the good mother ought to take hede, that the nource be verie temperate in eatyng, so that she should eate litell of diuerse meates, and of thole few dishes she should not eate to much. To vnderstand that thyng ye must know, that the white milke is no other then blod, which is soden, and that whiche causeth the good or euill blod, commeth oft tymes of no other thyng, but that epyther the personne is temperate, or els a glutton in eating: and therfore it is a thyng both healthfull and necessary, that the nource that nourisheth the child do eate good meates: for among men and women it is a general rule, that in litle eating, ther is no daunger: and of to much eating, there is no profit. As all the Philosophers saye, the wolfe is one of the bestes that deuoureth most, and is most gredyest, and therfore he is most feared of al the sheppardes. But Aristotle in his thirde booke de Animalibus sayeth, that when the wolfe doth once feeble her selfe great with yong, in all her lyfe after she neuer suffereth her selfe to be coupled with the wolfe againe: for otherwyse, if the wolfe should yeaerly byring forth .vii. or .viii. whealpes (as commonly she doth) and the shepe but one lambe, there woulde be in shorte space more wolues then shepe. Besides all this the wolfe hath an other propertie, whych is, that though she be a beast most deuouryng and gredy: yet when she hath whealped, she eateth very temperately, and it is to the end to nouryshe here whealpes, and to haue good milke. And besydes that she doth eate but once in the day, the whych the dogge wolfe doth prouide, both for the byche, and her whealpes. Truly it is a monstrous thyng to see, and noysome to heare, and no lesse sleaundersous to speake, that a wolfe whych geueth sucke to .viii. whealpes, eateth but one onely kynde of meate: and a woman whych geueth sucke but to one chyld alone, will eate of eyght sortes of meates. And the cause hereof is, that the beast doth not eate, but to susteine nature: and the woman doth not eate, but to satysfie her pleasure.

Princeses and great Ladies ought to watche narrowly, to know whē, and how much the nources doe eate, whiche doe nourish their children: for the child is so tender, and the milke so delicate, that with eatyng of sondry meates they become corrupte, and with eatyng muche they waxe fat. If the children suck thole which are fatte and grosse, they are commonly sicke: and if they sucke milke corrupted, they ofte tymes go to bed hole, and in the morning be found dead. Isidore in his etimologies saieth, that menne of the prouince of Thrace were so cruell, that the one dyd eate the other, and they dyd not onely this, but also furdere to shew more their immanitie, in the sculles of thole that were deade, they dranke the bloud of him that was lately alpyue. Though men were so cruell to eate mennes flesh, and to drynk the bloud of the vaines: yet the women which nourished their children wer so temperat, and moderat in eatyng, that they dyd eate nothyng but nettles sodden and boyled in goates milke. And cause the women of Thrace were so moderate in eatyng

in eatinge, the philosopher Solon Solynon brought some to Athens: for the auncientes sought no lesse to haue good women in the commen wealthe, then to haue hardy and ballant captaines in the warre.

The auctoure addeth. iiii. other conditions to a good nurse that giueth sucke: that they drinke no wine, that she be honest, and chiefly that she be well conditioned. Chap. rri.

The Princesses and great ladies may know by this example, what difference there is betwene the women of Thrace, which are fed with nettles only, and haue brought forth suche fierce men: and the women of our tyme, whiche through their delicate and excessiue eatyng, byng forthe suche weake and feable childzen.

Fiftly, the Ladies ought to be very circumspecte, not onely that nourses eate not much, & that they be not gready: but also that they be in drynkynge wine temperat, the which in old tyme was not called wine, but benym. The reason hereof is apparant and manifest ynough, for if we doe forbyd the fat meates which lieth in the stomacke: we should then much more forbidde the moyst wine, whyche walsheth all the vaines of the body. And further I say, that as the child hath no other nourishment but the milke only, & that the milke proceedeth of bloud, & that bloud is nourished of the wine, and that wine is naturally whot: from the first to the last. I say, the woman whyche drinketh wine, and geueth the child sucke, doth as she that maketh a greate fire vnder the panne, wher ther is but a litle milke: so that y panne burneth, and the milke runneth ouer. I will not denaye, but that some tynes it maye chaunce, that the child shalbe of a strong complexio, and the nource of a feable and weake nature: and the child would more substantiall milke, whē the womē is not able to geue it him. In such a case (though with other thinges milke may be conferred) I allow that the nource drinke a litel wine: but it ought to be so litel, and so well watered, that it should rather be to take awaye the vsauoynes of the water, then for to tast of any sauour of y wine. I do not speake this without a cause, for the nource being sicke, and feable of her selfe, and her milke not substantial, it ofte tynes moueth her to eate more then necessitie requireth, and to drinke wine which is somewhat nutritiue: so that they supposyng to giue the nource triacle, do giue her popson to destroy her child. Those excellent & auncient Romaines, if they had bene in our time, and that we had deserued to haue bene in their time (thoughe our time for beyng Christians is better) they had saued vs from this trauaile, for they were so temperat in eatyng meates, and so abstinent in drynkynge wynges, that they dyd not only refrayne the drynkynge therof, but also they would not abyde to smell it. For it was a greater shame vnto a Romaine woman to drynke wyne, then to be deuorced from her husbände. Dionisius Alicarnaseus in his booke of the lawes of the Romaines sayed, that Romulus was the fyrste founder of Rome, and that he occupied hym selfe more in buildyng houses, to amplifie Rome: then in constituting lawes, for the gouernement of the commen wealth. But emongest. xv. lawes which he made, the seuenth therof was, that no Romaine woman on paine of death shold be so hardy to dunke wine within the walles of Rome. The same Historian saith, that by the occasion of this law the custome was in Rome, that when any Romaine La-

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dye would drinke wine, or make any solempne feast, she must nedes goe oute of Rome, where euery one hadde their gardens and dwelling place: because the smell also of wine was prohibited and forbidden women within the circuite of Rome. If Plinie do not deceyue vs in his .xxiii. booke of his naturall history, It was an auncient custome in Rome, that at eche time that parentes met, both men and women, they did kisse the one the other in the face, in token of peace: and this ceremony began first, for that they would smel whether the woman hadde dronke any wine. And if perchaunce she sauored of wine, the Censor mighte haue banished her from Rome. And if her kinsman found her without Rome, he might frely and without any daunger of lawe put her to death: because within the circuite and walles of Rome, no priuat man by Justice could put any Romaine to death. As aboue is reherfed, Romulus was he which ordeined the paine for dronkardes: and Ruptilius was he, which ordeined the paine for adulterers. And betwene Romulus and Ruptilius, there was .xxii. yeares: so that they ordeyned this strayght lawe for dronkardes, a long time before they dyd the lawe for adulterers. For if a woman be a dronkarde, or harlot, truly they are both great faultes, and I can not tell whether of them is worst: for beyng a harlot, the woman loseth her name, and for being a dronkard, she loseth her fame, and the husbände hys goods. Then if women for the honestie of their personnes only are bound to be temperat in eating and drinking: the woman which nourisheth & giueth the child sucke, ought to be much more corrected, and sober in this case. For in her is concurrante not only the grauitie of their personnes: but the health and lyfe also of the creature, whiche she nourisheth. Therefore it is mete, that the nource be kepte from wine, since the honour of the one, and the lyfe of the other is in peryll.

Sixtly y princeesses and great Ladies ought to take hede, that their nources be not gotten with child. And the reason herof is, that in that time when the woman is with child, her natural course is stopped, and that corruption is mingled with the pure bloud: so that she thinking to giue the child mylke to nourish it, geueth it poison to destroye it. And nothyng can be more vniuste, then to put the childe (whiche is alreedy borne, and aliue) in daunger, for that which is as yet vnborne, and dead, it is a wonderfull thinge (for a man that wil curiously note and marke thinges) to see the brute beastes, & all the tyme they byng vp their litell ones, they will not consent to accompanie with the males, nor the males wil follow the females: and that that is most to be noted yet is, to see what passith betwene byrdes: for the she sparrowe will not suffer the male in any wise to toweche or come nere her, till her litleones be great and able to fflye, and moch lesse to sit apon any egges to hatch them till the other be fled and gone, Plurarche in .l. vii. of his regiment of princes saith, that Gneus Fuluius (Cousin germain of Pompeius) beyng consull in Rome, fell in loue with a pong mayden of Capua being an orphane, whether he fled for the plague. This maiden was called Sabina, & when she was great with child by this consull, she brought forth a doughter whom they called faire Drusia: and truly she was more comended for her beautie, then for her honestie. For oftentimes it happeneth, & the faire and dishonest women leue their children so euill taught, & of their mothers they inherite litel goods, & much dishonour. This

Sabina

Sabina therfore being deliuered (as it was the custome of Rome) she did with her owne brestes nourish her doughter Drusia: during y^e which time she was gotten with chylde, by one of the knightes of this Consul, to whom (as to hys seruaunt) he had geuen her to kepe. wherfore when the Consull was hereof aduertised, and that notwithstanding she gaue her doughter sucke: he commaunded y^e the knight should be immediatly beheaded, & his louer Sabina forthwith to be cast into a wel. The day of execution came that both these parties should suffer, wherfore the wofull Sabina sent to beseeche the consull, y^e it would please him before her death to geue her audience of one sole word y^e she would speake vnto hym, the which being come, in the presence of them all she sayed vnto him. O Gneus Fuluius, knowe thou I did not cal the to thende thou shuldest graūt me lyfe, but because I would not dye before I had sene thy face: thoughe thou of thy selfe shuldest remember, that as I am a fraile woman, and fel into sin with the in Capua: so I might fal now (as I haue done) with another in Rome. For we women are so fraile in this case, during the time of this our miserable life: y^e none can keape her selfe sure, from y^e assaultes of the weake flesh. The cōsul Gneus Fuluius to these wordes aunswered y^e gods immortal knoweth Sabina, what greife it is to my wofull harte, y^e I of thy secret offence shuld be an open scourge. For greater honesty it is for men to hyde your frailties: then openly to puny the pour offences. But what wilt thou I should do in this case, considering the offence thou hast comitted: by the immortal gods I sweare vnto the, & againe I sweare, that I had rather thou shouldest secretly haue procured y^e death of some man: then y^e openly in thys wise thou should haue flaundered my house. For thou knowest y^e true meaning of the common prouerbe in Rome. It is better to die in honour, then to liue in infamie. And thinke thou not (Sabina) that I do codemne the to die because thou forgottest thy faiethe vnto my person, and that thou gauest thy self to hym whiche kepte the: for sinse thou werte not my wyfe, the libertie thou haddest to come with me frō Capua to Rome, y^e selfe saine thou haddest to go with another frō Rome to Capua. It is an euil thing for bitious men, to reprocue y^e vices of others, wherin they the selues are faultie. The cause why I codempne the to die, is for the remembraunce of the old law y^e which cōmaundeth, that no nourse or woman geuyng sucke, should on paine of death be begotten with child, truly y^e law is veray iust. For honest women do not suffer, that in geuyng her child sucke at her breast, she should hide another in her trailes. These wordes passed betwene Gneus Fuluius the consull, and the ladye Sabina of Capua. Nowebeit as Plutarke saiethe, in that place the consull had pitie vpon her, & shewed her fauoure, banishyng her vpon condicion, neuer to retourne to Rome againe. Cinna Catullus in the forth booke of the .xxli. consulles saiethe, that Caius Fabricus was on of y^e most notable consulles that euer was in Rome, & was soze afflicted wth diseases in his life, onely because he was nourished .iiii. monethes with the milke of a nourse being great with child: & for feare of this. they locked the nourse with y^e child in the tēple of the vestal virgines, wher for y^e space of .iii. yeres they wer kepte. They demaūded y^e consull, why he did not nourish his children in his house: he aunswered: the children being nourished in the house, it might be an occasion that y^e nourse should be begotten with child, and so she should destroye the children with her corrupt milke,

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milke, & furder should geue me occasion to doe iustice vpon her person: wherfore keaping them so shut vp, we are occasion to preserue their lyfe, and also oure children from peril. Diodorus Siculus in his librarie and Sextus Cheronensis sayth, in the life of Marcus Aurelius, that in the Isles of Baleares ther was a custome, that the nourses of yong children (whether they were their owne, or others) should be seuered from their husbandes for the space of .ii. yeaeres. And the woman whych at that tyme (though it were by her husbande) were with child though they did not chastice her as an adulteresse: yet euery man spake euill of her as of an offender. Duryng the tyme of these .ii. yeres, to the end the husband should take no other wife, they commaunded that he should take a concubine, or that he should bye a slaue, whose companie he myghte vse as hys wyfe: for amongst these barbarous he was honoured most, who had .ii. wyues, the one with childe, and thother not. By these exampls aboue recyted, Princesses and great Ladies may see, what watche and care they ought to take in chousyng their nourses, that they be honest, sinse of the dependeth not onely the healtie of their chyldren: but also the good fame of their houses.

The seuenth condicion is, that princesses and great Ladies ought to see their nourses haue good condicions, so that they be not troublefome, proud, harlots, lyers, malicious, nor flatterers: for the viper hath not somuche person, as the woman whych is euell conditioned. It litell auayleth a man to take wyne from a woman, to entreate her to eate litel, and to withdraw her from her husband, if of her owne nature she be hatefull, and euell manered: for it is not so great daunger vnto the childe: that the nource be a dyonchard, or a Glutton, as it is if she be harmefull, and malicious. If perchaunce the nource (that nourisheth the chylde) be euell conditioned: trulye she is euell troublede, and the house wherein she dwelleth euell combred. For suche one doeth importune the lord, troubleth the ladye, putteth in hazard the childe, and aboue all is not contented with her selfe. Finallye fathers for geuyng to much libertie to their nourses, oftentimes are the cause of many practises which they do: wherwith in the end, they are greued with the death of their children which foloweth. Amongest all these which I haue red I saye, that of the auncient Romaine princes, of so good a father as Drusus Germanicus was, neuer came so wycked a sonne as Caligula was, beyng the fourth Emperour of Rome: for the historiographers were not satisfied to enryche and prayse the excellencies of hys father, neither ceased they to blame and reprehende the infamyes of his sonne. And they say, that hys naughtines proceeded not of the mother which bare hym: but of the nource which gaue hym sucke. For oftines it chaunceth that the tree is grene and good, when it is planted, and afterwarde it becommeth dye, and wythered, only for beyng carryed into another place. Dion the greke in the second boke of Celsars sayeth, that a cursed woman of Campania called Pressilla, nourished and gaue sucke vnto this wycked childe. She had agaynst al nature of women her breastes as heary as the berdes of men, and besides that, in runnyng a horse, handling her staffe, shooting in the Crosbowe, fewe yong men in Rome were to be compared vnto her. It chaunced on a time that as she was geuyng sucke to Caligula, for she was angry, she toze in peces a yong childe, & with the bludde thereof

there of annoynted her breastes: and so she made Caligula the pong childe, to sucke together both blud and milke. The sayed Dion in hys booke of the lyfe of this Emperour Caligula sayeth, that the women of Campania (whereof the sayed Prescilla was) had this custome, that when they would geue their teat to the childe firste they dyd anoynte the nipple with the bludde of a hedge hogge, to the end their children myght be more fierce and cruell.

And so was this Caligula, for he was not contented to kyll a man onely, but also he sucked the bludde that remayned on his swerde, and lyked it of with his tong. The excellent Poet Homer meanyng to speake playnely of the cruelties of Pirrus sayed in his Odisse of him, suche wordes: Pirrus was bozne in Grece, nourished in Archadye, and brought vp with tigers milke, whiche is a cruel beast. As if more plainely he had sayed, Pirrus for beyng bozne in Grece was Sage, for that he was brought vp in Archadie he was strong and courageous, and for to haue sucked Tigers milke, he was veray proude, and cruell. Hereof maye be gathered, that the great Gretian Pirrus, for wantinge of good milke, was ouercome with euell condicions.

The selfe same historian Dion sayeth in the lyfe of Tiberius, that he was a great Dronckarde, And the cause herof was, that the nource dyd not onelye drynke wyne: but also she weined the child with soppes dnypped in wyne. And wythout doubte the cursed woman had done lesse euill, if in the steade of milke she had geue the child poison, wythout teachinge it to drinke wyne: wherfore afterwarde he lost his renoume. For truly y Romayne Empire had lost lytell if Tiberius had died beyng a child: and it had wonne muche, if he had neuer knownen what drynkyng of wyne had mente.

I haue declared all that whyche before is mencioned, to thentente that Princesses and great Ladys myghte be aduertised, that sinse in not nouryshyng their children, they shewe them selues crewel: yet at the least in prouidyng for them good nources, they should shewe them selues pitfull. For the children oftetymes folow more the condicion of the milke which they sucke: then the condicion of their mothers whyche broughte them forth, or of their fathers whych begot them. Therfore they oughte to vse much circumspectio herin: for in them consisteth the fame of the wyues, the honoure of the husbands, and the wealth of the children.

Of the disputations befoze Alexander the great, concernyng the time of the suckyng of babes. Chap. xxi.

QVintus Curtius sayeth, that after the great Alexander (whych was the last kyng of the Macedonians, and first Emperour of the grekes) hadde ouercome kynge Darius, and that he sawe hym selfe onely lord of all Asia, he went to rest in babylon: for among menne of warre there was a custome, that after they had ben long in the warres, euery on should retire to his owne house. King Philip (whych was father of kyng Alexander) alwayes councelled his sonne, that he should lead with him to the warres valiaunt captaynes, to conquere the world: and that out of his realmes and dominions he should take & chosse the wysest men, and best experimented to gouerne the empire. He had reason in such wyse to counsell hys sonne, for by the counsell of Sages, that is kept and mainteined: whych by the strengthe of valiaunt men

THE SECOND BOOKE

men is gotten and wonne. Alexander the great therefore beyng in Babilon, after he had conquered all the countrey, since all the citie was vitious, and hys armye so long without warres, some of his owne men began to robbe one another, others to playe their owne, some to force women, and others to make banquettes and feastes, and when some were droncke, others rayfed quarels, strifes, and dyscentions: so that a man could not tell whether was greater, the ruste in their armours, or the corruptions in their customes. For the property of mans malice is, that when the gate is open to idlenes, infinite vices enter into the house.

Alexander the great seing the dysolution which was in his armye, and the losse which myght ensue hereof vnto his great empire, commaunded streightly that they should make a shew and iuste thozoughe Babilon, to the end that the men of warre should exercise their forces thereby. And as Aristotle sayeth, in the booke of the questions of Babylon, the turney was so muche vsed amongst them, that sometimes they carped awaye more dead and wounded men, then of a bloudy battaile of the enemy. Speaking accordyng to the lawe of the gentiles (whiche looked not glorie for their vertues, nor feared hell to dye) at the toyney the commendement of Alexander was veray iuste, for that doyng as he dyd to the armye, he defaced the vice whych dyd wast it, and for him selfe he got perpetuall memoxye, and also it was cause of muche suretye in the common weale.

This good Prince not contented to exercise his armye so, but ordeined, that daily in his presence the philosophers should dispute, and the question wherein they shold dispute, Alexander him selfe would propounde, wherof followed, that the great Alexander was made certayne of that wherein he doubted: and so by his wisdom all men exercysed their craftes and wittes.

For in this tyme of idlenes, the booke was no lesse marred with dust, because they were not opened: then the weapons were with rust, which were not occupied. There is a booke of Aristotle, intituled the questions of Babilon, where is sayed, that Alexander propounded, the Philosophers disputed: the pryncipalles of Persia replied, and Aristotle Determined. And so continued in disputations as long as Alexander dyd eate: for at the table of Alexander, one day the captaines reasoned of matters of warre, and another day the Philosophers dysputed of their philosophie. Plinius sayeth in the booke intituled, Italia Illustrata, that amonge the Princes of Persia there was a custome, that none could sit downe at the table, vnlesse he were a kyng that had ouercome an other kyng in battaile, & none coulde speake at their table but a Philosopher. And truly the custome was veray notable, and worthy to be noted: for there is no greater follie then for any manne to desire that a Prince shoulde reward him, vnlesse he know that by hys workes he had deserued y same. Kyng Alexander, dyd eate but one meale in the daye, and therefore the first question that he propounded vnto them was. That the man which did not eate but once in the day, at what houre it was best to eate, for the health of his personne, and whether it shold be in the mornynge, none dayes, or nyght? This question was debated among y philosophers, wherof euery one to defend his opinion, alleaged many foundations. For no lesse care haue the Sages in their mindes, to issewe out of them disputations victorions: then the

valiaunt

valiaunt captaines haue in aduenturing their persones, to banquyshe theyr enemyes. It was Determined: as Aristotle maketh mention in his Problemes, that the man whiche eateth but once in the daye, shoulde eate a litell before nyght: for it auayleth greatly to the health of the body, that when the Digestion beginneth in the stomacke, a man taketh hys first sleape.

The second question that Alexander propounded was, what age the child should haue, when he should be weyned from the dugges. And the occasion of this question was, for that he had begoten a yong daughter of a Quene of the Amazones, the whiche at that tyme dyd sucke: and for to knowe whether it were tyme or not to weyne her, there was great dysputations. For the childe was nowe great to sucke, and weake to weyne, I haue declared this history for no other purpose, but to shew howe in Babilon this question was disputed, before kynge Alexander, that is to wete, how many yeaeres the chylde ought to haue before it were weyned from the teate: for at that tyme, they are so ignoraunt, that they cannot demaunde that that is good, nor complaine of that whych is nought. In that case a man ought to knowe, as the tymes are variable, and the regions and prouynce dyuers: so lyke wyse haue they sondrye wayes of byngynge vp, and nouryshyng their chylidren. For there is asmuche dyfference betwene the contryes of one, from the contries of others, in dyeng, and buryeng the dead bodyes, as there hath ben varyeties in the worlde, by waye of nouryshyng and byngynge vp of chylidren.

Of sondrye kindes of sojceries, charmes and witchecraftes, whych they in olde time vsed in geuing their chylidren sucke, the whiche Christians ought to eschewe. Chap. xxiij.

It is not muche from our purpose, if I declare here some olde examples of those whych are paste. Strabo in hys booke de situ Orbis sayeth, that after the Assirians, (whych were the first that reigned in the world) the Siconians had signorie, (whych longe tyme after were called Archades) whych were great and famous wastlers, and scolemasters at the fence, from whom came the best and first masters of fence, the whiche the Romaynes kepte alwayes for their playes: for as Trogus Pompeius sayeth, the romaynes founde it by experience, that ther wer no better men in weighty affaires, then those of Spaine: nor no people apter to plaies and pastimes, then those of Archadia. As those Siconians were auncient, so they were maruelously addicted to follyes, and superstitious in theyr vsages and customes, for among other they honored for their god the Moone. And duryng the time that she was sene, they gaue their chylidren sucke, imagenyng that if the Moone shyned vpon the breastes of the mother, it would do much good vnto the child. The auctour herof is Sinna Catullus, in the booke De educandis pueris. And as the same historian sayeth the egyptians were great enemyes to the Siconians, so that all that whych the one dyd alowe, the others dyd reynoue, as it appereth. For asmuche as the Siconians loued oliues and achornes, they were clothed with linnen, and worshypped the Moone for theyr god. The Egyptians for the contrary had no olyues, neyther they nourished any okes, they dyd were no linnen, they worshypped the sonne for their god, and aboue all, as the Siconians dyd geue theyr chylidren sucke whyles the Moone dyd shyne: so the egyptians gaue theyr chylidren sucke whyles the sonne dyd shyne.

Amonge

THE SECOND BOOKE

Amonge other folyes of the *Caldians* this was one, that they honoured the fier for their god, so that he that was not married, could not lighte fier in hys house: bycause they sayed the custodye of *Goddess* shoulde be committed to none, but to married and auncient men. They had in mariages suche order, that the daye when any children dyd marie, the priestes came into his house to lyghte new fier: the which neuer ought to be put out, vntill the houre of his death. And if perchance during the life of the husband, and of the wife, they should finde the fier ded and put out: the mariage betwene them was dede, and vndone, yea though they had ben. xl. yeres togethers before in such sorte. And of this occasion came the prouerbe which of many is redde, and of fewe vnderstanded: that is to wete prouoke me not so muche that I throwe water into the fier. The *Chaldeans* vsed such wordes, when they woulde deuorce and seporate the mariage: for if the woman were ill contented with her husbände, in castinge a lytel water on the fier, immediate-ly she myghte marie with another. And if the husbände in lyke maner dyd putte out the fier, he myghte with another woman contracte mariage. I haue not bene married as yet, but I suppose there are manye christians whych wyssheth to haue at this present the libertie of the *Caldes*: for I am wel assured there are manye men which would cast water on the fier, to escape from their wiues: also I sweare, that their would be a number of women whiche would not onely put out the fier, but also the ashes, imbers, & coles, to make the selues free, and to be dyspatched of their husbandes, and inespacially from those whiche are ielous.

Therefore returnyng to our matter, the *Chaldeans* made before the fier, all notable thinges in their lawe, as before their God. For they dyd eate before the fier, they slepte before the fier. They did contracte before the fier, and the mothers dyd neuer geue the children sucke, but before the fier. For the milke (as they imagined) dyd profite the child when it sucked before the fier, which was their god. The aucthour of this that is spoken, is *Cynna Catullus*. The *Mauritaines* whiche at this present are called the realmes of *Maruechi*, were in tymes past warlyke men, of whom the *Romaines* had greate victories, and the more valiaunt the men wer in the warres: so much more superstitious their wiues were in sorceries, charmes, and enchauntements. For the husband that is long absent from his wife ought not to maruaile though in her be found some faultes. *Cicero* in the booke *De natura deorum*, and muche more at large *Bocas* sayeth, that as many men and women, as were in that realme: so many Gods there were among the people. For every one had one perticuler God to him selfe: so that the God of the one, was not the God of the other. And this was to be vnderstand in the weke daies: for in the holy and festiuall daies they had other Gods, the which altogethers they dyd honour. The maner that they had in chosyng Gods when a woman was with child was this. She went to the sacrificer of the idoll, and told him that she was great with child, and besought him to geue her a god for her childe. And the sacrificer gaue her a lytell idoll of stone, gold, siluer, or of woode, the which the mother hanged at the necke of the child. And as often as the child dyd sucke the dugg, so ofte the mother putteth the idoll on his face. For otherwyse she had not geuen hym a droppe of mylke to sucke, vnlesse first she had

had consecrated to the God the mylke of her breste. That which I haue spoken is litle in respect of that I will speake, whiche is, that if perchaunce the chylde died before the time, or that any younge man by some peryllous myshapye died before he was somewhat aged: the fathers and kinsmen of the dead did assemble, and came to the Idoll of him, and cyther stoned it, honged it, dyed it, brent it, or els they caste it into the deape well, sayinge, that lithe the Gods did kyll man without reason: that they might lawfully kyll them by iustice. The same Bochas in the seconde booke *De natura Deorum* saith, that the Allobroges had a custome, that those whiche were priestes of the Gods should from the wombe of their mothers be chosen vnto that dignitie. And assone as the childe was bozne, before he tasted the mylke of the breste, they caried it into a priestes house: for they had a custome, that the man which had tasted the thinges of the woylde, merited not to serue the Gods in the temples. One of the lawes that the sayed priestes had, was that not onely they could not by violence shed any bloud, nor yet see it, neyther touche it: so that immediatly as the prieste should by chaunce touche mannes bloud, euen so sone he loste his priesthode. This lawe afterwardes was so narrowly looked vnto, that the priestes of the Allobroges dyd not onely not shedde drinke nor touche mans bloude when they were now men: but also when they were litle infants (those that should be priestes) they gaue them no milke of hys breste at al. And this was their reason. That to sucke milke was no other, but to drinke whyte bloude: for white milke is but sodden bloude, and redde bloud is but rawe mylke. Pulio in the booke *De educandis pueris* saith, that the auncientes had a certaine kinde of reedes, that breaking it in sondre, there issued white mylke, wherewith they accustomed to nourishe their children: but let it be as it is, that this lawe prohibite children their mylke, which here after should be made priestes of the temples: me thinketh it is a tricke rather of superstitious Sorcerers, then of religious priestes. For there is neither deuine nor humaine lawe that wyl forbide, or prohibite anye suche thinge, without the whiche mans life can not endure. These were the maners and customes that the auncientes had in the nouriture of their children.

And in dede I marueile not at that they did, for the Gentils esteemed this cursed Idoll for as great a God: as we Christians doe the true and liuyng God. I was willing to declare all these antiquities, to the ende that princesses and great ladies should haue pleasure in reading them and knowing them: but not to that ende they should imitate and folowe them in any kynd of thing. For according to the faith of our Christian religion, as sure as we be of the offences that those did vnto God, through folowing those superstitions: so sure we are of the good seruices whiche we doe vnto God in forsaking them. Howe longe tyme the mothers ought to geue their chyliden sucke, and what age they ought to weyne them, not for that whiche I haue redde, nor for that whiche I haue demaunded in this case I am able to answer: but for as muche as Aristotle saith, in the booke aboue named, that the chylde at the moste ought to sucke but twoo yeaeres, and at the leaste one yeaer and an halfe. For if he sucke lesse, he is in daunger to be sicke, and if he sucke more, he shalbe alwayes tender. I wyl not omitte that whiche Sextus Cheronensis saith, in the fourth booke of his common wealth. And hereof

THE SECOND BOOKE

Boccace also maketh mention in the thirde booke *De natura Deorum*, that when Alexander the great passed into India, amongst other renowned Philosophers, there was one with hym called Arethus, who (as by chaunce he was in Nissa an auncient citie of India) there came a man of that Countrey to shewe him suche antiquities as were there. Arethus the Philosopher behelde them as a sage and wyse man. For the simple man onely beholdeth the do-inges, and howe they seme: but the sage man enquireth and demaundeth of the causes, and from whence they came. Amonge other thinges he shewed this good Philosopher a great house, being in the ende of the citie, and therein were many women, whereof euery one of them had a chambze, and in euery chambze there was twoo beddes, and adioyning to the one herbes were sowne in maner of nettels, and adioyning to the other there was a kynde of twigges, as of Rosemary, and in the myddes of the house, there were many graues of small chyldzen. The Philosopher Arethus asked why that house was so great, and the Indian aunswered. This house is to nourish the chyldzen whiche are orphanes, when they be of their parentes or frendes abandoned. For it is a custome in this citie, that immediatly when the father of one chyld dieth, the citie then taketh hym for her sonne. And from that tyme forwarde he is called the childe of the citie, whiche nourisheth hym: and not the chyld of the father, whiche begotte hym.

Arethus the Philosopher secondarely asked him, why there were so many women in that house, without any man among them? whereunto the Indian aunswered: in this countrey there is a custome, that the women are seuered from their husbendes, all the tyme they geue their chyldzen sucke: For the wyll of our God is, that the woman be not in company with her husbnde after she is with childe, and this not onely vntyll suche tyme as she is deliuered: but also vntil such tyme as the childe be weyned from the breste.

The Philosopher Arethus thirldy demaunded hym, why euery one had her chambze seuerally? the Indian aunswered. Thou knowest that nowe naturally reigneeth so muche malice in the woman, that she alwayes enuieth the felicitie of an other. And if they were altogether, they would haue amongst them suche quarrelles and debates, that they woulde corrupte the milke whiche they should geue to the childe.

Fourthly the philosopher Arethus asked, why in euery chambze there was a great bedde, and a litle pallet, since there was but one woman, & one childe? whereunto the Indian aunswered. In this India they do not consent that the nources should slepe togethers in one bedde with the younge childe, whome they nourishe: for when the women are heauy a sleape, not taking heade to the child, they many times ouerlay the poore infante, and so smother it aliuie.

Fiftly the philosopher asked why ioyning to the beddes, there was nettels which are without sauour in eating, and daungerous in touching? The Indian aunswered. I let thee knowe, that in this India (against all nature) the chyldzen wepe not whyles they are younge, and therefore they haue grow- ing by the beddes nettelles to make them weape: for our philosophers tel- leth vs, that if dayly the childe doth weape twoo houres, it profiteth hym not onely for the health of his body, but also for to prolonge his lyfe.

Furthermore the philosopher for y^e sixt asked, why ther was so many twigs
like

like Rosemary by the bed side? whereunto the Indian answered. Knowe thou, that in India there is an olde plague, that we can not defend our selues from these witches, the whiche by their sorceries, and with the only lookes of their eyes destroyeth many chyldren: and they saye, that all the children whiche shalbe perfumed with those herbes, can take no hurte through the lookes of those witches.

¶ A letter which Marcus Aurelius sent to his frend Dedalus, in the end whereof he enuyeth against those women whiche cure chyldren by sorceries, charmes, and enchauntementes. Cap. xliii.

Princesses and great Ladies oughte to take hede that their nources be not witches, and that they doe not suffer the babes (whyles they are yet pounge) to take any charmes or sorceries: for the medecine putteth the life of the creature in perill, and those sorceries doe not only harme to the body of the chyld, but also to the soule of her selfe whiche vseth it. To prayse more them that are past, and to confounde more the presente, I wyll that those whiche shall reade this, doe reade a letter of Marcus Aurelius, whiche he sent to a frende of his, in the ende whereof it appeareth howe great enemies the auncientes were to witches, charmers, and to al kynde of sorcerers: for truly I knowe not which was greater, either the temperaunce that they had in nourishing their children beinge gentilles, or the foolyshe hardinesse whiche we haue being Christians. Here foloweth therefore the letter in the ende of the whiche, he speaketh against witches and euill women.

¶ The letter of the Emperour Marcus Aurelius.

Marcus Aurelius the Romaine Emperoure, felowe with his brother Annius Verus, in the same Empire, wyssheth to thee Dedalus his especial frende, health to thy person, and good fortune against all euil.

Since the daye that thou diddest take shippinge at the hauen of Ostia, I read no letter of thine, neither haue I sene as yet any man of thy house: yea and more ouer they coulde not tell me, whether thou were aloue or dead. Wherefore thy frendes did imagine that some mishappe befel to thee, and thy shippe, or els for the misliking of the countrey, thou shouldest retorne againe. Because that men, whiche doe saye (as thou) goe alwayes in daunger to be drowned by some tempest, & if they do escape, they do dispaire in the straunge countrey by solitarines: but when I sawe Fronton thy seruauant, I was very ioyfull, and much more when I vnderstode thou were aliue after thy great trauaile. Truly I receiued great pleasure of that thou wyrttest in thy letter, that thou art contented with the countrey: for to me it is a straunge thyng, that a man beinge nourished in the deliciousnes of Rome, should finde hym selfe contented in an other straunge Realme and nation. When Rome was Rome, and Italy was named great Grece, thither came of all sortes of people and nations, to learne vertues & noblenes, and others for to geue them selues to vices and pleasures. Because (if Titus Liuius deceyue me not) Rome spent all her treasures in Asia, and Asia employed all her vices and delicatenes in Rome. Thou wyrttest to me in thy letter of so many thynges, and Fronton thy seruauant hath tolde me so many newes of that lande, that by the immortal Gods I sweare vnto thee, I can not tel what for to wyrtte vnto thee, nor what to aunswere thy seruauante: for the more the straunge newes

B. ii.

doe please

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doe please the eares in hearing them, so muche the more doe they seeme to be vncredible. The noble and stoute personages, though they would be esteemed and iudged true in their sayng, hauinge seene many woundes with their eies: yet when they doe counte them, then they ought to be very moderate in their tongues. For it is a shame to the honest man to declare a thing, wherein may be any doubt, whether it be true or not. I wyll bryefly aunswere all the thynges of thy lettre, and the aunswere shalbe, not accordyng to thy desyre: but accordyng to that I perceaue of thee, and the worlde.

And before I begynne, I beseeche thee, that if my penne shall erre in wyrtunge, that thy harte pardon me. For thy fewe yeares, as yet dothe not let thee knowe the worlde: and my whyte heares, and hoied bearde, dothe geue me authoritie to aduertise thee of that whiche is to come, and to condemne thee of that whiche is past.

Thou sayest that in the Sea thou haste paste many daungers, and that for to lighten the shippe, thou diddest caste muche of thy goodes into the Sea. In this case, me thinketh thou oughtest greatly to thanke the tempestuous waues, whiche hauinge power to drowne thee, contented them selues with thy marchaundise. For they whiche sayle the Seas ought not to regarde the goodes they loose, but the life whiche they saue.

Thou sayest, that in the Sea thou were greatly accompaigned with passingyers, and that thou hast taried lenger in thy viage then thou thoughtest, or diddest desire. This I saye vnto thee, my frende Dedalus, that though the dayes were many thou diddest stape: yet not withstandinge the griefes were more which thou receiuedst. For it is vnpossible that those men which sayle muche, should not be troubled with the mariners, and also in feare of tempestes.

To that I aunswere thee, the more thou were loden with compaignions, the lesse thy money weyed: for it is a generall rule, that where the iorney is longe, and the company great, there the purce of necessitie muste needes ware thynne.

Thou sayest that through the moisture of the Sea, assone as thou were landed, thou diddest feelee thy selfe taken with the goute.

To this I aunswere thee, that thou haste the goute in thy feete, or els in thy handes: and if thou haste it in thy feete, it shalbe an occasion that thou shalt kepe thy house, and if thou haste it in thy handes, it shalbe an occasion that thou shalt playe no more at Tables (as thou were wonte to doe) and also thou shalt not waste (as thou haste done) thy owne money. And if thou haste not chaunged thy condition (whiche thou haddest) I am assured, that onely for to encrease thy goodes, thou wilt thinke thy goute welcome.

Thou sayest, in that countrey thou haste founde many soueraigne and experte Physitians, for to remedye thy diseases.

To that I aunswere, as Plato sayeth, that in the countrey where there is many Physitians, there are many byces, and many vitious: for man by excessiue delicatenes commeth to sicknes, and by the meane trauayle he is healed. As long as oure auncliet fathers were without Physitians in Rome, which was foure hundred yeares: so longe and no more they shewed them selues sober in eating and drynkinge. For euen as by temperaunce, healt he
procea-

proceedeth: so of phisicke, proceedeth glotony. Thou sayest, that the countrey is very fertile, and that amongst other thinges there is much woode whiche we lacke here in Rome. To this I aunswere, that if thou haste much wood, thou hast litle bread: for it is an auncient prouerbe, that where the fiers are great, the barnes are fewe. And if thou saiest, that thou art content with the woode of that countrey: I let the knowe that I am not discontented with the bread of Italy. For in the end, a man shall soner finde wood to heate the ouen: then come to cary to the mille. Truly it is a good thing to haue woode for the wynter: but it is better to haue corne for the wynter, and Sommer. For they call it no hunger, when woode lacked for the aged: but when bread wanteth for the younge.

Thou saiest in that countrey there are many waters, and that the water is very cleare and colde: and further that the aboundaunce thereof is suche, that every house hath a fountaine. To this I aunswere thee, that where the waters doe abounde, there wanteth healthe continually. And I doe not marueile thereat, for the moiste and dankyshe places are alwayes dangerous, vnhealthfull, and noysome. If this had bene in the tyme of the golden worlde, when men knewe not what wyne mente, but that all dranke water: without comparison that countrey had bene better then this. For the more the dronkenness of wyne is infamous: the more sweter and profitable is that of the water.

Thou knowest well, that a fountaine whiche I haue in my gardein (by the streete Salara) was occasion that at one tyme seuen of my house died together. And if I had not made a conduite to boyde the standing water: I thinke it had made an ende of me, and of all my familie. Wherefore I praye thee haue respecte vnto the health of thy personne, rather then to enioye the freshenes of the water. For my parte I thinke him onely happy, who hath his body healthfull, and his harte at ease. Prayle as muche the lande as they wyll, enioye thou the freshenes thereof as muche as thou canst, and fill thee with the freshe and colde water, and wyte vnto thy frendes how plentifulle it is, in the ende I sweare vnto thee my frende Dedalus, that more money shall issue out of Rome, to bie wyne in Candia: then buttes of the colde water of that countrey shall enter into Rome.

Thou sayest that in that countrey there is suche aboundaunce of fruites, that thou thinkest thou shalt neuer be satisfied therewith. To that I aunswere. That thing whiche I best lyke, is a wynter fruite: yet neither seing it, nor eating it, I can content my selfe. For the countrey where fruites abounde in wynter, is neuer without feuers and sickneses in Sommer.

Octavian Augustus the famous Emperour of memorie, seinge that Rome in Sommer was very subiect to diseases, commaunded on greuous paines, that the fruites of Salon should not enter into Rome to be solde. And this is a marueilous thinge, that Rome by this meanes dyd not onely fynde her selfe hole: but also the Phisitions went out of Rome of their owne wylls and affections. For it is a greate token that the people is healthfull, when the Phisitions are poore. Thou saiest in that countrey there are many Jugglers and Players. To this I aunswere thee. That their pastimes shal not be vnto thee suche, and so pleasaunte: as the griefes and displeasures thou

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shalt haue, when they craftely shall picke thy pourse. For Juglers and play-
ers make playes and spozte in ieste: but they wyl be payed in good earnest.

Thou saiest in that countrey there is great aboundaunce of vyne, and
that the wyne is sauoury to smell, and very swete and pleasaunt to taste:
whereunto I answered. That there shal not be so many vyne in the fieldes,
as dronkardes amongst the people: for as thou knowest, the daye that I
married Topina my niece, my vncke Getellius had but onely one vyne tree, and
yet with the wyne that came thereof, he made him selfe, his household, and al
those that were at the mariage dronke. That which I wyl say is not with-
out weeping, (in the olde time) Mars was the God most honoured and este-
med, beinge the God of battailes: but nowe ^{Bachus}, whiche is God of wyne,
is moste honoured, serued, and exalted.

For the time that a Roman was wont to employ in the marshal campe,
to handle weapons: nowe they consume in playing, and drinking in the Ca-
uernes. Titus Lilius in his Annales saith, that those of Gallia Transalpina, vnder-
standing that the Italians had planted vines, came to conquere the coun-
trei. So that if they had neuer planted vyne in Italy, the frenche menne
had neuer destroyed the countrey.

The auncient Romaines (whiche were prouided against all inconuenien-
tes) cōsidering that wyne was the cause of their destruction, commaunded
to destroy al the vyne of the Empire, through the which policie they were
deliuered from all the frenche men: for when the warres were ended, there
remained not one frenche man in all Italy, when they knewe that there
were no more vyne therein. Thou saiest that in that countrey there are ma-
ny Gentlemen, and honourable Senatours, with whom thou talkest, and
passest away the time. To this I answered, that if it be true, there are many
idle men, and also fewe true talkers: for those men whiche haue spent their
youth in the warres, when they are aged, do not employ the time but in hea-
ring newes, and telling lyes. Thou saidest that there are very faire women
in that countrey, of gesture semely, and of their personnes comly. To this I
answered. That if there be many which be faire, there are as many whiche
are dishonest: for if the woman with her beautie, hath not wisedome and
honestie in her selfe, she putteth her selfe in peryl, & her husband in much care.
Thou saiest that in that countrey there are women which are Sooth say-
ers, Sorcerers, and Enchauntours: the which doe boaste and vaunte them
selues that they wil heale infantes, & that they can weyne them better then
others. To this I answered. That I would iudge it muche better, that
chidzen should neuer be healed, then that they should be healed by the hands
of so euill women. For the profite that they doe by their experience openly,
is nothing in respect of the daunger wherein they put the creatures by their
sorceries secretly. Torquatus Laertius my vncke, had a doughter of a maruey-
lous beautie, the whiche (because he had none other chylde) was heire of all
his patrimonie. The case therefore was suche, that as the doughter wepte
one daye a lytle to muche, the nource whiche gaue her sucke, to appease and
stille her, thynkyng to geue her sorceries to caste her in a sleape, gaue her
poyson to destroye her: so that when the teares of the innocent babe ceased,
then the cryes of the woofull mother beganne.

Calligula, which was the sonne of the good Germanicus the great, (though amongst the Cefars he was the fourth, and amongst the Traunts the first) when in Rome they vsed to giue lytle scroules written which they said to be of such vertue, that they could heale al maner of agues and diseases of yonge children, he commaunded by the consent of the Senate, that the man or woman which should make them, should dye immediatly by iustice: and that he which would by them, & carie them to sel, or geue them through Rome, should be whipt, and banysed for euer. Thy seruau^t Fronton hath toid me newes that thou hast a sonne bozne, wherof I am very glad: and moreouer he sayd, that a woman of Sannia did nourishe it, and gaue it sucke. The which (as by an euyl chaunce) hath a spice of sorcerye. By the immortal gods I do coniure the, and for the loue I beare the I desire the, that immediatly thou put her out of thy house, & suffer not so wicked a woman to eate bread ther one day: for euery creature which is nourished by sorceries and charmes, shal eyther haue his life short, or els fortune shalbe contrarie vnto him. I let the wete my frend Dedalus that I haue not mernaile a litle at many Romaines, the which do permit, and also procure that their children shold be healed & cured, which charmes and sorceries. For my part I take it to be a thing to be certaine, that the men which by the wil of god fal sicke, shal neuer heale for any diligence that man can do. And wher as children are sicke by euil humors, or that they are not very healthful, because the gods wil take lyfe from them: in this case, if their disease proceade of an euil humour, let them aske physicians for natural medecins. And if their disease come because the gods are prouoked: then let their fathers appease the gods with sacrifices. For in the end it is vnpossible that the diseases of the hart should be healed, by the meanes of any medycins of the body. Do not marueile my frende Dedalus, if I haue spoken more in this article then in others, that is to wete, to perswade the so much to kepe thy children from wytches: for otherwile the curled women wil do them more harme, then the good mylke shal profite them. I haue ben moued & prouoked to write thus much vnto the, for the great loue which I do beare the: and also calling to minde that whiche thou (when we were in the sacred senate) oft times toldest me, whiche was, that thou diddest desire a sonne. And since now thou hast thy petition, I would not thou shouldest prouoke y gods wra^the by sorceries: For in the fayth of a good man I do sweare vnto the, that when the fathers are in sauour with the gods, ther neadeth no sorceries vnto the chyldren. I hadde manye other thinges to write vnto the, some of the whiche I wil communicate with thy seruau^t Fronton, rather thenne to sende theym by letters. And mernaile not at this, for letters are soo perillous, that if the manne bee wise, hee will write no more in a crosse letter, thenne he would declare openly in Rome, pardonne mee, my frende Dedalus, thoughe in dede I write not vnto the as thy appetyte woulde, nor yet as my wyl desireth: for thou hast neade to knowe manye thinges, and I haue not leaue by letter to putte thee in truste therewith. I can not tell what I shoulde writte to thee of mee, but that alwayes the Goute doth take mee, and the worst of all is, that the more I growe in yeares, the moore my healthe dymynissheth: for it is an olde course of mannes frailetye, that wheare wee thynke to goe

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most suerest, there haue we most let. The Dopingaye which thou diddest send me, as son. I recepued it, my wife did lease it, and truly it is a merueylous thing to heare what thinges it doeth speake: but in the end the women are of such power, that when they wil, they impose silence to the liuing, and cause that in the graues the dead men speake. Accordyng to that I do loue the, & accordyng to that I owe the, and as I haue bled, that which I do send the is very lytle. I say it, bycause that presently I do send the but ii. hoxses of barbarie .xii. weardees of Alexandrye, & to Fronton thy seruauit for a new peares gift for his good newes, I haue giuen him an office, which is worth to him. 20. thousand Sexterces of rent in Cecyl. Faustine did byd me I shoulde send thy wife Pertusa a cofer full of odysferous oders of palestine, and another cofer ful of her owne apparell: the which as I thinke thou wilt not lytel esteeme, for naturally women are of their owne goods nigardes: but in wasting and spending of others very prodigal. The almighty gods be with the, and preserue me from euyl fortune. The which I humbly besech to graunte, that vnto the and me, & vnto my wife Faustine, and to thy wife Pertusa, that we all mete merely togethers in Rome: for the hart neuer receiueth suche ioy, as when he seeth him selfe with his desired frend. Marcus of Mount Celio wyiteth to the with his owne hand.

¶ Howe excellent a thinge it is for a gentleman to haue an eloquent tongue. Cap. rrb.

One of the chiefeest things that the creatour gaue to man, was to knowe & be able to speake: for otherwise (the soule reserued) & brute beastes are of more value, then domme men. Aristotle in his *Economices*, without comparison prayseth more the Pithagoricall sort, then the Stoical: sayeng that the one is more conforme to reason, then the other is. Pithagoras commaunded, that all men which were domme, and without speache, should immediately, & without contradiction be banished and expelled from the people. The cause why this phylosopher had commaunded such thing was, forsomuche as he sayd, that the tongue is moued by the mocions of the soule, & that he whiche had no tongue had no soule. And he which hath no soule, is but a brute beast: and he that is a beast, deserueth to serue in the fields among brute beastes. It is a good thing not to be domme as brute beastes are: and it is a greater thing to speake as the reasonable men do: but it is muche more worthye to speake wel, as the eloquent philosophers do. For otherwise if he which speaketh doth not wey the sentences more then the wordes, ofte tymes the poppingayes shal content them more which are in the cage: then the men which do read in scooles. Iosephus in the booke *De bello Iudaico* saith, that king Herode, not onely with his personne and goodes, but also with all his frendes and parentes folowed and gaue ayde to Marcus Anthonius, and to his louer Cleopatra, howbeit in the end Octauian had the vyctorie. For the man which for the loue of a woman doth enterpryse conquestes, it is impossible that eyther he loose not his lyfe, or els that he lyue not in infamy Herode seing that Marcus Anthonius was dead, determynd to go towarde the Emperour Octauian, at whose feete he layd his crowne, and made a notable oration, wherein he spake so pleasaunt wordes, and so hyghe sentences, that the Emperour Octauian did not only pardon him for that he was so cruell an enemy: but also

he

he confirmed him againe into his Realme, and toke him for his deare and special friend. For among the good men and noble hartes, many euil workes are amended by a few good wordes. If Blundus, in the booke intituled *Roma triumphante*, do not deceiue me, Pirrus the great king of the Epirotes, was stout and hardy, valiaunt in armes, liberal in benefites, patient in aduersities and aboute al renoumed to be very swete in wordes, and sage in his answers.

They sayd that this Pirrus was so eloquent, that the man with whom once he had spoken remayned so much his, that from that time forward in his absence he toke his part, and declared his life and state in presence. The aboue named Blundus saied and Titus Lilius declareth the same, that as the Romaynes were of al things prouided (seing that king Pirrus was so eloquent) they prouided in the senate, that no Romaine Embassadour shold speake vnto him, but by a third person: for otherwise he would haue perswaded them through his sweate woordes, that they shoulde haue returned againe to Rome as his procurers & Soliciters. Albeit Marcus Tullius Cicero was Senatour in the Senate, consul in the Empire, rich amongst the rich, and hardy amongst men of warre: yet truly none of these qualities caused him eternal memorie, but only his excellent eloquence. This Tullius was so esteemed in Rome for the eloquence of his tongue only that oft times they hard hym talke in the Senate iii. houres together, without any man speakinge one word. And let not this be lytle esteemed nor lightly passed ouer: for worldlye malice is of such condicion, & some man may more easely speake 4. houres, then another man shal haue patience to heare him one minute, Anthonius Sabellicus declareth, that in the time of Amilcares the Affricans, a Philosopher named Afronio flourishd in great Carthage, who being of the yeres of 81. dyed in the first yeare of the warres of Punica. They demaunded this Philosopher, what it was & he knew: he answered. He knew nothing but to speake wel. They demaunded him againe what he learned: he answered. He did learne nothinge but to speake wel. Another time they demaunded him what he taught: he answered. He taught nothing but to speake wel. He thinketh & this good phylosopher in 80. yeres and one, saied that he learned nothing but to speake wel, he knew nothing but to speake wel, & that he taught nothing but to speake wel. And truly he had reason: for the thing which most adorneh mans life, is the sweate pleasaunte tongue to speake wel. What is it to see ii. men in one counceyl, the one talking to the other, the one of them hath an euill grace in propounding, and thother excellent in speaking. Of such there are some, that in hearing theym talke. iii. houres, we would neither be troubled nor weryed: and of the contrarie part there are others so tedypous, and rude in their speache that as sone as men perceiue they beginne to speake they auoyde the place. And therfore in mine opinyon ther is no greater trouble thenne to herken one quarter of an houre a rude man to speake: and to be contrarpe ther is no greater pleasure, thenne to heare a dyscreate man though it were a whole weke.

The deuyne Plato in the Booke of Lawes sayd, that there is nothyng whereby a manne is knowen more, thenne by the woordes he speaketh: for of the woordes whyche we heare hym speake, we iudge his intention eyther to be good or euil, Laertius in the lyfe of the Philosphers sayeth, that

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that a yong child borne at Athens, was brought vnto Socrates the great philosopher: being in Athens, to the end he shold receiue him into his company, & teach him in his scoole. The yong chyld was straunge and shamesfaste, and durst not speake before his maister: wherfore the philosopher Socrates said vnto him, speake frend, if thou wilt that I know the. This sentence of Socrates was very profound: and I pray him that shal reade this wytyng, to pause a while therat. For Socrates wil not that a man be knowen by the gesture he hath, but by the good or euyl wordes which he speaketh. Though eloquence and speaking wel, to euery man is a cause of augmenting their honour, and no diminyshe of their goodes: yet withoute comparisson it shineth muche more, and is most necessarie in the pallaces of Prynces and great Lordes. For men which haue common offices, ought of necessity harken to his naturall contrymen, & also to speake with straungers. Speking therfore more plainly I say, that the Prince ought not to trauaile only to haue eloquence, for the honour of his person: but also it behoueth him for the comon wealth.

For as the prince is but one, and is serued of all: so it is vnpossible that he haue so much, as wil satisfie and content them al. And therfore it is necessarie that he requyre some mith money: & that he content others with good wordes. For the noble hart loueth better a gentle worde: then a reward or gift, with the tongue of a rude man. Plato, Linius, Herodotus, Vulpicius, Eutropius, Diodorus, Plynie, and many other innumerable auncient historyographers, do not cease to praysle the eloquence of greeke princes, and latynes, in their wordes. O how blessed were those tymes, when ther were sage princes, and discrete lordes: truly they haue reason to exalt them. For many haue obteyned, and wonne the royal crownes and septures of the Empire, not so much for great battailes they haue conquered, nor for the highe bloud and generacion from whence they are dyscended, as for the wisdom, and eloquence, which they had. Marcus Aurelius was natural of Rome borne in mount Celio, he was poore in patrimony, and of base lynage, lytel in fauour, lefte and forsaken of his parentes. and besides al this, only for beinge vertuous in his lyfe, profound in doctrine, and of so high eloquence, the Emperour Anthonius (called Pius) gaue him his daughter Fauistine for wife: who beinge reproued of many, bycause he gaue his doughter to so poore a philosopher, answered, I had rather haue a poore philosopher, then a riche foole.

Pulio in his seuench booke of the Romaine lawes sayth, that in Rome ther was a law very wel kept, & obserued of the consules, by a custome brought in, that the Dictatours, Censors, and Emperours of Rome, entered into the Senate once in the weke at the least, and in this place they shold geue and render accompt, in what state the common wealth remayned. O, would to God that at this present this law were so kept, and obserued: for ther is none who doth minister so good iustice, as he which thinketh to giue accompt of his doings. They say that Calligula (the fourth Emperoure of Rome) was not only deformed, infamons, and cruel in his lyfe: but also was an Idote in eloquence, and of an euyl vtteraunce in his communycation. So that he among al the Romaine princes, was constrayned to haue others to speake for him in the Senate. This wickedman was so vnfortunate, that after his cruell and infamous death, they dyed him throughout Rome, and set vppon his

his graue this Epitaphe.

¶ Calligula lyeth here, in endles sleape
That stretcht his raigle, vpon the Empires heade
Answeere for rule, that could such folly heape
And sette for death, w^her vertue so was dead.

I Cannot tel why princes do prayse them selues to be strong and hardy, to be wel disposed, to be runners, to iust wel, and do not esteeme to be eloquent sinse it is true that those giftes do profite them only for their life, but the eloquence profiteth them, not only for to honour their life, but also to augment their renowme. For we do reade, that by that many Princes dyd pacifye great sedicions in the common wealth, and besides that they deserued immortall memorie. Suetonius Tranquillus in the firste booke of Cefars sayth, that the aduenturous Iulius Cesar (being as yet but 16. yeares of age) when there dyed in Rome an aunt of his called Cornelia, at her buriall he made an oracion, in the which he (being so yong) shewed marueilous great eloquence: which was so accepted that day in al people, that in the end, euery man iudged him to be a valiaunt Romane captaine. And as Appianus declareth, they say that Sulla spake these wordes. That which I perceiue of this yong man Caius Cesar is, that in the boldnes of his tongue, he declareth how valiaunt he ought to be in his person. Let therfore Princes and great Lords se, how much it may profite them, to know to speake wel and eloquently. For we se no other thing dayly, but that a man of base lynage, by his eloquence cometh to be exalted: and the other which of lynage is nobly bozne, for wante of speaking wel, and being eloquent, is the first that descendeth most vilest of al other. Theintencion wherupon I wrote these things was for no other, but to admonishe, perswade, and pray al princes, and great lordes, that whiles their children are yong, they should put them to wise and learned men, to the end they should teache them: not only how they ought to liue but also how they ought to speake. For to personnes of estate it is a great infamy, to do, or to inuent to do a thing, and afterward not to know how to geue a reason therof. Polidorus in the third booke of his commentaries sayth, that when the Lacedemonians were put to flyght by the Athenians in Rota Millina (it is called Millina, because the battaile was in the riuer of Milline) the Lacedemonians sent a phylosopher called Heuxinus, to treat of peace with the Athenians: who made such an eloquent oracion to the Senate of Athens, that hee dyd not only obtaine the peace which he desired for his country, but for himselfe also he wanne perpetual renowme. At the phylosophers retourne, the Athenians gaue him a letter, which sayd in this sort.

¶ Of a letter whiche the Athenians, sente to the Lacedemonians.
Cap.rrvi.

The Senate, people, and Sages of Athens, wissheth healthe to the persons, and peace to the common wealth, of you of the senate and people of the Lacedemonians. We take the immortal gods to recorde, that in the
last

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laste battaile we had no lesse dyspleasure to se ye ouercome: then on the contrary we had pleasure, to se vs remaine victorious. For in the end, the daungers and inconueniences of the cruel warres are so great, that the euill and daunger is certeine to them that are vanquished: and the profite is doubtful, to them that haue ouercommmed. We would gladly, that ~~ye~~ which now ye wil, ye would haue willed soner: & that which now ye require & demaund, that before ye had requyred, and demaunded. But what shal we do, sinse it was ordeined to your and our woful destenies, that he should loose the battaile, and that we of your losse can take no profite. For it is a rule vnfallible, that al that which the gods haue ordeyned, no worldly wight can amende, nor humaine power resist. We demaund that warre may cease and leaue of, and that we take truse for .iii. monethes, and that during this time, peace & concord may be concluded. To this we make aunswere. That the senate of Athens hath not accustomed to graunt peace, after wards for to retourne to warre. For amongst vs Athenians we haue an auncient law, that freely we do accept the cruel warre, and liberally we doe graunt perpetual peace. In our scholes and vniuersities we trauaile to haue Sages in time of peace, for to helpe vs with their counsailes in the time of warre. And they do counsaile vs that we neuer take vpon vs truse, vpon suspect condicion. And in dead they counsaile vs well. For the sayned and dyssembled peace is muche more perrillous: then is the manifest warre. The philosopher Heuxinus your embassadour, hath spoken to vs so highly, and eloquentely in this Senate, that it semed to vs very vniust, if we should deny him, and gaine say that he requireth vs. For it is much more honestye to graunt him peace, whiche by sweete and pleasaunt words doth demaund it: then him which by force and sharpe sword doeth requyeth it. Let the case therfore be, that the Senate, people, and Sages of Athens haue ordeyned, that warre do cease with the Lacedemonians, and that al discordes, contencions, dissentions, and debates do end, & that perpetual peace be graunted vnto them. And this thing is done to the end al the world should know, that Athens is of such courage wythe the hardy, and so very a frend to the Sages: that she knoweth how to punish the foly she captaines, and suffereth to be commaunded and gouerned by sage phylosophers. We know right wel, that al our warre hath not bene, but only for the possessions of ctyes, and lymites of the riuier Milina.

Wherfore by this letter we declare vnto you, and by the immortal Gods we sweare, that we do renounce vnto you al our right, on such condicion, that you do leaue vs Heuxinus your embassadour & philosopher. The great Athens despyeth rather a phylosopher for her scholes: then a hole prouince of your realmes. And do not you other Lacedemonians thinke, that that which we of Athens do, is light or foolishe, that is to wete, that we desire rather one man to rule: then to haue a whole prouynce whereby we may commaunde many. For this philosopher shal teach vs to lyue wel, and that land gaue vs occasion to dye euil: and syth we now of your old enemies do become your true frends, we wyl not onely geue you perpetual peace, but also counsaile for to keape it, for the medycine which preferueth health, is of greater excellencye: then is the purgacion which healeth the disease. Let the counsaile therfore be suche, that as ye wyl the yonge men do exercise theym selues in weapons

weapons: that so ye do watche and se that your children in time do learne good letters. For euen as the warre by the cruell sword is followed: so likewise by pleasaunt wordes peace is obteyned. Thinke not ye Lacedemonians, that without a cause we do perswade you, that you put youre children to learne, when as yet they are but yong and tender, and that ye do not suffer them to ronne to byces: For on the one part wise men shall want to counsaile, and on the other, fooles shall abound to make debate. We Athenians in lyke maner will not that ye Lacedemonians do thinke, that we be frendes to bablers, for our father Socrates ordeyned, that the first lesson which should be geuen to the scholer of the vniuersity should be, that by no meanes he should speake any word for the space of ii. yeares: for it is vnpossible that any man should be wise in speaking, vnlesse he haue patience to be sylente. We thinke, if you thinke it good, that the phylosopher Heuxinus shall remaine in our Senate: and thinke you if we profite by his presence, that ye may be assured yee others shall not receiue any damage, by the counsailes he shall geue vs. For in Athens it is an auncient law, that the senate cannot take vpon them warres, but that by the Philosophers first it must be examined, whether it be iust or not. We write none other thinge, but that we beseeche the immortal Gods that they be with you, and that it please them to contynewe vs in this perpetual peace. For that only is perpetual, which by the gods is confirmed.

That nurces which giue sucke to the childzen of Princes, ought to be discret, and sage women. Chap. xxviii.

The pilgrimes which trauaile through vnknown contries, & straunge mountaynes (with great desire to go forward, and not to erre) do not only aske the way which they haue to go: but also do importune those whom they mete, to point them the way with theyr finger. For it is a greuous thing, to trauaile doubtfully in feare and suspicion. By this comparison I meane, that since I haue much perswaded, that the fathers do learne & teach their childre to speake wel, it is but reason that they do seke them some good maisters. For the counsaile hath no authoritie, if he which geueth it, sekerh not speedely to execute the same. It is much for a man to be of a good nature, or els to be of an euil inclination, to be rude in vnderstanding, or els to be lyuely in spirite: and this not only for a man ought to do, but also for that he ought to say, for it is no smal thing, but a great good benefite when the man is of a good nature, of a good vnderstanding, and of a cleare iudgement. This notwithstanding I say, that al the good and cleare iudgements, are not alwayes eloquent, nor al the eloquentest, of liuely spirites, and vnderstanding. We se many men which of a smal mater, can make much: & for the contrary we se many men, which haue great knowledge, & yet no meanes to vtter it. So that nature hath geuen them highe vnderstanding, & through negligence of bringinge by it is hidde, Oftentimes I do meruaile that the soule of the babe when it is borne, for thone parte is of no lesse excellencye: then the soule of the old man when he dyeth. And on the other side I muse at the babe which hath the members so tender (wherewith the soule dooth worke his operacyons) that they lytle seme to participate with reasonable creatures.

THE SECOND BOOKE

For wher the soule doth not shew her selfe mistres, it wanteth lytle but that the man remaineth a beast.

It is a wonder to se the children, that as yet beinge .ii. yeaeres of age, they lyft their feete for to go, they hold themselves by the walles for faulping, they will open their eyes to know, and they fourme a defused voice to speake: so that in that age, a creature is none otherwise, then a tre at the first spring. For the tree .ii. moneths being past, beareth leaues immediatly: and the child after ii. yeres beginneth to frame his words. This thing is spoken, for that the fathers which are wise, should beginne to teache their children at that age: for at that time the bynes beare grapes, and other trees their fruite. For the perilles of this lyfe are such, that if it were possible, the father before he see his sonne borne, ought to admonishe them how he shold liue. In mine opinion, as they conuey the water about to turne the mille: so from the tender youth of the infant, they ought to shew and teach him to be eloquent, & affable. For truly the child learneth distinctly to pronounce his words, when he doth sucke the milke of his nource. We cannot deny, but that the children being but ii. or iii. yeres old, it is to sone to giue them maisters, or correcters. For at that age a nource to make them cleane is more necessarie: then a master for to correct their speache. On the one part the children are very tender for to learne to speake wel: and on the other part it is necessarie, that when they are very yong and lytle, they shold be taught and learned. I am of that opinion, that princesses and great Ladyes should take such nources to giue their children sucke: that they should be found to giue them their milke, and sage for to teache them to speake. For in so yong and tender age they do not suffer, but that she which giueth them sucke, doth teache them to speake the firste wordes. As Sextus Cheronensis in the Booke of the diuersities of the Languages saythe. The Tuscans were the firste whiche called the natural tongue of the contrey, the mother tongue (which is to say, the tongue of our mother) to the end we shold take it of the mother which bringeth vs forth: & of the nource which giueth vs sucke. And in this case we haue lesse neede of the mother, then of the nource. For the children before they knowe their mothers, which brought them into the world, do cal y nource mother which gaue them sucke. Plutarche in the second booke of the regiment of princes saith, that one of the greatest thinges the Romaynes had in their comon weale was, that of al the languages & maners which they spake throughout the hole earth, they had Collegies and Scholes in Rome: so that were he neuer so Barbarous that entred into Rome, immediatly he founde that vnderstoode him.

The Romaynes vsed that craft and subtiltie, to the end that when Rome sent Embassages into straunge countries or that some straunge countries came to Rome, they would that the interpretours and brokers should be of theyr owne nacion and not of a straunge tongue or countrey.

And the Romaynes truly had reasonne, for the affaires of greate importance, are oftentymes craftely compassed by a straunge tongue.

A manne wil maruaile greatly to reade, or heare this that I speake, whyche is, that the women whyche nourishe the children of Princes be eloquente.

And

And truly he that at this doth meruaile, hath sene lytle, and read lesse. For I cannot tel which was greater the glory that the auncientes had to enioy so excellent women: or the infamy of them that are present, to suffer dishonnest harlottes. I wil not deny, when I drew neere this matter, that my spirite weare not in great perplexitie. First to se in this my wytyng, of what women my penne shoulde write, that is to wete, the dissolute vyces of women which I haue sene: or els the prowesses and vertues of women wher of I haue reade. Finally, I am determinyd to entreate of our graine, and corne, and to leaue the rotten straw on the earth, as without profite. For the tongue which is noble, ought to publyshe the goodnes of the good and honest women, to the end that al know it: for the contrary the frailenes of the wicked ought to be dissembled, and kept secret, to the end that no man folow it. Men which are sage and noble, treating of women, are bounde to serue them, to vylite them, to preserue them, & to defend them: but in no wise they haue licence to sclaunder them. For the man which speaketh of the frailenes of women, is like vnto him that taketh a sword to kil a flye. Therfore touching the matter, Princellesses and great Ladyes ought not to cease to teache their yong children al that they can, sonnes or doughters. And they oughte not to deceiue them selues, saying that forasmuch as their doughters are women, they are vnable to learne sciences. For it is not a general rule, that al mē children are of cleane vnderstanding: nor that al the doughters are of rude spirite and witte. For if they and the others did learne togethers, I thinke there would be as many wise women, as there are foolish men. Thoughe the world in times past did enioy excellent women, ther was neuer any nation had such as the Grekes had. For though the Romaynes were glorious in weapons: the Grekes were of immortal memorie of letters. I wil not deny that in the common wealth of Rome, ther hath not bene nourished, & taught manye women of greatescyence: but that the difference of the one and the others was, that the Grecian women were learned in Philosophy, and the Romaine women in Rethorike and Poetrie. And hereof came that in Athens they esteamed to know howe to teache well: and in Rome they vaunted how to speake wel. Euphronius in the thirde booke of the Romaine gestes sayth, that in y third yere of the Consulshipe of Lelius Sylla, by chaunce a Greke Embassadour and an embassadour of Rome, were at words in the Senate of the Rhodians, and the Greke Embassadour sayd to the Romaine Embassadour. It is true that amongst ye other Romaynes, ye are aduenturous in armes: but for al that, ye are vnable in sciences. For truly the women of Grece know more in letters: then the men of Rome in weapons.

As sone as the Senate of Rome vnderstode these words, immediatlye hereupon grew the cruel warres betwene Rome and Carthage, about the possession of Scicil.

And no man ought hereat to meruaile, for in the end we se moe warres arysle by iniurious wordes: then for to recouer the good that is lost. The Romaynes and the Grecians therfore being ready the one to despye the other, the Rhodians came in the myddest, and kept them from such debate, and in the end appointed them in this sort.

That is to wete, that as this iniurye shoulde by weapons haue bene de-

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determined, they ordeyned that by the disputacions of women it shoulde be argued. And truly the Romaines were counsaied well, for it was greater shame to the Greekes to be ouercome with the tongues of women: then with the swordes of men. The case therof was such, that by appointmente assembled at Rhodes tenne Romaine women, and tenne Greke women. All women very wel learned, the which in their chappes reade certaine lessons, euery one after other, and after wardes the one disputed againste the other, of sundry and diuers maters. And finally, there was betwene them great difference, for the Grekes spake very high thinges, not so profounde, but with an excellent style. We ought not to marueile that such giftes were in those women. For we dayly se it by experience, that profound science, and high eloquence, seldome meeteth in one personage. The Grekes were verie wel pleased, to heare y Romaine women: & the Romaines remained astonied to heare y Grekes. And vpon this occasion y Rhodians iudged in this sort, y euery one of them should be crowned with a crowne of Laurel as vanquishers. And they iudged, that in graue sentences the Grecians had the best: and in eloquent speache the Romaines had the victorie. As the aboue named Euphronius saythe, these disputacions being ended, the Romaine women returned to Rome: and the Greke women to Grece, wher they were receyued with such triumphe and glozie, as if they had wonne a battaile. The senate of the Rhodians for the memoire of those women (in the place of the disputacions) caused to be set by twenty mighty pylers, in euery one of the which were the names of the women. Which was so sumptuous a building, that in Rhodes there were none vnto it, saue only the great Collyseo. Those pylers stooode vntil the time of Heliogabalus Emperour, who was so euill that he inuented new byces, and destroyed the auncient memoires. The writers which wrote in that time, declare yet an other thing, wherin the women of Grece were differente from the women of Rome. That is to wete, that the Greke women were found more fapier, then the Romaine women: but the Romaines had a better grace, and more riche in apparel, then the Grekes. They sayd also that the Grekes were more hardy & stout, then the Romaynes: but the Romaynes were more honest, pleasaunt, and gracious, then the Grekes. And if this be true, I do counsaile princeses and great Ladyes, that they haue no more eniue at the honesty of the Matrones of Rome: then at the boldnesse of the ladyes of Grecia. For women were not bozne to slep men in the warre: but to spinne, sow, and liue wel like good housewiues in the house.

¶ That women may be no lesse wise then men, & though they be not, it is not through default of nature, but for want of good byinging by. Cap. xxviii.

Casing to speake ingenerally, it is but reason we speake particularly, and that we reduce to memoire some aunciente histories, of wise and discrete women, aswel Grekes as Romaines: and for that these Ladyes (seing what others were in tymes past) may know what theyr duty is at this present.

In mine opinion, the duty that the mē of this present haue to folow y corage that y auncients had in fighting: the selfe same desire ought womē of this present

present to haue, to folow the auncient women in deuout liuing. For ther is no good thinge in the world at this present daye, but the like hath bene sene of our auncients heretofore. When any sodaine newe & vnacustomed thing doth happen, men that neuer sawe the like, vse to say that there was neuer the lyke in the world, yet in dede they say not true: For though the thinge be vnto them newe, it is through their ignoraunce and simplenes whiche neyther haue reade it by them selues, nor heard it of others. For this excellencye hath the man that is learned: that for what so euer he heareth or sayth, he is nothinge abashed at. Since women now a dayes are so ignoraunt & scarcely any of them can reade wel, he that shal reade this wil maruaile why I do perswade them to learne. But the truth knowen what the auncients were, and what they did know: from this time forwarde I beleue they woulde greatly reprove the women of this present. For the time which the auncient women spent in vertues and studies: these of this present, consume in pleasures and byces. Boccace in the booke of the praise of women sayth, that Lucius Sylla was a great compaignon of Marius the Consul, in the time of the warre of Iugurtha: and was no lesse a frend of Caius Cesar, in the time of the first ciuill warres. My penne neadeth not to be occupied, to write any thinge of the life of Sylla. For al the historiographers do not only reprove & cruelties which he vsed to his enemyes: but also condemne him for the lytle fayth he obserued his frends. This Consul Sylla had thre daughters, the one of them was named Lelia Sabyna, the which of al the Sisters was leste fayre, but amongst al the Romaines she was most sagest. For she red openly in Rome in a chaire, both Greeke and Latyn. After the warres of Mithridates, Lucius Sylla came to Rome, wher he beheaded thre thousand Romaines which came to salute him: although before by his word he had assured them al. And in deade, & also iustely Lucius Sylla had bene vtterly vndone for his fact, if his daughter had not made to the Senate a wise oration: for oft times it chaunceth that the wisdom of the good child, doth remedy the follye of the wicked father. The historians say, that this Lelya Sabyna had not only a great grace in reacyng: but also she had much excellency in writing. For she wrote many letters and Orations with her owne hand, which her father Lucius Sylla afterwarde learned by hart: and as he was in dede quicke of spyte, so he vsed to recyte them to the Senate alwaies for his purpose.

And let no man maruaile hereat, for ther are some of so grosse vnderstanding that that which they write and study, they can scarcely vtter: and others againe are of such lyuely wyttes, that of that onely which they haue heard, it seemeth inuailous to heare with what eloquence they wil talke. Wherefore Sylla had such and so excellent a daughter in his house, he was esteemed for a sage and wise Councellour throughout al the common wealth.

He was counted verie absolute in executing, strong in mayntaynyng, and for right eloquent in speakinge. Finally, of this came thys auncyente, prouerbe which sayth, Lucius Sylla gouerneth his owne countreye with the eloquence of hys Tongue: and is Lorde of straunge nations by the force of his sword.

What the great Plato hath bene, and what great auctoritie he hath had amongst his countrie men and amongst the straungers it is appaent: for

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so much as the Greekes do acknowledge him of al other Philosophers to be the Prince: and likewise the Latynes by one consent cal him deuine.

And me thinketh that in doing this, they do no philosopher iniurie: for as Plato in his lyfe time had great modestie, so truly in his writing he exceeded mans capacitie. An Historian called Hyzearchus, Declareth that Lallerna and Axiothea were two Grekes very well learned, and amongst the scollers of Plato chiefly renoumed. The one was of so perfect a memoire, & the other of so high an vnderstanding, that Plato oft times beinge in the chayre (and these two not ready) he would not beginne to read. And being asked wherfore he read not his lecture, he aunswered: I wil not read, for that ther wanteth here vnderstanding to conceiue, and also memoire to retaine. Meaning that Lallerna was absent, that Axiothea was not yet come. The wisdom of these two women ought to be much, synce Plato without them woulde not vtter one word, vnlesse they were present in his schole. For Plato esteemed more the vnderstanding and memoire of those two women alone: then he did the Philosophy of his other Scollers together. Aristippus the philosopher was Scholler to Socrates, and of the moste renoumed of Athens. He had a daughter called Aretha, the which was so wel learned in Greke and Latyn letters, that the common renoume said, the soule of Socrates was entred into Aretha: and the cause that moued them to say this was, because she redde and declared the doctrine of Socrates in such wise, that it seemed to most men she had rather wrote by hand, then learne by study. Boccace in the second booke of the praise of women sayth, that this Aretha was so excellent a woman, & she did not only learne for her selfe, but also to teache others: & did not only teache in diuers Scholes, but also she wrote many and sundry bookes, one inespially in the prayse of Socrates, an other of the maner of bynging bype children, an other of the warres of Athens, an other of the tyrannical force, an other of the common wealth of Socrates, an other of the infelicities of womē, an other of the Tyllage of the auncientes, an other of the wōders of mount Olympus, an other of the vaine care of the Sepulcre, an other of the prouisiō of the Antes, an other of the workmanship of the Bees in honny: and she wrote two others. the one of the vanities of youth, and the other of the miseries of age. This woman dyd read openly natural & morall Philosophye in the Scholes of Athens, for the space of fīue & twenty yeres: she made forty bookes. she had a hundred & tenne philosophers to her Schollers, she dyed being at the age of seuentie and seuen yeres, & the Athenians after her death, engraued on her graue these wordes:

The stiled stones within their bowels keape
Wise Aretha, the great and only wight
That forceth enuie gentle teares to weape.
For Grekes decay, on whom the losse doth light,
The eye of fame, the hart of vertues life
The head of Grece, lie here engraued, lo
more heauenly forme then had that heauenly wisse
Which vndermind the phisgies loyes with wor.

Within

Within the chest of her vnspotted minde
 Lay Thirinas troth, and eke her honest faith
 Within her hande (as by the gods assinde)
 Stood Aristippus, penne that vertue wayeth.
 Within the dongeon of her body eke
 Imprisonde was, wise Socrates his soule
 That liude so well, and did so wisely speke
 That follics best, he could to wisdome toule.
 Within her head so ouer heapt with witt
 Lay Homers tongue, to stayne the poetes arte
 Erst was the golden age not halfe so fitt
 For vertues Impes, as when her life did parte.

As Marcus Varro sayeth, the sectes of the philosophers were more then .lxx. but in the ende they were reduced into seuen, and in the ende they were brought into thre sects chiefly. That is to wete, Stoicques, Peripartieques, and Pithagoricques. Of these pithagoricques, Pithagoras was the prince. Hyzearcus, Annus Rusticus and Laertius, with Eusebius and Boccace, all affirme one thinge, whereunto I did not greatly geue credite, which is: that this philosopher Pithagoras had a sister, not onely learned, but (if it be lawfull to speake it) excellently learned. And they saye, that not she of Pithagoras, but Pithagoras of her learned philosophie. And of truthe it is a matter whereof I was so greatly abashed, that I can not tell who could be maister of such a woman: since she had Pithagoras the great philosopher to her scholler. The name of the woman was Theoclea, to whom Pithagoras her brother, wrote & sent a letter, when he red philosophie at Rhodes, and she at Samothracia doinge the like. The Pistle was thus as foloweth.

Of a letter whiche Pithagoras sent to his sister Theoclea, he being in Rhodes, & she in Samothracia, reading both philosophie. Cap. rriir.

Pithagoras thy brother, and disciple, to thee Theoclea his sister, health and increase of wisdomes wyseth. I haue red the booke whiche thou diddest sende me, of fortune and misfortune, from the beginning to the end: and now I knowe that thou art no lesse graue in making, then gracious in teaching. The which doth not chaunce very oft to vs, which are men: and much lesse (as we haue sene) to you women. For the philosopher Aristippus was rude in speaking, & profound in writing: & Amenides was brieue in writing, and eloquent in speaking. Thou hast studied and written in such sorte, that in the learning that thou shewest, thou seamest to haue read all the philosophers: and in the antiquities that thou doest declare, it semeth that thou hast sene all the time past. wherein thou beinge a woman shewest thy selfe more then a woman: because the nature of women is, to caste their eyes onely in that that is present, and commonly to forget that that is past. They tell me that thou doest occupie thy selfe now in writing of our countrey. And truly in this case I can not say but that you haue matter enough to wyte on: For the warres and trauayles of our tymes haue bene suche, and so great, that I had rather reade them in bookes, then see them with my eyes. And if it be so, as I suppose it is, I beseeche thee hartely, and by the immortal

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Gods I coniure thee, that in writing the affaires of thy countrey thou doest vse thy penne discretly. I meane, that thou doe not in this case bleame the thy writing, by putting therein any flatterie, or lesinge. For oftentimes Historiographers, in blasinge more then trouth the gistes of their countrey: cause worthely to be suspected their writing. Thou knowest very well, how that in the battayle paste the Rhodians were ouercome, and that ours remained victorions. He thinketh thou shouldest not in this case greatly magnifie, extolle, or exalt ours, because in the ende they fought to reuenge their iniury: neither thou oughtest to blame the Rhodians, for they did not fight but in the ayde of Rome. I speake this (my Syster) because for to defende their own, women shewe them selues Lyons: and for to defende the thinges of an other man, men shew them selues chickens. For in the ende he onely maye be counted strong, the whiche defendeth not his owne house: but which dieth defending his, and another mans. I wyll not denie the naturall loue of my countrey, nor I wyll not denie but that I loue them that wyrite, and speake well thereof: but me thinketh it is not reason, that they should dispraise the goodnesse and truthe of other countries, nor that they should so highly commend the cuill and vilenes of their owne. For there is not in the world this daye so barren a Realme, but maye be commended for some thing therein: nor there is so perfite a nation, but in some thinges maye be reprovued. Thou canst not deny me, but that amongst thy brethren I am the eldest, and thou canste not deny but that amongst all thy disciples I am the yongest: and since that for being thy disciple I ought to obey thee, thou like wyse for that I am thy eldest brother oughtest to beleue me. By the sayeth of a people I doe counsell thee, my syster, that thou doe trauayle muche to be profound in thy words, byright in thy life, and honest of thy persone: and besides al this, true in thy writing. For I let thee vnderstande, that if the body of the man without the soule is litle regarded: I sweare vnto thee that the mouth of a man, without truthe, is muche lesse esteemed.

The authour foloweth his purpose, perswading pryncesses and other ladies to endeour them selues to be wyse, as the women were in olde tyme. Cap. xxx.

This therefore was the letter, the whiche Pithagoras sente to his Syster Theoclea, whereby is shewed the great humilitie of him, and the hyghe eloquence of her. Hiarcus the Greke, and Plutarcke also in the booke of the gouernement of princes saye, that Pithagoras had not onely a sister (whiche was called Theoclea) of whom he learned so muche philosophie, but also he had a doughter, the wisdom and knowledge of whome surmounted her aunte, and was equall to her father. I thinke it no lesse vncredible which is spoken of the doughter, then that whiche is spoken of the aunte, whiche is that those of Athenes did reioyce more to heare her speake in her house, then for to heare Pithagoras reade in the schole. And it ought to be beleued: for the saying of the graue authours on the one parte: and by that we dayly see on the other parte. For in the ende, it is more pleasure to heare a man tell mery tales, hauing grace and comelines in his wordes: then to heare a graue man speake the truthe, with a rude and rough tongue. I haue founde in many wytynges, what they haue spoken of Pithagoras, and his doughter: but none telleth

tellet her name, saue only in a pistle that Phalaris the tyrant wrote, I found this word written, where he saith. Polichrata, that was the daughter of the philosopher Pithagoras, was young, and exceeding wise, more faire then riche and was so much honoured for the puritie of her life, and so high esteemed for her pleasaunt tongue: that the worde which she spake spinning vpon her distaffe, was more esteemed: then the philosophy that her father read in the schole. And he sayd more. It is so great a pitie to see, and heare that women at this present are in their life so dishonest, & in their tongues so malicious: that I haue greater pleasure in the good renoume of one that is dead, then in the infamie of all them which are aliue. For a good woman is more worth with her distaffe spinning, then a hundred euell queenes, with their roiall scepters reigning. By the wordes which Phalaris saied in his letter, it seemed that this daughter of Pithagoras was called Polichrate, Pithagoras therefore made many commentaries, as wel of his owne countrey, as of straungers. In the end he died in Mesopotamia, where at the houre of his death he spake vnto his daughter Polichrate, & saied these wordes. I see my daughter that the houre wherein I must ende my life approacheth. The Gods gaue it me, and now they wil take it from me: nature gaue me birth, & now she geueth me death: the earth gaue me the body, and now it retourneth to ashes. The woful fatal destinies gaue me a litle goodes, mingled with manie trauailes, so that (daughter) of all thinges which I enioyed in this world, I cary none with me: for hauing all as I had it, by the waye of borrowng: now at my death eche man taketh his owne. I die ioyfully not for that I leaue thee riche: but for that I leaue thee learned. And in token of my tender harte, I bequethe vnto thee all my bookes, wherein thou shalt finde the treasure of my trauailes. And I tel thee that that I geue thee, is the riches gotten with mine owne sweat: and not obtained to the preiudice of an other. For the loue I beare vnto thee, daughter I pray thee, and by the immortal gods I coniure thee, that thou be such, & so good, that althoughe I die, yet at the least thou mayst kepe my memory: for thou knowest wel what Homere saith, speaking of Achilles, and Pirrus, that the good life of the childe that is aliue, keapeth the renoume of the father that is dead. These were the wordes which this philosopher spake vnto his daughter lieng in his death bed. And though perhaps he spake not these wordes: yet at the least this was the meaning. As y great poet Mantuan saith, king Euander was father of the giant Pallas, and he was a great frende of king Eneas, he vaunted him selfe to discend of the linage of the Trojans: and therefore when king Eneas, & prince Turnus, had great warres betwene them, which of them should haue the princeesse Lauinia in mariage, (the which at y time was only heire of Italy) king Euander ayded Eneas, not only with goodes: but also sending him his owne sonne in persone. For the frendes ought for their true frendes, willingly to shed their bloud, & in their behalfe without demaunding, they ought also to spend their goods. This king Euander had a wyfe so well learned, that that which the Grekes saied of her semeth to be fables. That is to say (of her eloquence & wisdom) for they say, that if that which this woman wrote of the warres of Troie, had not bene through enuy cast into the fire: the name of Homere had at this day remained obscure. The reason hereof is, because the woman was in the time of the destruction of Troy, and wrote as a witnes of sight.

But

THE SECOND BOOKE

But Homere wrote after the destruction of Troy, as one affectioned vnto the pynce Achilles, as a frende of the Grekes, and ennemy of the Trojans. And truly when a wyter is affectioned to any persone, his wytyng of force must be suspected. The wyfe of this kynge Euander was called by her name Nicostreta, albeit others called her Carmenta, for the eloquence she hadde in her verses. For they saye, that she made as easely in meter, as others doe in prose. The historiographers of the Gentyls saye, that she prophesied the destruction of Troye. xlv. yeares before. She tolde the comming of Eneas into Italy, & spake of the warres that shoulde be before the mariage of Lauinia, and sayd howe Ascanius the sonne of Enea, should buylde Alba longa. She sayde further, that of the Laten kinges should descende the Romaines: and that the reuenge which Rome should take of Grece should be greater, then that which Grece did take of Troy. And she sayed also that the greatest warre whiche Rome should haue, should be against the princes of Afrike: and that in the ende Rome should triumphe ouer all the Realmes of the earth, and finally, a nation vnknown, should triumphe for euer in Rome. As Eusebius Casarien saith, the Romaines kepte these wytynges in as great estimation in the high capitoll: as the Christians kepe their faith vnto God. King Darius, after that he was vanquished in the first battaile by kyng Alexander the great (before he was in the seconde battaile vtterly destroyed) trauayled and sought many wayes and meanes, to the ende that he might be frende vnto Alexander and in very dede kyng Darius was sage to seke it, but not so happy to obtayne it. For to princes the peace is more worthe than is honest: then is the victory whiche is bloudy. Betwixt those two so stoute princes truce was made for three monethes, and in the meane tyme the priestes of the Caldeans treated peace, with these conditions: that the great Alexander should marie the daughter of kyng Darius, and that Darius should geue her a great quantitie of gold, and besides this that he should endowe her with the thirde parte of his Realme. And truly these meanes were good, for among princes there is nothing that soner pacifieth old iniuries: then to make betwene them new mariages. Kyng Alexander excused hym selfe of this mariage, sayng that he was but. xliii. yeares of age, and that he was to young to be married, because amongst the Macedonians there was a custome: that the woman could not be married vntill. xlv. yeares of age, nor the man vntill. xlv. The daughter of kyng Darius, was fayre, riche, and noble, but the best she wanted, for she was not wyfe. And this was the cause why kyng Alexander refused her for his wyfe: for in those dayes women were not married because they were ryche, but beloued because they were wyfe: and finally the woman that had studied best, came commonly to the highest mariage. Antonius Rusticus and Quintus Seuerus say, that the great Alexander (after he had forsaken the daughter of kyng Darius) married a wyfe, whiche was a poore woman, and deformed, called Barsina, whiche in dede was neither with riches, nor beaultie endued: but without doubt in the Greke and Latine tongue most excellently learned. And when the princes of Macedonie would haue withdrawen him from that mariage, asking him why he esteamed the ryche, lesse then the poore, he answered. I see my frendes, in mariage it suffiseth the husband to be ryche, & the woman wyfe: for the office of the husbände is to wyne that whiche is lost, and

lost, and the office of the wyse is to kepe that which is wonne. Strabo de situ orbis saith, that the fyste queene of Lides was Mirthas, the whiche of her body was so litle, that she seemed to be a dwarfte: and in quicknes of wit so high, that they called her a gyaunt. For the man that hath a stout stomake, & litle body, may well be called a gyaunt: and he that hath a great body, and a cowardes harte, may iustly be named a dwarfte. For that this excellent queene Mirtha was such a wyse wyfe when she was married, and afterwarde also a wydowe very honest, and aboue all thinges in philosophy excellently learned: the Lides counted this queene Mirtha amonge the seuen kinges, of the which they vaunted them selues to be gouerned as of glorious princes. For the auncientes gaue as muche glozy to women learned in letters: as to the valiaunt and stout men expert in armes. Cornificius the poet as Laertius saith, had a sister called Cornificia, the which in Greke and Latin letters was not only learned: but also in making Metre and Epigrames very experte. They write that of this woman, which of fewe men the like hath ben heard. That is to wete, that she made verses and Epigrames better at the first sight: then her brother did with much study. And it is not to much incredible, to put any doubt in that that is spoken. For the penne hath more swiftnes of the lively spyte: then the tongue hath of the smal vnderstanding. This poet Cornificius was resident a long time in Rome, and was alwayes poore and voyde of all fauoure, though in dede he was better learned then others, whiche were in greater estimation: the whiche thing daily chaunceth in the court of princes. For there is no difference, whether they be fooles or wyse: but whether they be acceptable to the princes. Aristotle saith, Vbi multum de intellectu, ibi parum de fortuna. Meaning thereby, that men which of memory and vnderstanding are mooste riche, of the goodes of this worlde are commonly mooste poore. This poet Cornificius therfore going throug Rome litle set by of any, by chaunce a Roman named Calphurnius to scofe at him saied, Tell me Cornificius, hast thou had any fortunate daie since thou were bozne? for in these .xx. yeares that I haue knowen thee, I neuer sawe thee in fauour, and if I be not deceiued it is .xv. yeares since I knew thee haue this coate. The poore poet aunswered him, I let the know my frende that I can not tell which is greater, thy euil lucke, or my great felicitie. The Roman Calphurnius replied, tel me Cornificius, how canst thou cal thy selfe happy, since thou hast not a lofe of bread to eate, nor a gowne to put on thy back: and why sayest thou that I am unhappy, since thou and thy family may be fed with that alone whiche at my table remaineth? To this the poet Cornificius aunswered. I will that thou knowe my frende and neighbour Calphurnius, that my felicitie is not for that I haue litle, but for that I desire lesse then I haue: and thy euil lucke is not for that thou hast much, but for that thou desirest more, and doest litle esteame that that thou hast. And if thou be riche, it is for that thou neuer speakest truthe: and if I be poore, it is because I neuer tolde lie. For the house that is with riches stuffed: is commonly of the truth voide. And I tel thee further, that I cal my selfe happy, because I haue a sister whiche is the beste esteemed in all Italy, & thou hast a wife the mooste dishonest in all Rome. And sith it is so betwene thee and mee, I referre it to no mans iudgement but to thyne, whiche is better: eyther to be poore as I am with honour, or els to be riche as thou arte, and to lyue with infamy.

These

THE SECOND BOOKE

These wordes passed betwene the Romaine Calphurnius and the poet Cornificius. I desire to declare the excellency of those fewe auncient women (as wel Grekes, as Latines, & Romaines) to thintent that princesses, and great ladies may knowe, that the auncient women were more esteamed for their sciences, then for their beauties. Therefore the princesses and great Ladies ought to thinke that if they be women, they were also in lyke maner: and if they be frayle, the others were also weake. If they be married, the other also had husbandes: if they haue their wylls, the other had also what they wanted: if they be tender, the others were not strong: finally they ought not to excuse them selues, saying that for to learne women are vnmete. For a woman hath more abilitie to learne sciences in the scholes: then the Parate hath to speake wordes in the cage. In my opinion princesses & great ladies ought not to esteame the selues more then an other, for that they haue fairer heares then other, or for that they are better appareled then an other: or that they haue more ryches then an other. But they ought therfore to esteame them selues, not for that they can doe more then others. To say the truth, the faire and yelow heares, the riche and braue apparel, the great treasures, the sumptuous palaces and strong buildinges, these and other like pleasures are not guides and leaders to vertues, but rather spies & scout watches for vices. What a noble thinge were it, that the noble ladies would esteeme them selues not for that they can doe: but for that that they knowe. For it is more commendation to knowe howe to teache twoo philosophers: then to haue authoritie to commaunde a hundred knightes. It is a shame to write it, but it is more pitie to see it, that is to wete, to read that we read of the wisdom and worthines of the auncient matrones paste, and to see as we doe see the frailenes of these younge ladies present. For they coueted to haue disciples both learned and experunented: and these of this present desire nothing but to haue seruauntes not only ignorant, but deceitful and wicked. And I do not marueile seing that which I se, that at this present in court she is of litle value & lest esteemed among ladies, which hath fairest seruauntes, & is lest entertained of gentlemen. What shall I say more in this matter but that they in times past strue who should write better, & compile the best booke: and these at this presente doe not strue, but who shal haue the richest and most sumptuous apparel. For the ladies thinke it a iolier matter, to weare a gown of a new fashon: then the auncientes did to read a lesson of philosophie. The auncient ladies strue whiche of them was wisest: but these of our daies contend who shalbe fairest. For at this day y ladies would chose rather to haue the face adorne with beautie, then the heart endued with wisdom. The auncient ladies contented which should be better able to teache others: but these ladies now a daies contend how they may moste finely apparel them selues. For in these daies they geue more honour to a woman richely appareled, then they geue to an other with honestie beautified. Finally with this worde I doe conclude, and let him marke that shall reade it, that in the olde time women were such, that their vertues caused al men to kepe silence: and now their vices be such, that they copell al men to speake. I will not by this my word any man should be so bolde in generally to speake euil of all the ladies: for in this case I sweare, y there are not at this day so many good & vertuous women in y world: but that I haue more enuy at the life they lead in secret.

secreat, then at al the sciences whiche the auncient women red in publike. And herfore my pen doth not shewe it selfe extreme, but to those which onely in sumptuous apparell and in vayne wordes do consume their whole lyfe: and to those whiche in readyng a good booke wold not spend one only houre. To proue my intencion of that I haue spoken, the aboue written sufficeth. But to the ende princesses and great ladies maye se (at the lest) howe muche better it shalbe for them to knowe litel, then to haue and possesse much, and to be able to do more. I will remembre the of that whych a Romaine woman wrote to her children, whereby they shal perceyue howe eloquent a woman she was in her sayinges, and how true a mother in her counsel. For in the end of her letter she perswaderth her children to the trauailes of the warre, not for any other cause, but to auoyd the pleasures of Rome.

Of the worthines of the ladye Cornelia, and of a notable epistle she wrote to her. ii. sonnes which serued in the warres Tyberius, and Caius diswadyng them from the pleasures of rome, and exortyng them to endure the trauailes of warre. Chap. rrr.

ANnius Rusticus in the boke of the antiquities of the Romaines saith, that in Rome ther wer. v. principal linages, that is to wete Fabritij, Torquatij, Brutij, Fabij, and Cornelij, though there were in Rome other newe linages, wherof ther were many excellent personages: yet alwayes these which came of the. v. linages, were kept, placed, and preferred to the first offices of the common wealth. For Rome honored those that were present in such sort, that it was without the preiudice of those that are gone. Amongest those. v. linages, the romaines alwayes counted the Cornelij most fortunat, the which were so hardy and couragious in fight, and so modest in lyfe, that of theyr familie there was neuer found any cowardly man in the feld, nor any defamed woman in the towne. They saye of this linage of the Cornelij, amonge many other there were. iiii. singular and notable women among the whiche the chiefe was the mother of Gracchi whose name was Cornelia and lined with more honour for the sciences she red in Rome, then for the conquestes that her children had in Affricke. Before her children wer brought into the empire, they talked of none other thing but of their strength & hardines, throughout all the worlde: and therfore a Romaine one daye asked this woman Cornelia, wherof she toke most vaine glozy, to se her selfe mistres of so many disciples, or mother of so valiant children. The ladye Cornelia answered. I doe esteeme the science more whiche I haue learned, then the Children whyche I haue brought forth. For in the end, the children kepe in honour the lyfe: but the disciples continue the renoune after the death.

And she sayd further. I am assured that the disciples daply will ware better and better: and it maye bee that my Children wil ware worse and worse. The desyres of yong men are so variable, that they daily haue newe inuentions. With one accord all the wyrters do greatly commende this woman Cornelia, inespacially for being wyse and honest, and furthermore bycause shee red philosophy in Rome openlye.

And therfore after her death they set vp in Rome a Statue, ouer the gate Salaria, whereupon there was grauen this Epigrame.

Aa.i.

This

THE SECOND BOOKE

This heape of earth. Coznelte doth encloose
Of wretched Gracches, that loe the mother was
Twofe happye in the schollers, that she choose
Unhappye thise, in the offspringe that she has.

Among the latines, Cicero was the Prince of al the Romaine rethorike, and the chieftest with his pen inditing of Epystles: yet they say, that he did not only se the writings of this Cornelia, but red them, and did not onely read them, but also with the sentences therof profited him selfe. And hereof a man ought not to meruaile: for there is no man in the world so wise of him selfe, but may furdre his doynges with the aduice of another. Cicero so highly exalted these writings, that he said in his rethorike these of such other like wordes. If the name of a woman had not bleamyshed Cornelia, truly she deserued to be head of all philosophers. For I neuer sawe so graue sentences procede from so fraile flesh. Since Cicero spake these wordes of Cornelia, it can not be, but that the writings of such a woman in her time were very liuely, and of great reputation yet notwithstanding there is no memory of her, but that an authoꝝ for his purpose declareth an epistel of this maner. Sextus Cheronensis in his booke of the prayse of women, reciteth the letter whiche she sente to her childzen. She remaynyng in Rome, and they beyng at the warres in Affrike.

The letter of Cornelia to her. ii. sonnes Tiberius and Caius
otherwise called Gracchi.

Cornelia the Romaine, that by thy fathers side am of the Cornelij, & one the mother syde of the Fabij: to you my. ii. sonnes. Gracchij, which are in that warres of Affrik, such health to you do wish, as a mother to her childꝝ ought to desire. We haue vnderstode right well my childzen, how my father died, I being but. iii. yerres of age, and that this. xxi. yeares I haue remained wydow, and that this. xx. yeares I haue red Rethorike in Rome. It is. vii. yerres sins I sawe ye, and. xii. yeares sins your byetherne my childzen dyed in the great plage. You know. viii. yerres ar past since I left my study and came to se you in Cicilia, bycause you should not forsake the warres, to come se me in rome: for to me could come no greater paine, the to se you absent from the seruice of the common welth. I desire my childzen to shew you how I haue passed my life in labour & trauaill, to the intent you should not desire to sped yowres, in rest and idlenes. For if to me that am in rome there can want no troubles: be ye assured that vnto you which are in the warres shall want no perils. For in warres renoune is neuer sold but by weight, or chaunged with losse of lyfe. The yong Fabius, son of my aunt the aged Fabia, at the. iii. Calēdes of March brought me a letter the whych you sent: and truly it was more brieft then I would haue wyshed it. For betwene so dere childzen, and so louinge a mother, it is not suffered that the absence of your parsonnes shoulde be so farre, and the letters whyche you write so brieft. By those that goe from hence thither, I alwayes do sende you commendations: and of those that come from thence hyther, I doe enquire of newes. Some saye they haue sene you, other tell me they haue spoken with you, so that with thys my hart is somewhat quieted. For betwene them that loue greatly, it may be endured that

that the sight be seldome, so that the health be certain. I am sole, I am a widow, I am aged, and now all my kinned is dead: I haue endured many tra-
uailes in Rome, and the greatest of all is (my children) of your absence. For the
paine is greater to be boide of assured frendes: the assault is daungerous of
cruel enemies. Since you are yong, and not very ryche, since you are hardy,
and brought vp in the trauailes of Afrike, I do not doubt but that you doe
desire to come to Rome, to se and know that now you are men, whiche you
haue sene when you were children. For men doe not loue their countrey so
much, for that it is good: as they do loue it, for that it is naturall. Beleue me
children, ther is no mā liuing that hath sene or hard speake of Rome in tūnes
past: but hath great grieve, sorow, and pitie, to se it at this present. For as their
hartes are pitiefull, and their eyes tender: so they can not behold that with-
out great sorow, which in tūnes past they haue sene in great glory. O my chil-
dren, you shal know that Rome is greatly chaunged from that it was wont
to be. To reade that that we do reade of it in tūnes past, & to se that whyche
we se of it now present: we must nedes esteeme that whiche the auncientes
haue wryten as a gest, or els beleue it but as a dreame. Ther is no other thing
now at Rome, but to see iustice corrupted, the comen weale oppressed, lyes
blowen abroad, the truth kept vnder, the satires silent, the flatterers open
mouthed, the inflamed personnes to be Lordes, and the pacient to be seruail-
tes, and aboue al, and worse then all, to se the euil liue in rest & contented, and
the good troubled & displeased. Forsake, forsake (my children) that citie, where
the good haue occasiō to weape, & the euil haue liberty to laugh. I can not tel
what to say in this mater, as I would say. Truly y^e cōmon weale is at this
day such & so woful, that eche wise man (without cōparison) wold haue grea-
ter pleasure to be in y^e warres of Affrik: then in the peace at Rome. For in the
good war, a man seeth of whom he shold take hede: but in y^e euil peace, no mā
knoweth whom to truste. Therefore my children, since you are naturall of
Rome, I wil tel you what Rome is at this present. I let you know, y^e the ve-
stall virgines are now dissolute, the honour of the gods is forgotten, y^e profit
of the cōmon weale no mā seketh, of y^e exercise of chivalry ther is no memory
for the orphanes & widowes ther is no man y^e doth aunswere, to ministrate iu-
stice ther haue no regard, & the dissolute vices of y^e youth ar without measure.
Finally, Rome that in tūnes past was a receypt of all the good & vertuous:
is now made a denne of al theues & vitious. I feare me, I feare me, least our
mother rome in shorthe time wil haue some sodein & great fal. And I say not
without a cause some great fall, for both men & Cities, that fall frō the top of
their felicity, purchase greater infamy with those y^e shal com after: the glo-
ry y^e they haue had of the that be past. Peraduenture (my children) you desire to
se the walles & buildinges of Rome: for those thinges which children se first in
their youth, the same they loue & kepe alwaies in memory vntill their age. As
the auncient buildinges of rome are destroyed, & the few that ar now buile:
so would I you should loose your earnest affection to come to se the. For in
dede, the noble hartes are ashamed to se that thing amisse, which they cā not
remedye. Do not thynke, my children, thoughe Rome be made worse in ma-
ners, that therefore it is diminished in buildinges. For I let you vnderstand, if
you know it not, y^e if a wall doth decay, there is no man that doth repaire it.

THE SECOND BOOKE

If a house fall,ther is no man that wil rayse it by again. If a strete be foule, ther is no man that wil make it cleane. If the riuer cary awaye any bridge, there is no man that will set it by again. If any antiquitie decaye,ther is no man that wil amend it. If any wood be cut,ther is no man that wil kepe it. If the trees ware old,ther is no man that will plant the a newe. If the pavement of the streates be broken,ther is no man that wil ley it again. Finally ther is nothing in Rome at this day so euil handled, as those thinges whiche by þ commō voices ar ordered. These thinges(my childre)though I do greatly lament(as it is reason)yet you ought litle to esteeme them al:but this alonly ought to be esteemed, & with droppes of bloud to be lamented. That now in Rome,when þ buildinges in many places fal downe,þ vices all wholy together are raised by. O wofull mother Rome, since that in the, the more the walles decay,the more the vices increase. Peraduenture(my childre)since you are in those fountiers of Affrike, you desire to se your parentes here in Rome. And therat I meruaile not,for the loue which our naturall countrey do geue,þ straung countrey can not take awaye. All those which come from those parties doe bring vs no other certaine newes,but of the multitude of those which dye & are slain in Afrik,therfore since you send vs such newes frō thence,loke not that we should send you any other then the like from hence. For death hath such auctortie,þ it killeth the armed in the warres: & slepeth the quiet in peace. I let you know that Licia your sister is dead. Drusio your vnckle is dead. Torquatus your neyghbour is dead. His wife our cousin & her. iii. daughters are dead. Fabius your great frend is dead. Euander & his childre ar dead. Bibulus which reb for me in the chaire the last yere is also dead. Finally ther are so many & so good with al þ be dead:that it is a great shame & pitie to se (at this present,)so many euill as do liue knowe ye my children, that all these and many others which ye left aliuē ful high in rome:are now become wormes meat ful low vnder the yearth,& death also doth summon me vnto the graue. If you(my childre)did consider what shal become of you herafter, truly you will thinke it better to weape. 1000. yeaues with the dead: then to laugh one houre with those þ be aliuē. Remembryng that I bate ye in great payne,and haue nourished you in great trauell, & that ye came of my proper intrailles: I would haue you as children about me for þ confort & consolation of my paines. But in the end beholdyng þ prowesses of those þ are passe,that bindeth their heires,I am cōtent to suffer so long absence your persons, only to the end you may get honour in chualrye. For I had rather here tell you should liue like knightes in Afrik:thē to se you vtterly lost here in Rome. My childre,as you are in þ warres of Afrike,so I Doubt not but þ you desire to se þ pleasures of rome:for ther is no man in this world so happy,but at his neyghbours prosperity had som enuy,enuie not þ bitious,nether desier to be amōg vices:for truly vices ar of such a cōdition þ they bring not w thē so much pleasure whē they com:as they leaue sorrow behind thē whē they depart,for þ true Delight is not in þ pleasure which sodēly vanissheth:but in þ truth which euer more remaineth. I thank þ immortal gods for all these thinges,first for þ they made me wise & not foolish:for to a woman it is a small mater to be called so fraile,þ in dede she be not foolish. The serōd I thank þ gods,bicause in al times of my troubles,they haue geuē me paciēce to endure thē:for þ mā only in this lif may be called unhappy,to whom þ gods in his troubles hath not giuē paciēce. The

The third, I thank the gods for that those .lxxv. yeares which I haue liued, I neuer hytherto was defamed: for þe woman by no reason can cōplaine of her fortune, if in none of her troubles she hath loste her honour. The fourth, I thanke the Gods that in this forty yeres I haue lyued in Rome, & remained widow, ther was neuer man nor woman þe contended with me: for since we women profite litle the commō wealth, it is but reason that she whych with euill demeanoures hath passed her lyfe shoulde by iustice receaue her death. The fift I giue the gods tankes, that they gaue me children, the whych are better contented to suffer the trauailes of Affrik: thē to intoy the pleasures of Rome. Do not counte me (my childre) for so vnloving a mother, that I wold not haue you alwayes before my eyes: but considering that many good mēs children haue bene lost, only for being brought vp in the excessiue pleasures of Rome, I do content my selfe with your absence. For that man that desireth perpetuall renoune, though he be not banished, he ought to absent him self fro his natie countrey. My deare children, I most earnestly desire you, that alwayes you accōpanie your selues with the good, with the most auncientes, and with those which ar graue & most expert in councel, and with those that haue most sene the world: and do not vnderstand most of the world, by those that haue seue most countreis. For the rype councel proceadeth not from the man that hath traueiled in many countreis: but from him that hath felte him selfe in many daungers. Since the nature of the countrey (my children) dothe knocke with the hāmer at the gate of the hart of man, I feare þe if you come and se your frendes & parentes, you shal alwayes lyue in care & pensifnes, and being pensife you shal alwayes lyue euil cōtented, & you shai not do þe whiche becommeth Romain knights to do. And you not beyng valiaunt knightes, your enemies shal alwayes reioice ouer you, & your desires shal neuer take effect: for of those men which are careful & heauy, proceadeth alwayes seruices vnworthy. I desire you hartely, & by this present letter I counsell you, þe you wil not in any wise seke to come to Rome: for as I haue saied you shal know few of those that did know you, for eyther they are dead or banished, poore or sicke, aged or cōme to nought, sad or euil cōtented: so that sithens you are not able to remedy their grefes, it is best you should not come hyther to se their troubles. For no man cōmeth to Rome but to weape with the liuing, and to sigh for thē that be dead. Truly (my children) I know not what pleasure is in Rome that should cause any good man to come hyther and to forsake Affrik: for if there you haue enemies, here you shal want frendes. If you haue the sword that percereth the body, we haue that tong here that destroyeth the renoune. If you be vered with the theues of Affrike, we are wounded with the traitours, flatterers, and liers of Italy. If you lack rest. we haue here to much trouble. Finallye seyng that that I doe se in Rome, and hearynge that which I heare of Affrik: I commende your warre, and abhorre our peace. If you do greatly esteeme þe which I haue sayd, esteeme much moze that whiche I shall say, which is, that we alwayes here that you are conquerours of the Africkans, & you shall here alwayes þe we are conquered by byces. Therfore if I am a true mother, I had rather se you winne a perpetuall memory amonge straungers: thē to lue with infamy at home in your cōtrey. Peraduenture with hope that you shal enherit some goodes you wil take occasiō to come to

THE SECOND BOOKE

Some. When this thing shall come to your mindes, remember (my children) that your father being alive had not much, and that vnto your mother being a widow many thinges wanted. And remember that your father bequethed you nothing but weapons, and know that from me you shall enherite nothing but booke. For I had rather leaue my children good doctrine wherby they may liue: then euil riches wherby they may perishe. I am not riche, nor I neuer trauailed to be rich, and the cause was that I saw many mens children vndone, only through the hope they had to enherite their parentes goods, and after ward went a huntinge after vices. For they seldome times do any worthy feates, which in their youth enherit great treasures. This thing therefore being true (as it is in dead) I do not say only that I would wathe, and toile as many do to get riches and treasures: but also if I had treasure, before I would giue them vnto you, I would (as the philosopher did) cast the into the fyre. For I had rather haue my children poore and vertuous in Affrike: then riche and vitious in Rome. You know very wel my children that there was amongst the Tharentins a law wel obserued, that the sonnes shoulde not inherit any other thyng of their fathers but weapons to fight: and that the Doughters shoulde inherit the goodes for to mary them selues with all. Truly this law was very iust, for the sonne that hath alwayes respect to the enheritance: will not haue to his father any great confidence. For he ought to be called a valiant Romaine knight that with his life hath wonne honour, and by the sword hath gotten riches. Since you are in straunge realmes, I praye you hartely that you be conuersant with the good (as good brethren) remembryng alwayes that you were my children, and that I gaue you both, sucke of myne owne propre breasts. And the daye that I shall here of your disagreement, the same daye shalbe the end of my life. For the discord in one citie of parentes doth more harme: then a hole armie of enemyes. It is good for you (my childre) to liue in loue & concord togethers: but it is more requisit to kepe you with the Romaine knightes, the which with you, & you with the, if you do not loue together in þe warres: you shall neuer haue the upper hand of your enemyes. For in great armie, the discordes which rise amongst the do more harme: then the enemyes do against whome they fight. I think wel (my children) that you wold be very desirous to know of my estate (that is to wete) whether I am in health, whether I am sick, whether I am poore, whether I am pleased, or whether I am discontented. In this case I know not why you shold desire to know it, since you ought to presuppose that accordyng to the troubles which I haue passed, & the miseries þe with mine eyes I haue sene, I am filled with this world: for wise men after .50. yeres and bywarde, ought rather to apply their mindes how to receiue death: then to seeke pleasures to prolong life. When mans flesh is weake, it alwayes desireth to be wel kept euen vnto the graue. And as I am of flesh & bone: so I do feele the troubles of the world, as all mortal men do. But for all this do not think that to be poore or sick is the greatest misery. neither thinke þe to be hole & riche is the cheifest felicity: for ther is none other felicity of the old fathers, but for to se their childre vertuous. In my opiniõ it is an honour to þe countrey, that the fathers haue such children, which wil take profit with their counsell: & contrary wyse that the children haue such fathers which can giue it them. For the child is happy that hath

hath a wise father, & more happy is the father that hath not a foolish sonne. I do write oft times vnto you my children, but there is a law that none be so hardy to write to men of war in the field, except first they inrowle the letters in the senate. Therefore since I write vnto you more letters then they would, they do send lesse then I desire. Thoughe this law be painefull to mothers which haue children: yet we must confesse it is profitable for y^e weale publik.

For if a man should write to one in the warre, that his family is not well: he would forsake the warres to remedye it. If a man wryte vnto him that it is prosperous, he hath then a desire to enioye it. Be not displeased (my children) thoughe all the letters I do sende vnto you come not to your handes: for all that I do not cease to visite the temples for your owne health, nor yet to offre sacrifices to the Gods for your honour. For if we do please the gods, we haue not cause to feare our enemies. I say no more in this case, my children, but that I beseeche the immortal Gods, that if your lyues maye profite the common wealthe, then they shorten my dayes and lengthen your yeres: but if your lyues should be to the domage of the common wealthe, then those immortal gods I desire that first I may vnderstand the end of your dayes, before that the wormes should eat my flesh. For rather then by your euill lyfe the glory of our predecessours should be blemished: it were much better both your liues wer ended. The grace of the Gods, the good renowne amongst men, the good fortune of the Romans, y^e wisdom of the greekes the blessing of Scippio, & of al other your predecessours be alwayes with you my children.

Of the education and doctrine of children whiles they are yong. Wherein the auctour declareth many notable histories. Chap. xxxii.

Al mortal men which will trauell, and see good fruite of their trauell, ought to do as the chiefe artificer did that painted the world: for y^e man that maketh god the head of his workes, it is vnpossible that he should erre in the same. That whych we beleue, and reade by wrytinge, is that the eternall created the world in short space by his might: but preserved it a long time by his wisdom. Whether of a man may gather, that the time to do a thing is short: but the care and thought to preserve it, is long. We see daily, that a valiaunt captaine assauleth his enemies: but in the end it is god that giueth the victorie, but let vs aske the conquerour, what trauell it hath bene vnto him, or wherein he hath perceaued most daunger (that is to wete) either to obtaine the victory of his enemies, or els to preserve them selues amongst the enuious and malicious. I sweare, and affirme, that such a knight wil sweare, that ther is no comparison betwene the one and the other: for by the bloody sword in an houre the victorie is obtained: but to kepe it with reputation, the sweete of al the life is required Laertius in the booke of the lyfe of the philosophers declareth, and Plato also hereof maketh mention, in the booke of his common wealthe, that those of Thebes vnderstandyng that the Lacedemonians hadde good lawes (for that whych they were of the godes fauoured, and of menne greatly honoured) determined to send (by common assent and agreement) a wise philosopher, the beste esteemed amongst them (whose name was Phetonius) to whome they commaunded, that he should aske the lawes of the Lacedemonians, and that he should be verie circumspecte and ware to see what their rules and customes were.

Those

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Those of Thebes were then very noble, balliant, and honest: so that their principal end was, to come to honour & renoume, to erect buildinges, & to make them selues of immortall memoꝝ for beyng vertuous. For in building they were very curious: and for vertues they had good Philosophers. The philosopher Phetonius was more the a yere in the realme of the Lacedemonians, beholding at sondry times all thinges therein: for simple men do not note thinges, but onely to satiffye the eyes: but the wise menne beholdeth them, for to know and vnderstand their secrettes. After that the philosopher had well & plainly sene and behelde all the thinges of the Lacedemonians: he determined to returne home to Thebes, and beyng arriued, all the people came to see him and here him. For the vanitie of the common people is of such a qualitie, that it foloweth new inuentions: and despiseth auncient customes. All the people therfore gathered togethers, the good philosopher Phetonius set vp in the midst of the market place a gybet, hoothe yrons, a sword, a whip, and fetters for the feete: the whiche thyng done, the Thebains were no lesse as they thought slaundered, the abashed. To the whiche he spake these wordes. You Thebains sente me to the Lacedemonians, to the entent I should learne their lawes and customes, and in dede I haue bene ther more then a yere, beholding al thinges very diligently: for we Philosophers are bound, not onely to note that whyche is done, but also to know why it is done knowe ye Thebains, that this in the aunswere of my Imballage.

That the Lacedemonians hang vpon this Gybet theues, with this same sword they behede traytors, with these hoothe Irons they torment blasphemers, and lyers, with these rodde they whippe vacabondes, and with these Irons do keape the rebels, and the others are for players, and vnchristes. Finally I say that I do not bring you the lawes written, but I bring you the Instrumentes wherwith they are obserued.

The Thebains were abashed to se these thinges, and spake vnto hym such wordes. Consider Phetonius wee haue not sent the to the Lacedemonians, to bring instrumentes to take away life: but for the good lawes to gouerne the common wealth. The philosopher Phetonius replied again, & aunswered. Thebains, I let you wete, that if ye know what we philosophers knew, you shold see how far your mindes wer from the truth: for the Lacedemonians are not so vertuous, thozoughe the lawes whych wer made of them that be dead: as for the meanes they haue sought, to preserue them that be alue. For maters of Justice consist more in execution, then in commaundyng or ordeinyng. Lawes are easely ordeyned, but with difficultie executed: for there are a thousande to make them, but to put them in execution there is not one. Ful lytle is that whych men knowe that are present: in respect of that those knewe which are past. But yet accoꝝdyng to my litle knowledg, I proffer to gyue as good lawes to you Thebains, as euer wer obserued among the Lacedemonians. For there is nothing more easy, then to know the good: and nothyng more comen, then to folow the euill. But what profiteth it if one will ordeyne, and none vnderstand it: If ther be that doth vnderstand the, there is none that executeth them. If there be that executeth them, there is none that obserueth the. If there be one that obserueth them, there is a thousand that repro- ueth them. For without comparison, mo are they that murmure & grudge at the

at the good, then those whych blame and despise the euill. You Thebains are offended, because I haue brought suche Instrumentes, but I let you wote, if you wyll neyther Gybet, nor sword to kepe that which shalbe ordeyned, you shall haue your bookes full of lawes, and the common wealth full of vices. Wherefore I sweare vnto you, that there are mo Thebains whiche folowe the deliciousnes of Denis the tyraunt: then there are vertuous men that folowe the lawes of Lycurgus. If you Thebains do desire greatly to know, with what Lawes the Lacedemonians doe preserve their common wealthe: I will tel you them all by worde, and if you will reade them, I will shew you them in wytyng. But it shalbe vpon condition, that you shall sweare all openly, that once a dape you shall employ your eyes to reade them, and your parsonnes to obserue them. For the prince hath greater honour, to se one onely law to be obserued in dede: then to ordeyne a thousand by wytyng. You ought not to esteame muche to be vertuous in harte, nor to enquire of the vertue by the mouth, nor to seeke it by labour and trauaile of the feete: but that whych you ought greatly to esteame, is to know what a vertuous lawe meaneth, and that knowen, immediatly to execute it, and after wardes to kepe it. For the chiefe vertue is not to do one vertuous work: but in sweet and trauayl to continue in it. These therfore wer the wordes that this philosopher Phetonius sayde to the Thebains. The whych (as Plato sayeth) esteemed more his wordes that he spake: then they dyd the lawes whych he brought. Truly in my opinion, those of Thebes are to be praysed and commended: and the philosopher for his wordes is worthy to be honoured. For the end of those was to searche lawes to liue well, and the ende of the Philosophet was to seke good meanes for to kepe them in vertue. And therfore he thought it good to shew the, and put before their eyes the gibbet, and the sword, with the other instrumentes and tormentes. For the euill do refraine from vice more for feare of punishment, then for any desire they haue of amendement. I was willing to bring in this Historie, to thende that all curious and vertuous men may see and know, how litell the auncientes did esteeme the begynnyng, the meane, and the ende of vertuous workes, in respect of the perseneraunce and preservation of them. Commyng therfore to my matter, whych my pen doth tolle and seke: I aske now presentely, what it profiteth princes and great ladyes, that God do gyue them great estates, that they be fortunate in mariages, that they be all reuerenced and honored, that they haue great treasures for their inheritaunces, and aboue al that they se their wiues great with child, & that after wardes in ioy they se them deliuered: that they se they mothers geuyng their childre sucke, & finally they se them selues happy in that they haue found them good nources, helthful & honest. Truly al this auailith litle, if to their children (when they are yong) they do not giue masters to instruct the in vertues: and also if they do not recomend them to good guides, to exercise the in feates of Chivalry. The fathers which by syghes penetrat the heauē: by prayers importune the Liuing god only for to haue children, ought first to thinke why they wil haue childre: for that iustly to any man may be denyed, which to an euil end is procured. In my opinion, y father ought to desire to haue a child, for y in his age he may susteine his life in honour: & that after his deeth he may cause his fame to liue. And if a father desireth not a son for this cause,

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cause, at the least he ought to desire him, to the end in his age he may honour his hope hed: and that after his death he may enheryte his goodes, but wee see few children do these thynges to their fathers in theyr age: if the fathers haue not taught them in their youth. For the fruite doeth neuer grow in the haruest: vnlesse the tree dyd bere blossomes in the spryng. I see oftentimes many fathers complaine of their Children, sayenge that they are disobedient and proude vnto them: and they doe not consyde that they them selues are the cause of all those euilles. For to moch aboundaunce and libertie of youth is no other: but a prophesie & manifest token of disobedience in age. I knowe not why princes and great lordes do toyle, and oppresse so much, and scratche to leaue their children great estates, and on the other syde we see that in teaching them, they are and shew them selues to negligent: for princes & great lordes ought to make account, that all þe wherch they leaue of their substaunce to a wicked heyre is vtterly lost. The wise men, and those which in their consciences are byright, and of their honours carefull, oughte to be very diligent to bring vp their children, & chiefly that they consyde whether they be mete to inherite their estates. And if perchaunce the fathers se that their children be moze giue to follie, then to noblenes and wysdome: then should I be ashamed to se a father that is wise, trauaile al the dayes of his life, to leaue much substaunce to an euill brought by child after his death. It is a grieve to declare, and a monstrous thyng to se, þe cares wherch the fathers take to gather ryches: and the diligence that children haue to spende them. And in this case I saye, the sonne is fortunate for that he doeth inherite, and the father a foole for that he doth bequeth.

In my opinion fathers ar bound to enstrute theyr Children well, for two causes: the one for that they are nearest to them, and also bycause they ought to be theyr heyres. For truly with great greyfe and sorow I suppose he doth take his death: which leaueth to a foole or an vnthyste the toile of all his life.

Hyzearcus the Greeke hystorien in the booke of his antiquities, and Sabeliquus in his generall history sayeth, that a father and a sonne came to complaine to the famous phylosopher and auncient Solon Solimon: the sonne complained of the father, and the father of the sonne.

First the son informed the quarel to þe phylosopher, sayeng these wordes. I complayne of my father, bycause he beyng ryche hath dysherited me, and made me poore, and in my steade hath adopted another heyre, the whiche thyng my father oughte not, nor cannot doe. For sence he gaue me so frayle flesh, it is reason he geue me hys goodes to maintayne my feblenes. To these wordes aunswered the father. I complayne of my sonne, bycause he hath not bene as a gentle sonne, but rather as a cruell enemye, for in all thynges since he was borne, he hath bene disobedient to my will, wherfore I thought it good to dysheryte hym before my death. I woulde I were quite of all my substaunce, so that the goddes hadde quyte hym of hys lyfe: for the earthe is very cruell that swalloweth not the chylde alrue, whiche to hys father is disobedient. In that he sayeth I haue adopted another chylde for myne heyre, I confesse it is true: and for somuche as he sayeth that I haue dysinherited hym, and abiected hym from my heretage, he beyng begotten of my owne bodye, hereunto I aunswere.

That

That I haue not disinheryted my sonne, but I haue disinheryted his pleasure, to the intent he shal not enioy my trauaile: for there can be nothing more vniust, then that the yonge and vitious sonne should take his pleasure, of the swette and droppes of the aged father. The sonne replyed to his father, and sayd. I confesse I haue offended my father, and also I confesse that I haue lyued in pleasures: yet if I maye speake the trueth, though I were disobedient and euill, my father oughte to beare the blame: and if for this cause he doeth dysherite me, I thynke he doth me great iniurye. For the father that instructed not hys sonne in vertue in hys yowthe: wrongfullye dysheryteth hym, though he be disobedient in hys age. The father agayne replyeth, and saith. It is true my sonne, that I brought the vp to wantonly in thy yowth, but thou knowest well that I haue taughte the sondrye tymes, and besides that I dyd correcte the when thou camest to some discretion. And if in thy yowth I dyd not instructe the in learning, it was for that thou in thy tender age dydest wante vnderstandyng: but after that thou haddest age to vnderstand, discrecion to receiue, and strength to exercise it: I began to punyssh the, to teache the, and to instructe the. For where no vnderstandyng is in the chyld, there in vaine they teache doctrine. Sence thou arte old (quoth the sonne) and I yong. Sence thou arte my father, and I thy sonne, for that thou hast whyte heres of thy bearde, and I none at all: it is but reason that thou be beleued, & I condemned. For in this world we se oftentimes, that the smal aucthority of the parson, maketh hym to lose hys great iustyce. I graunt the (my father) that when I was a chyld, thou dydst cause me to learne to reade: but thou wylt not denye, that if I dyd comit any faulte, thou wouldest neuer agree I should be punished. And hereof it came, that thou suffering me to doe what I woulde in my yowth, haue bene disobedient to the euer since in my age. And I saue to the further, that if in this case I haue offended trulye me thinketh thou canst not be excused: for the fathers in the yowthe of their chyldren, oughte not onely to teache them to dispute of vertues, and what vertue is: but they ought to inforce them to be vertuous in dede. For it is a good token when yowth (before they know byeces) hath bene accustomed to practice vertues. Both parties then diligentlie hard, the good Philosopher Solon Solinon spake these wordes. I geue iudgement that the father of thys chyld be not buried after hys death: and I commaunde that the sonne, because in hys yowth he hath not obeyed his father who is olde, should be disinheryted whiles the father lyueth from all hys substaunce, on suche condition, that after hys death, hys sonnes should inheryte the heritage, and so returne to the heires of the sonne and line of the father. For it were vniust, that the innocencie of the sonne should be condemned, for the offence of the father. I doe commaunde also, that all the goods be committed vnto some faithful parson, to theend they may geue the father meate and drinke duringe hys lyfe, and to make a graue for the sonne after hys death. I haue not with out a cause geuen suche iudgement, the which comprehendeth lyfe and death: for the Gods wyl not, that for one pleasure the punishment be double, but that we chastyse and punyssh the one in the lyfe, takyng from hym hys honour and goods: and that we punyssh the others after there death, takyng from them memoyre and buriall.

Trulye

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Truly the sentence which the Philosopher gaue was graue, and would to God we had him for a iudge of this world presentive: for I sweare, that he should finde many children now a dayes for to disheryte, and mo fathers to punishe. For I cannot tell which is greater, the shame of the children to disobey their fathers: or the negligence of the fathers in bringing vp their childre. Sextus Cheronensis in the second boke of the sainges of the Philosophers decia- reth, that a citezen of Athens sayed on daye to Diogenes the Philosopher these wordes. Tel me Diogenes, what shall I doe to be in the fauour of the gods, and not in the hatred of men? for oft tymes amonges you Philoso- phers I haue hard saye, that there is great difference betwene that that the Goddes wil, and that which men loue. Diogenes aunswered. Thou speakest more then thoughest to speake, that the gods will one thinge, and men ano- ther: for the gods are but as a center of mercy, and men are but as a denne of malice, if thou wilt inioye rest in thy dayes, and keape thy lyfe pure and cleane: thou must obserue these thre thinges.

The first, honour thy gods deuoutly. For the man which doeth not serue and honour the gods, in all his enterprises he shalbe vnfornate.

The second, be very diligent to bring vp thy children well. For the man hath no enemy so troublesome, as his owne son, if he be not wel brought vp.

The third thyng, be thankfull to thy good benefactours and frendes. For the Oracle of Apollo sayeth, that the man who is vnthankfull, of all the worlde shalbe abhorred. And I tell the further my frend, that of these thre thinges the most profitable (though it be more troublesome) is for a manne to teache and bring vp his children well.

This therefore was the aunswere that the Philosopher Diogenes made to the demaunde of the Cytezen. It is great pytie and grieve, to see a yonge child how the bloud doth stirre him, to se how the fleshe doth prouoke him to accomplishe his desire, to se sensualityte go before, and he himselfe to come be- hinde, to se the malicious world to wathe him, to se howe the deuill doth tempt him, to se how byces bynde him, and in all that whych is spoken, to se how the father is negligent as if he had no children: wher as in deed the old man, by the few vertues that he hath had in his youth: may easely know the infirmities and vices, wherewith his sonne is compassed. If the expert had neuer ben ignoraunt, if the fathers had neuer ben children, if the vertuous had neuer ben vicious, if the syne wittes had neuer ben deceiued, it were no meruaile if the fathers were negligent in teachyng their children: For the lptell experience excuseth men of great offences: but synce thou arte a father, and that fyrst thou were a sonne, synce thou arte old, and hast ben yong, and besides al this, synce that pride hath enflamed the, lechery hath burned the, wrath hath wounded the, negligēce hath hindred the, couetousnes hath blin- ded the, and glotomie surfeted the, tell me cruell father, since so manye vices haue reigned in y: why hast thou not an eye to thy childe, whom of thy owne bloud thou hast begotten? And if thou doest it not bycause he is thy childe, thou oughdest to do it bycause he is thy nearest. For it is vnpossible that the child whych with many byces is assaulted, and not succoured: but in the end he should be infamed and to the dishonour of y father most wickedly ouer- come. It is vnpossible to kepe flesh well sauored, vnlesse it be first salted. It is vnpossible

vnpossible that the fishe should liue without water. It is vnpossible but that the Rose should wyther, whiche is of the thorne ouergrown. So like it is vnpossible that the fathers should haue any comforte of their chyldren in their age, vnlesse they haue instructed them in vertue in their youth. And to speake further in this matter I saye, that in the Christian catholike religion, where in dede there is good doctrine, ther alwayes is supposed to be a good conscience. Amongest the wyrters it is a thinge well known, howe Eschines, the philosopher was banished from Athens, and with all his family came to dwell at Rhodes. The occasion was, because that he and the philosopher Demosthenes were in great contention in the common wealth. Wherefore the Athenians determined to banish the one, and to keape the other with them. And truly they dyd well, for of the contentions and debates of sages, warres most commonly arys amongest the people. This philosopher Eschines being at Rhodes banished, amongest others made a solempne oration, wherein he greatly reproveth the Rhodians that they were so negligente in bynging vp their children, sayng vnto them these wordes. I let you vnderstande (Lords of Rhodes) that your predecessours aduanced them selues to discende, and to take their beginning of the Lides: the whiche aboue all other nations were curious and diligent to byng by their chyldren: and hereof came a lawe that was among them, which sayed.

We ordeine and commaunde, that if a father haue many chyldren, that the moste vertuous should enherite the goods and riches: and if there were but one vertuous, that he alone should inherite the whole. And if perchance the chyldren were vitious, that then al should be depriued from the heritage. For the goods gotten with trauaile of vertuous fathers, ought not by reason to be inherited with vitious chyldren. These were the wordes that the philosopher spake to the Senate of the Rhodes: and because he sayde in that Oration many other thinges whiche touche not our matter, I wyll in this place omittle them. For among excellent wyrters, the wyrtynge loseth muche authoritie, when the authour from his purpose digresseth into an other matter. To saye the truthe, I doe not maruaile that the chyldren of princes and great lordes be adulterers, and belly gods: for that on the one parte youth is the mother of Idlenes, and on the other, litle experience is the cause of great offences. And furthermore the fathers being once dead, the chyldren enherite their goodes as quietly, being loden with vices: as if in dede they were with all vertues endued. If the younge chyldren did knowe for a certaine, that the lawes of the Lydes should be obserued (that is to witte) that they should not enherite, vnlesse they be vertuous: it is vnpossible but that they would leade a good life, and not in this wyse to runne at large in the worlde. For they doe absteyne more from doing euill, fearyng to lose that whiche they doe possesse: then for any loue to doe that whiche they ought. I doe not denaye, but accordyng as the natures of the fathers is dyuers, so the inclinations of the chyldren are variable. For so muche as some folowynge their good inclination are good, & others not resistyng euill sensualities are euill. But yet in this matter I saye, that it lieth muche in the father that doeth bynge them vp, when as yet they are younge: so that the euill whiche nature gaue, by good by. yping vp is refrayned. For oftetymes the good custome, doeth

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ouercome all euill inclination. Princes and great lordes that wylbe diligent in the instruction of their chyldren, ought to enforme their maisters and tutors that shall teache them, to what vyces and vertues their chyldren are moſte inclined: and this ought to be, to encourage them in that that is good, and contrary to reprove them in all that is euill. For men are vndone for no other cauſe when they be olde: but for that they had ſo much pleaſures when they are younge. Sextus Cheronenſis in the ſeconde booke of the ſaynges of the auntientes ſaieth, that on a daye a citezen of Athens was byenge thinges in the market, and for the qualitie of his perſone, the greateſt parte of them were ſuperfluous and nothing neceſſary. And in this caſe the pooze are no leſſe culpable then the ryche: and the ryche then the pooze. For that is ſo litle, that to ſuſteyne mans lyfe is neceſſary: that he which hath leſt, hath the ruinto ſuperfluous. Therfore at that tyme, when Athens and her common wealth was the lanterne of all Grece, there was in Athens a lawe long vſed, and of great tyme accuſtomed: that nothing ſhould be bought before a philoſopher had ſet the pryce. And truly the lawe was good, and would to God the ſame lawe at this preſent were obſerued: for there is nothing that deſtroyeth a common wealth more, then to permitte ſome to ſell as tyauntes, and others to buye as ſooles. When the Thebane was buying theſe thinges, a philoſopher was there preſent, who ſayed vnto him theſe wordes. Tell me I praye thee, thou man of Thebes, wherefore doeſt thou conſume and waſte thy money, in that whiche is not neceſſary for thy houſe, nor profitable for thy perſone: the Thebane aunſwered him. I let the knowe, that I doe buye all theſe thynges for a ſonne I haue of the age of. xx. yeares, the whiche neuer did thinge that ſeamed vnto me euill, nor I neuer denyed hym any thing that he demaunded. This philoſopher aunſwered. O howe happy were thou, if as thou arte a father, thou were a ſonne, and that whiche the father ſaieth vnto the ſonne, the ſonne would ſaye vnto the father: but I am offended greatly with that thou haſt tolde me. For vntill the childe be. xxv. yeares olde, he ought not to gayneſaye his father: and the good father ought not to condeſcende vnto the appetites of the ſonne. Nowe I call the curſed father, ſince thou arte ſubiect to the wyl of thy ſonne: and that thy ſonne is not obedient to the wyl of his father, ſo that thou altereſt the order of nature. For ſo muche as the father is ſonne of his ſonne, and the ſonne is father of his father. But in the end, I ſweare vnto thee by the immortall Gods, that when thou ſhalt become old, thou ſhalt weape by thy ſelfe at that whiche with thy ſonne thou diddeſt laughe when he was younge. Though the wordes of this philoſopher were fewe: yet a wyſe man wyl iudge the ſentences to be many. I conclude therefore, that princes and great lordes ought to recomende their chyldren to their maisters, to thende they may teache them to chaunge their appetites, and not to ſolowe their owne wil: ſo that they withdraue them from their own will, and cauſe them to learne the aduiſe of an other. For the more a man geth a noble man ſonne the bydle, the more harder it is for them to receiue good doctrine.

Princes ought to take hede that their chyldren be not brought vp in bayne pleaſures and delightes. For oftentimes they are ſo wicked, that the fathers would not only haue them with ſharpe diſcipline corrected: but alſo with bitter teares buried. Chap. xxxiii.

Bxperience we see, that in warre (for the defence of men) rampiers & fortres are made according to the qualitie of the enemies, & those which sayle the dangerous seas, doe chose great shippes, which may breake the waues of the raging Sea: so that all wyse men according to the qualitie of the daunger, doe seke for the same in tyme some remedy. Oftentimes I muse with my selfe, and thynke if I coude finde any estate, any age, any lande, any nation, any realme, or any worlde, wherein there hath bene any man that hath passed this life, without tasting, what aduersitie was: for if suche a one were founde, I thinke it should be a monstrous thing throughout all the earth, and by reason both the dead and liuing should enuie hym. In the ende, after my counte made, I finde that he whiche yesterdape was ryche, to dape is poore: he that was hole, I see hym to dape sicke: he that yesterdape laughed, to dape I see hym wepe: he that had his hartes ease, I see hym nowe sore afflicted: he that was fortunate, I see hym vnlucky: finally, hym whom we knewe alieue in the towne, nowe we see buried in the graue. And to be buried is nothing els, but to be vtterly forgotten: for mans frendshipp is so fragile, that when the corpe is couered with earth, immediatly the dead is forgotten. One thinge me thinketh to all men is greuous, & to those of vnderstandyng no lesse payneful, whiche is, that the miseries of this wicked worlde are not equally deuided, but that oftentimes all worldly calamities lieth in the necke of one man alone. For we are so vnforgotten, that the world geueth vs pleasures in sight, & troubles in prose. If a man should aske a sage man now a daies, who hath liued in meane estate, & that he would be contented to tel him what he hath paste, since thre yeares that he began to speake, vntill fifty yeares that he began to wane olde: what thinges thinke you he would tel vs, that hath chaunced vnto him? truly al these that here folowe The grefes of his children, the assaultes of his enemies, the importunities of his wife, the wantonnes of his doughters, sicknes in his person, great losse of goods, general famine in the citie, cruel plagues in his countrey, extreme colde in wynter, noysome heate in sommer, sorrowful deathes of his frendes, & enuious prosperities of his enemies: finally he wil say, that he passed such & so many thinges, that oftentimes he bewailed the wofull life, & desired the swete death. If the miserable man hath passed such things outwardly, what would he saye of those which he hath suffered inwardly? the whiche though some discrete men may know, yet truly others dare not tell. For the trauailes which the body passeth in fifty yeres, may wel be counted in a day: but that which the hart suffereth in one day, cannot be counted in a hundred yeres. A man cannot deny, but that we would couthe him rashe, which with a rede would mete an other that hath a sword: & him for a foole, that would put of his shooes to walke vpon the thornes. But without coparison we ought to esteame him for the most foole, that with this tender fleshe thinketh to preuaile against so many euil fortunes: for without doubt, the man that is of his body delicate, passeth his life with much paine. How happy may that man be called, which neuer tasted what pleasure meaneth. For men whiche from their infancy haue bene brought vp in pleasures, for want of wisdom knowe not how to chose the good, & for lack of force cannot resiste the euil: which is the cause, that noble mens children oftentimes comit sondry heynous offences.

THE SECOND BOOKE

For it is an infallible rule, that the more a mā geueth him selfe to pleasures, the more he is entangled in vices. It is a thing worthy to be noted, and wo- ful to see, how politike we be to augmente thinges of honour, how bolde we be to enterprise them, how fortunate to compas them, how diligent to kepe them, how circumspect to susteine them, and afterwarde what pitie is it to see, how vnfortunate we are to lose all that, whiche so longe time we haue searched for, kept, and possessed. And that which is moſte to be lamented in this case is, that the goodes and honour are not lost for wante of diligence & trauaile of the father: but for the aboundaunce of pleasures, and vices of the sonne. Finallpe let the riche man knowe, that that which he hath wonne in labour and toyle waking: his sonne (being euill brought vp) shall consume in pleasures sleaping. One of the greatest vanities that reigneth at this day among the children of vanitie is, that the father can not shew vnto his sonne the loue which he beareth him, but in suffering him to be brought vp in the pleasures and vanities of this life. Truly he that is such a one, ought not to be called a pitifull father, but a cruel stepfather: for no man wil denie me this, but that where there is youth, libertie, pleasure, and money, there will all the vices of this world be resident. Lycurgus the great king, geuer of lawes, and sage philosopher, ordeined to the Lacedemonians, that all the children whiche were borne in cities, & good towneſes, should be sent to bringe vp in villages till they were .xxv. yeares of age. As Liuius saith that the Lygures were, which in olde time were confederate with those of Capua, and great enemies to the people of Rome. They had a lawe amongst them, that none should take wages in the warres, vnlesse he had bene brought vp in the fieldes, or that he had bene a heard man in the mountaines: so that through one of these twoo wayes, their flesh was hardned, their ioyntes accustomed to suffer the heate and the colde, and their bodieſ more mete to endure the trauayles of the warres. In the yeare of the foundation of Rome, a hundred and fourty, the Romaines made cruell warres with the Lygures, against whome was sent Gneus Fabritius, of the which in the ende he triumphed: and the day folowynge this triumph, he spake vnto the Senate these wordes. Worthy Senatours I haue bene these fiue yeares against the Ligures, and by the immortall gods I ſwere vnto you, that in al this time there passed not one weke, but we had either battaile, or some perillous skermiche. And that whiche a man oughte moſte to marueile at is, that I neuer perceiued any feare or cowardlynnes to be in those barbarous people, whereby they were constrained to demaunde peace of the people of Rome. These Lygures pursued with ſuche scarcenes the warres, that oftentimes they toke awaye from vs all hope to winne the victory: for betwene armieſ, the great might of the one, doth put alwayes the others in feare. And I will tell you (fathers conſcript) their bringynge vp, to the ende the Romaine youth should take hereby example. When they are young, they are put to be shepheardes because they should accuſtome their fleſhe in the mountaines to endure trauaile: by the whiche custome they are ſo much maiſters of them ſelues (the countrey being alwayes ful of ſnowe & Iſe in the wynter, & alſo noiſome through the extreame heate in the Sōmer that I ſweare by ꝑ god Apollo, in al this time of fiue yeres, of those we haue not ſene one pꝛeaſe to the fire in ꝑ winter, nor couet the ſhadow in ꝑ ſommer.

Do not

Do not ye thinke worthy Senatours, that I was willing to declare vnto you these thinges in the Senate, for any desire I haue that you should esteame any thing the more my triumphe: but I doe tell it you to this ende, that you may haue an eye, and take heade to your men of warre, to the ende they may alwayes be occupied, and that you suffer them not to be idle. For it is more perillous for the Romaine armies, to be ouercome with vices: then to be discomfited with their enemies. And to talke of these matters more at large, me thinketh they should prouide & commaunde, that riche men should not be so hardy to bring by their children to delicatly: for in the ende, it is impossible that the delicate persone should winne with his handes, the honour of many victories. That which moued me to saye so muche as I haue sayed (worthy Senatours) is to the end you may know, that the Ligures were not ouercome by the power of Rome: but because fortune was against them. And since in nothing fortune sheweth her selfe so variable, as in the thinges of warre: me thinketh that though the Ligures are nowe vanquished & ouercome, yet notwithstanding you ought to entertaine them in loue, & to take them for your confederates. For it is not good counsell, to hazarde that into the handes of fortune, which a man may compasse by frendship. The authour of this whiche is spoken, is called Iunius Pratus, in the booke of the concord of Realmes, and he saith in that place, that this captaine Gneus Fabritius, was counted no lesse sage for that he spake: then esteemed valiaunte for that he did. In the olde time, those of the Iles Ballears (whiche nowe are called Maiorque, and Minorque) though they were not counted wyle: yet at the least in bringing by their children, they shewed them selues not negligent. Because they were brought by in hardnes in their youth, and could not endure all painefull exercises of the warres. Those of Carthage gaue five prisoners of Rome, for one slaue of Maiorque. Diodorus Siculus saith, in those Iles, the mother did not geue the children bread with their own handes: but they did put it on an high pole, so that they might see the bread with their eyes, but they could not reache it with their handes. Wherefore when they would eate, they should firste with hurling of stones, or slinges winne it, or elles faste. Though the worke were of children: yet the inuention came of a high wyl. And hercof it came that the Ballears were esteemed for valiaunt men, as well in wastling, as in slinges for to hurle: for they did hurle with a slinge to hit a white, as the Lygures shoote nowe in a crosse bowe to hitte the prick. Those of great Britayne, whiche nowe we call Englande, amongst all the Barbarous, were men most barbarous: but you ought to knowe, that within the space of fewe yeares, the Romaines were vanquished of them many tymes. For tyme in all thinges bringeth such chaunge & alteration, that those which once we knew great lordes: within a while after we haue sene them slaues. Herodian in his hystory of Seuerus Emperour of Rome saith, that an Embassadour of Britayne being one daye in Rome (as by chaunce they gaue hym a froward aunswere in the Senate) spake stoutely before them all, and said these wordes. I am sorry you will not accepte peace, nor grannte truce: the whiche thing shalbe for the greater iustification of our warres. For afterwards none can take, but that whiche fortune shall geue. For in the ende the delicate fleshe of Rome shal fele, if y^e bloudy swordes of Britayne wil cut.

THE SECOND BOOKE

The Englishe historie saith, and it is true, that though the countrey be very colde, and that the water freleth ofte: yet the women had a custome to cary their children where the water was frosen, & breaking the Ice with a stone, with the same Ice they vsed to rubbe the body of the infante, to the ende to harden their fleshe, and to make them more apter to endure trauailes. And without doubt they had reason, for I wythe no greater penitence to delicate men, then in the wynter to see them without fire: and in the Sommer to wante freshe shado w. Sith this was the custome of the Britayns, it is but reason we credit Iulius Caesar in that he saith in his comentaries, that is to wete, that he passed many daungers before he could ouercome them: for they with as litle feare did hyde them selues, and dyed vnder the cold water, as a very man would haue rested him selfe in a pleasaunt shadowe. As Lucanus and Appianus Alexandrinus saie, amongst other nations whiche came to succour the great Pompei in Pharsalia, were the Mellagetes, the which (as they say) in their youth did sucke no other, but the milke of Camels: and ate bread of Acornes. These barbarous did these thinges to the ende to harden their bodies, to be able to endure trauail, and to haue their legges lighter for to rone. In this case we can not cal them barbarous, but we ought to cal them men of good vnderstanding: for it is vnpossible for the man that eateth muche, to runne fast. Viriatus (a Spanyarde) was king of the Lusytaines, and a great enemy of the Romans, who was so aduenterous in the warre, & so valiaunt in his person, that the Romans (by the experience of his dedes) found him vnuincible. For in the space of .xiii. yeres they could neuer haue any victory of him: the whiche when they sawe, they determined to popson him, & did so in dede. At whose death they more reioysed, then if they had wonne the signorie of all Lusitanie. For if Viriatus had not died, they had neuer brought the Lusytaines vnder their subiection. Iunius Rusticus in his epitomie saith, that this Viriatus in his youth was a herde man, & kept cattel by the ryuer of Guadiana, & after that he wared older, vsed to robbe, & assault men by the highe wayes. And after that he was .xl. yeres of age, he became king of the Lusytaines, and not by force, but by election. For when the people sawe theym selues environned and assaulted on euery side with enemies: they chose rather stout, strong, and hardy men for their captaines, then noble men for their gurdies. If the auncient historiographers deceiue me not, whē Viriatus was a these, he led with him alwayes at the leaste a hundred theues: the whiche were shodde with leaden shoes, so that when they were enforced to ronne, they put of their shoes. And thus although all the daye they wente with leaden shoes, yet in the night they ranne lyke swyfte buckes: for it is a generall rule, that the losse the ioyntes are, the more swifter shall the legges be to ronne. In the booke of the iesses of the Lumbardes, Paulus Diaconus sayeth, that in the olde tyme those of Capua had a lawe, that vntyl the chyldren were maryed, the fathers shold geue them no bedde to sleape on, nor permit them to sitte at the table to eate: but that they should eate their meates in their handes, and take their reste on the ground. And truly it was a commendable lawe, for reste was neuer inuented for the younge man whiche hath no bearde: but for the aged, beinge lame, impotent, and crooked. Quintus Cincinatus was seconde Dictator of Rome, and in dede for his Desertes was the first

the first emperor of the earth. This excellent man was broughte by in so great trauaile, that his hands were found full of knottes, the ploughe was in his armes, and the swette in his face when he was sought to be Dictator of Rome. For the auuncientes desired rather to be ruled of them that knewe not, but how to plow the ground: then of them that deliyted in nothing els, but to liue in pleasurs among the people. Caligula which was the fourth emperor of Rome (as they say) was brought by with such cost and delicatnes in his yowth, that they were in doubt in Rome, whether Drusus Germanicus hys father employed more for the Armyes: then Caligula hys sonne spent in the cradel for his pleasurs. This reherfed agayne, I would now knowe of princes & great lordes what part they would take (if it is to wete) whether to Cincinatus, whych by his stoutnes wanne so many straunge countreys: or with Caligula, that in hys fylthy lustes spared not his proper sister. In myne opinyon, ther nedeth no great deliberacion to aunswere this questyon (that is to wete) the goodnes of the one, and the wickednes of the other: for there was no battayle but Cincinatus did ouercome, nor there was any vyce but Caligula dyd inuent. Suetonius Tranquillus in the second booke of Celars sayth, & when the chyldren of the Emperour Augustus Cesar entred into the hygh capitol, wher al the senate were assembled, the Senatours rose out of their places, and made a reuerence to the chyldren, the whych when the Emperoure Augustus saw, he was much displeased, and called them backe agane. And on a day being demaunded why he loued his chyldren no better, he aunswered in this wise. If my chyldren wil be good, they shal lyt hereafter wher I sit now: but if they be euil, I wil not their vices shold be reuerenced of the Senatours. For the auctoritie & grauity of the good, ought not to be employed in the seruice of those that be wicked. The 26. Emperour of Rome was Alexander, the which (though he was yong) was as much esteemed for hys vertues amongst the Romaynes: as euer Alexander the great was for hys valiantnes amongst the Grekes. We can not say, that long experience caused him to come to the gouernment of the common wealth, for as Herodian saith in his fyrst booke, the day that the Senatours proclaimed him emperor, he was so lytle that his owne men bare him in their armes. That fortunate Emperour had a mother called Mamea, the which brought him by so wel, & diligently, that she kept alwayes a great gard of men to take hede, that no vicious mā came vnto him. And let not the diligence of the mother to the childe be litle esteemed: for princes oft times of their owne nature are good, & by euyl conuersacion only they are made euil. This worthy woman keepyng alwayes such a faythful gard of her childe, that no flatterers shold enter in to flatter him, nor malicious to tel hym lyes: bychaunce on a day a Romaine sayd vnto her these words. I thinke it not mete (most excellent princeesse) if thou shouldest be so diligent aboute thy sonne, to forget the affaires of the common wealth: for princes ought not to be kept so close, that it is more easie to obtayne a sute at the gods, then to speake one word with the prince.

To this the Emperesse Mamea aunswered, and said. They which haue charge to gouerne those that do gouerne, withoute comparisson oughte to feare more the vices of the kinge: thenne the ennemyes of the Realme. For the ennemyes are destroyed in a battaile, but vices remayne durynge the life,

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and in the end, enemyes do not destroy but the possessions of the land, but the vicious prince destroyeth the good maners of the comon wealth. These wordes were spoken of this worthy Romaine. By the histories which I haue declared, and by those which I omitte to recite, al vertuous men may know, how much it profiteth them to bring vp their children in trauailes, or to bring them vp in pleasures. But now I ymagine, that those which shall read this, wil praise that which is wel written: and also I trust they wil not giue their children so much their owne willes. For men that read much, & worke litle: are as belles the which do sound to cal others, and they them selues neuer enter into the church. If the fathers did not esteame the seruice they do vnto God, their owne honour, nor the profite of their owne children: yet to preserue them from diseases, they ought to bring them vp in vertue, & withdraw them from vices. For truly the children which haue bene brought vp daintely, shal alwayes be diseased and sikely. What a thinge is it to se þ some of a labourer, the cote without pointes, the shyfte tottered and torne, their feete bare, their head without a cappe, the body withoute a girdle, in sommer without a hat, in winter without a cloke, in the day ploughing, in the night driuing his herd, eating bread of Rye or Otes, lyeng on the earth, or els on the strawe: and in this trauaile to se this pong man so holy & vertuous, that euery man desireth and wissheth, that he had such a sonne. The contrarie commeth of noble mens sonnes, the which we se are nourished & brought vp betwene two fine holland sheetes, layed in a costly cradel, made after the new fashon: they giue the nourse what she wil desire, if perchaunce the child be sicke, they chaunge his nource, or els they appoint him a diet. The father and the mother slepe neither night nor daye, all the house watcheth, they let him eate nothing but the broth of chyckins, they kepe hym diligente ly that he fal not downe the staires, the child asketh nothing but it is geuen him immediatly. Finally they spend their time in seruyng them: they waste their riches in geuyng them their delights, they occupie their eyes but to behold them, & they imploie not their harts, but to loue them. But I sweare, y those fathers (whiche on this wise do spend their riches to pomper them) shal one day water their eyes to bewaile them: what it is to se the wast, that a vaine man maketh in bringinge vp his child? specially if he be a man sumwhat aged, & that at his desire hath a child borne. He spendeth so much goodes in bringing his vp wantonly, whyles he is pong: that oft times he wanteth to mary him when he commeth to age. And that which worst of al is, that that which he spendeth and employeth he thynketh it wel bestowed, and thinketh that to much that he geueth for gods sake.

Though the fathers are very large in spendinge, the mothers very curious, and the norses ful of pleasures, and the seruantes very diligente and attentue: yet it foloweth not that the children should be more hole then others. For the more they are attended, the more they be diseased: the more they eate, the more they are weake: the more they reioyce, the worse they prosper: the more they wast and spend, soo muche lesse they profite. And all this is not without the secret permission of God. For God wil not that the cloutes of children be of greater value, then the garments of the poore. God without a greate misterie toke not in hande the custodye of the poore, and

doth

doth not suffer that the children of the rich men should prosper: for the good bringeth vp his children without the preiudice of the rich, and to the profit of the comon wealth: but the rich bringeth vp his children wyth the sweet of the pooze, and to the domage of the common wealth. Therfore if this thyng be true (as it is) it is but reason that the wolfe whych deuoureth vs do dye: and the shepe which clotheth vs do lyue. The fathers oft times for tender-nes wyl not teach nor bring vp their children in doctrine, sayeng that as yet he is to yong, and that there remayneth time enough for to be learned, and that they haue leysure enough to be taught: and further for the more excuse of their erroze they affirme, that when the chyld in his youth is chastned, he runneth in daunger of his health. But the euil respect which the fathers haty to their chyldren, God suffereth after wards that they come to be so slaunderous to the common wealth, so infamous to their parents, so disobedient to their fathers, so euyl in their condicions, so vnaduised and light in their behauiour, so vnmeate for knowledge, so vncorrigible for discipline, so inclined to lies, so enuyeng the truth: that their fathers would not only haue punished them with sharpe correction: but also they woulde reioyce to haue them buryed with bytter teares. An other thyng ther is in this matter worthy to be noted, and much more worthy to be commended, that is, that the fathers and mothers vnder the couler that their chyldren should be somewhat gracious, they learne them to speake, to bable, & to be great mockers and scoffers, the which thing after wards redoundeth to the great infamye and dishonour of the father, to the great peril of the sonne, and to the greatest grieve and displeasure of the mother. For the child which is brought vp wantonly without doctrine in his youth: of necessity must be a foole when he is old. If this which I haue sayd be euil, this which I wil say is worse: that the fathers, and mothers, the gouernours, or nources, do teach them to speake dishonest things, the which are not lawoful, and therfore ought not to be suffered to be spoken in that tender age: nor the grauitie of the auncients ought not to lytten vnto them. For there are no men (vnlesse they be shamelesse) that wil permit their children to be great bablers. Those which haue charge to gouerne good mens children ought to be very circumspect, & they kepe them in awe, feare & subiection, & that they ought not to be contented, though the fathers say they are pleased. For the disordinate loue that the fathers haue to them, is the cause that they cannot se whether they be mockers or euil brought vp. And if it chaunced (as oft times it doth) & the father shold come to the maister to cause him to withdraue correction, in this case, if the maister be a wise mā, he ought no lesse to reprove & admonish the father: then to correct the sonne. And if this did not auaille, I counceel him to forsake and leaue his charge. For the man of an honest nature, after he hath taken anye charge in hand, wil eyther bring it to passe, or els he wil dye in the same. I wyl not denye, but that it is reason noble mennes sonnes be more gently brought vp, handled, and honoured, then the sonnes of the Plebeiens: for more delicately is the palme tree, which bringeth forth dates, cherished: then the oke which bringeth forth Akornes, wherewith the hogges are nourished. Let princes and great lordes beware, that the pleasures which they gaue their childze in theyr youthe, be not so excessyue, nor of soo longe continuance: that

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that when they would withdraw them, the world hath not alreedy festered them. for the children brought vp with to much delicatenesse, are disobedient to their fathers and mothers, or els they are sicke in their bodres, or worse then that, they are vicious in their behauiours: so that their fathers shold be better to burie theym quicke, then to bring them vp vicious.

That princes and greete Lordes oughte to be carefull in seking wyse men to byring vp their chyldren. Of. r. conditions that good Schole maisters ought to haue. Cap. rrrliii.

When he that is without end, gaue beginning to the world, in this sort he beganne. The Sonday he created heauen and earth, The Mondaye he created the element, the Tuesday he created the Planettes, the Wednesday he created the Sonne and the Mone, the Thursday he created the birdes in the ayre, and the fishes in the sea, the fryday he created Adam and Eue hys wife, and truly in that he created, and how he created, hee shewed himselfe as God. For as sone as the house was made, he furnished & peopled it with that that was necessarie, as he could wel do. Omitting therfore the creator, and talking of creatures: we se by experience, that a householder in planting a vineyarde, immediatly maketh a hedge, to the ende that the beasts do not hurt it, and eate it vp. And when it is wel growen he hyreth some poore labourer to watche, that trauailers do not gather nor eate the grapes therof. The rich man that traffiqueth by sea, after he hath made a great shippe, and bestowed vi. or vii. thousand ducates, if he be wise, he wil first prouide a man that may gouerne her, before he wil seke marchaundise for to fraite her: for in perillous tempestes the greatnes of the shippe lytel auayleth, if the pilot therof be not expert. The householder that hath many cowes and shepe, and likewise hath faire felde, and pleasaunt pastures for his cattel, doth not onely seke herdmen to kepe the cattell, but also dogges to feare the wolfe, and cabannes to lodge the herdmen. For the cabanne of the shepherdes, and the baying of the dogge, is but as a safegard of the shepe, from the raueninge of the wolfe. The mightie and valiaunte princes whiche in the frontiers of their enemyes kepe strong fortresses, seke alwayes stout and hardy captaynes to defend their walles: for other wise it were better the fort shold be battered to the ground, then it should come into the power of the enemyes. By the comparisons aboue named, ther is no discreat man but doth vnderstand to what end my penne doth write them: that is: to know to kepe, and proue, how that men which loue their children wel (adding this vnto it) haue great neade of good maisters and gouernours, to teache and bring them vp. For whyles y palme tre is but litle, a frost doth easely destroy it. I meane whyles y child is yonge if he haue no tutour: he is easely deceiued with the world. If the lord be wise, and of vnderstanding, there is no fortreffe so esteemed, neyther ship so fayre, nor herd so profitable, nor byne so fruitful, but that he better esteemeth to haue a good sonne then al these thinges toget her, or any other thing in the world. For the father ought to loue his childe as his owne proper: and al residue as giftes of fortune. If it be so (as it is in deade) since that for to keape and watche the herd they seake a good shepherde, if for the vine they seake a good labourer, if for to gouerne the shippe they seake a good maister,

maister, and for to defend a fort they seke a good captayne: why then wil not the wise fathers seke for good maisters, to teach & bring vp their chyldren? O princes and great lords, I haue now told you, and agayne do say, that if you trauaile one yere to leaue your chyldren goodes: you ought to sweate 50 yeres to leaue them wel brought vp. For it anayleth lytle to carye much corne to the myl: if the myl be out of frame. I meane that in bayne riches and treasurs are gathered: when the child that shal inherite them, hath not witte to vse them. It is no smal matter to know how to choose good gouernours. For the prince is sage, that fyndeth such a one: and much more happie is he, that of him shal be taught. For in my opynyō, it is no smal charg for one man to bring vp a Prince that shal gouerne manye. As Seneca sayth, the wise man ought to conferre al thinges with his frend, but first he ought to know who he is that is his frend. I meane, that the wise father oughte for his children to seke one good maister, and to him he should recomende them al: but first he ought to know what he is. For that man is very simple which wil bye a horse, before he se & proue him, whether he be hole or lame. He ought to haue many and good condicions and qualytes, that shoulde bring vp the children of princes and great lordes: for by one way they nourishe the tender trees in the orchard, & after another sort they plant the wild trees in the mountaynes. Therfore the case shalbe this, that we wil declare here what condicions, and behauiours the maisters and gouernours of noble mens sonnes ought to haue, which may bring them to honour, and their disciples to be wel taught & brought vp. For the glozy of the disciple, alwaies redoundeth to the honour and praise of his mayster.

The first condicion is, that he which ought to be tutor to noble mens sonnes, shold be no lesse then 40. yeres of age, & no more then 60 because the maister y is yong, is ashamed to comaund, & if he be aged he is not able to correct.

The 2. it is necessary that tutors be very honest, & that not only in purenes of conscience: but also in the outward apparance, and cleanes of lyfe. For it is vnpossible that the child be honest, if the mayster be dissolute,

The 3. it is necessary that tutors and gouernours of princes and great lordes, be true men, not only in their wordes: but also in their couenauntes. For to say the truth, that mouth which is alwaies ful of lyes, ought not by reason to be a teacher of the truth.

The 4. condicion, it is necessary y the gouernours of princes & great lordes (of their owne nature) be liberall: for oft tymes the greate couetousnes of maisters, maketh the harts of princes to be greedy and couetous.

The 5. it is necessary that the maisters and gouernours of princes, & great lords, be moderate in wordes & very resolute in sentences: so that they ought to teach the children to speake litle, & to harken much. For it is the cheifest vertue in a prince, to heare with patience, and to speake wyth wisdom.

The 6. condicion is, it is necessary that the maysters and gouernours of princes and great lordes be wise men, and temperate: so that the grauitye of the mayster, maye restrayne the lyghtnes of the Schollers, for there is no greater plagues in Realmes, then for princes to be yong, and their maisters to be lyght.

The 7. it is necessarye that the maisters and tutors of princes and greate
lordes

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lords, be wel learned in diuinity, and humanitie, in such sort that that which they teach the princes by word, they may shew it by writing, to the end that other princes may crecute and put the same in vze: for mens harts are sooner moued by the examples of those which are past, then by the words of them that are present.

The 8. condicion, it is necessarie that the maisters and tutors of princes be not giuen to the vice of the flesh: for as they are yong, and naturallie giuen to the flesh, so they haue no strength to abide chaste, neyther wisdom to beware of the snares. Therefore it is necessarie that they maisters be pure and honeste: for the Dysciples shall neuer bee chaste, if the mayster bee vicious.

The 9. it is necessary that the masters and tutors of Princes, and greate lords, haue good condicions, bycause the children of noble men (being daintely brought vp) alwayes learne euill condicions, the which their maisters ought to refoyme, more by good conuersacion, then by sharpe correction. For oftentimes it chaunceth, that whereas the maister is cruel, the scholer is not merciful.

The 10. it is necessary that the maisters and tutors of pynces, and great lordes, haue not only sene and red many things: but also that they haue proued chaungeable fortune. For since noble mens sonnes (by the gift of god) haue great estates, they ought therfore to prouide to speake to many, to answer to many, and to entreat with many, and it is very profitable for them to be conuersant with expert men, for in the end, the approued mā in counsell hath preheminance. I was willyng to bringe in these rules in my writing, to the end that fathers may kepe them in their memozy, when they do seke maysters to teach their children: for in my opinyon, the father is more in fault to seke an euill maister, then the maister is to make an euill scholer. For if I choose euill taylers to cut my gowne, it is my fault that the cloth is lost, and my gowne marred. Albeit the Romaines were in al their doings circumspect, yet for this one thinge, I must enuy the good doctrine which they gaue to noble mens children. For wythout doubt, it is vnpossible that in any city there be a good common wealth, vnlesse they are very circumspect to bring vp yong children. Sabellicus in his raplodies sayth, that in the 415 yeres of the foundation of Rome, Quintus Seruilius, and Lucius Geminus then consules, being in the warre against the Volces the stout aduenturous captaine Camillus, there rose a great strife, and contencion in Rome amongst the people, and the knights: and that contencion was vpon the prouision of offyces. For in great common wealthes it hath bene an aunciente quarell, that in knights and gentlemen there surmounteth pride in commaundynge: and amonge the people ther wanteth pacience in obeyinge.

The knightes and gentlemen would they should chose a Tribune Militare in the senate, to speake in the name of al the knyghtes, that were absent and present: for they sayd, that sence they were alwayes at the warre, the whole common wealth remained in the power of the people. The commons on the other part importuned, and desired, that a new officer should be created, the whych should haue the charge to examine and take accompt how the youth of Rome were brought vp: bycause the comon people did accuse the knightes,

knights, & gentlemen, that the longer they remained in the warres, the more sensuallie their chyldren lyued in Rome. It was decreed then, that a Tribune Militaire should be erected, the which in auctoritie and dignitie should be equal with the senators, & that he should represente the state of warlike knights: but that office continued no longer then foure yeres in Rome (that is to wete) til the time y^e Camillus returned from the warres. For thinges that are grounded of no reason, of them selues they come to nought. All the knights & gentlemen sought to the vttermost of their power, to maintaine their preheminence: & on the other side al the cominalty of Rome was against it. In y^e end, the good capitaine Camillus called al the knights & gentlemen to gethers and sayd vnto them these words. I am greatly ashamed, to se that the stoutnes should be so lytle of the Romaine knights, that they should cōdiscend to the wil of the Plebians: for in dede the myghty do not get so much honour, to ouercome the lytle: as the lytle do to striue with the great. I say y^e the strife & debate amongst you in Rome, doth displease me muche: therfore (you knights) if you wil not lose your honours, you must eyther kil them, or ouercome them. You cannot ouercome them, bycause they are many: & kyll them you ought not, for in the end they are yourres, & therfore ther is no better remedy then to dissemble with theym. For thinges which suffer no force, nor obserue not iustyce, ought alwayes (vntil conuenient time) to be dissembled. The immortal gods did not create Romaine knights to gouerne people: but to conquere Realmes. And I say further, that they dyd not create vs to teach lawes to oures: but to giue lawes to straungers. And if we be the chyldren of our fathers, & imitators of the auncient Romanes: we wil not content our selues to commaund in Rome, but to commaund those which do commaund in Rome. For the hart of a true Romaine: doth lytle esteame to se himselfe lord of this world: if he know that ther is another to conquere. You others did creat this Tribune Militaire, we being in the warre: whereof now theris no necessitie, since we are in peace. And the cause whye I was willing ther should be none in the common wealth, was for that ther was not riches in Rome sufficient to acquite the desarts of the Romaine chualtry. And if you esteeme, an honorable office, to be a Tribune Militaire: since you cannot al haue it, me thinketh you shold al want it. For amonge y^e noble men & Plebeians it is not mete, that one alone should enioy that, which many haue deserued. This history Sabellicus declareth, & allegeth Pulio for his auctor, & reciteth, that for this good worke that Camillus did in Rome (that is to wete) to set the great & the smal at one: he was aswel beloued of y^e romaines, as he was feared of the enemies. And not without a iust cause: for in my opinyon it is a greater vertue to pacify his owne, then to robbe straungers. As touching the office of this Tribune, wherupon this great cōtencion rose in Rome I cannot tel which was greater, the folish rashnes of the knights to procure it, or the wisdom of Camillus to abbolish it. For to say the truthe, the arte of chualtrie was inuented more to defend the common wealth: then to byde at home, & haue the charge of iustice. For to the good knight it semeth better to be loden wth weapōs to resist enemyes: then to be enuyroned with bokes to determyne causes. Returning therfore to that whych the people sayd against the souldiours, it was ordayned (by the consent of al) that in Rome an office

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should be erected, and that he which should haue it, should haue the charge to go through Rome, to se what they were in Rome, that did not instruct their childzen in good doctrine: and if perchance he found any neighbours child that was euyl taught, he chastised and banished the father. And truly that punishment was very iust, for the father deserueth more punishment, for he doth therunto consent: then the child deserueth more the offences which he doth commit. When Rome was Rome, & that of al the world the common wealth therof was comended, they chose for an officer therein y^e most auncient & vertuous Romaine, who was called the general vsiter of the childre of Rome: & it semeth to be true, for somuch as he whych had this office one yere, hoped to be consul, Dictatour, or censo^r the next. As it appeareth by Marcus Porcio, who desired to be corrector of the childre: & afterwards succeeded to be censo^r of the Romaine people. For the Romaynes dyd not offer the office of iustice to any man, vnlesse he had had experience of al offices. Patricius Senensis in the booke of the common wealth saith, that before the warres were betwene Carthage & Rome, the comon wealth of Carthage was very wel gouerned, & as it be seined such a noble citie: but it is an auncient p^reuiledge of the warre, that it killeth the persones, consumeth the goods, & aboue al, engend^reth a new passion & miserie: & in the end destroyeth al good aunciente customes.

The Carthagians therefore had a custome, that the chyliden, and especialy those which were of honest men, should be put in the temples from iii. yeres, tyl. xii. & so from. xii. til. xx. they learned crafts, sciences, & occupacions, and from. xx. vntil. xxx. they instructed them in y^e feates of warre: & at the end of xxx. yeres they gaue themselves to marriage. For amongest them it was a law inuolable, that no man shold mary vntil he were xxx. yeres of age: & the women xxx. And after that they were married, the moneth folowing they ought to present themselves before the Senate, & ther to chose what kind of estate they would take vpon them to liue in, and what their minds most desired (that is to wete) if they would serue in the Temples, folow the warre, or trauiayle the seas, or get their lyuing by land, or follow their occupation which they had learned. And loke what estate or office that day they chose, the same they kept & occupied during their lyfe: & truly the law was very good, by cause such chaunge of estates & offices in the world, are occasion that presently so many come to destruction. All the excellent and auncient Princes had many great philosophers for their masters: & this seemeth to be true by this, that kyng Darius had Lichanius the philosopher for his mayster. The greate Alexander had Aristotel the philosopher for hys master. Kinge Artaxerces had Pindarus the philosopher for his mayster. The aduenturous and hardye captain of the Athenians Palemo had Xenocrates the philosopher for his master. Xemiades (only kyng of the Corinthians) had Chilo the philosopher for hys mayster and tutour to hys chyliden.

Epamynundes, prince of the Thebaines, had for his maister and counselloure Maruchus the philosopher.

Vlisses the Greke (as Homere sayth) had for his mayster and companyon in hys trauiayles, Catinus the philosopher.

Pirrus (whych was kyng of the Epirotes, and greate defendoure of the Tharentines)

Tharentines) had for hys maister and chronicler, Arthemius the philosopher. Of whom Cicero speaketh ad atticum, that his sword was sharper to fighte, then his penne ready to write. The great kyng Ptholomeus Philadelphus was not onely scholer of the most singuler Philosopheres of Grece: but also after he was king, he sent for 72. philosopheres wyche were Hebrues. Cyrus kyng of the Persians, that destroyed the great Babylon, had for his mayster Pristicus the Philosopher. Traian the Emperour had Plutarche for hys mayster, who dyd not only teach hym in hys youth: but also wrote him a booke, how he ought to gouerne hym selfe & his common wealth. By these few examles which I haue expressed, and by many other whych I omit, Princes at this present may se, how carefull princes were in tymes past, to geue their chyldren wyse and learned men. O pynces and great lordes, synce you that are at thys present, do presume and take vypon you that wyche your forefathers dyd: I would that now you would consyder, who brought them to so high estate, and who leaueth of them eternal memory. For wythout doubt noble men neuer wanne renowne, for the pleasures they had in vyces, but for the trauailes they had in vertues. Againe I say, that princes in tymes past were not famous for theyr stoutnes, and apt dysposicion of theyr bodyes, neyther for discent of hygh and noble lynage, nor yet for the possession of many realmes: or heaping vp of great treasours: but they waine & obtayned immortall renowne, for that their fathers in theyr youth put them vnder the tuition of wise and learned tutours, whych taught them good doctrine, & when they were of age gaue them good counsaylers to gouerne the common wealth. Laertius in hys lyfe of the philosopheres, & Boccase in the booke of hys lynage of godds say, That among the philosopheres of Athens there was a custome, that no straung philosopher should reade in their scholes, before he weare first examyned in natural and moral philosophy: for amonge the Grekes it was an aunyent prouerbe, that in the schole of Athens no vycious man could enter, nor idle word be spoken, neither they dyd consent that any ignorant philosopher should come in to read there. As by chaunce many philosopheres were come from the mount Olympus, amongst the residue ther was one came to se the philosopheres of Athens, who was natife of Thebes, a man (as afterwards he declared him selfe) in mortal & natural Philosophy very wel learned: and since he desired to remayne in Athens, he was examined, and of many and dryuers thyngs demaunded. And amongst the others these folowing were some of them.

Firste they asked him, what causeth women to be so frowarde, since it is true that nature made them shamefast, and created them simple: the Philosopher aunswered. A woman is not frowarde, but bycause she hath too much her wil, and wanteth shame.

Secondarily they asked him why yong men are vndone? he aunswered: bycause time aboundeth them for to do euil, and maysters wanteth to enforce them to do good.

Thirde they asked him, why are wise men deceyued as wel as the simple? he aunswered. The wise man is neuer deceyued, but by him that vseth faire words, and hath euil condicions.

Forthly they asked him, of whom men ought most to beware? he aunswered

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That ther is to a man no greater enemy, then he which seeth that thing in the, which he desireth to haue in him selfe.

Fifthly they asked him, why many princes beginne wel and end euil: he answered: princes begin wel, bycause their nature is good: & they end euil, bycause no man doth gaine say them.

Sixtly they asked him, why do princes comit such follies? he answered: Bicause flatterers aboundeth that deceiue them: & true men wanteth which should serue them.

Seuenthy they asked him, why the auncients were so sage, & men at thys present so simple? he answered. Bycause the auncients did not procure but to know, & they present do not trauaile but for to haue.

Eighthly they asked him, why so many vyces were nourished in the pallace of princes? he answered. Bycause pleasures abound, and counsell wanteth. The ninth, they asked him, why the most part of mē liued without rest, & few without paine? he answered. No man is more without, & suffereth more paine: the he which dieth for the goods of another, & litle esteemeth his owne.

The tenth they asked him wherby they myght know the common wealth to be vndone: he answered. There is no comon wealth vndone, but where the yong are light, and the old vicious.

The xi. they asked him wherwith the comon wealth is mainteyned? he answered. The common wealth cannot decay, wher iustice remaineth for the poore, punishment for the tiraunts, weight and measure plentiful: & chesely, if ther be good doctrine for the yong, & lytle couetousnes in the old. Affro the historiographers declareth this in y^e booke De rebus attheniensium. Truly in my opinion the words of this philosopher were few, but the sentences were many. And for none other cause I dyd bring in this history, but to profite me of the last word, wherin for answered he saith, that al the profite of the commō wealth consisteth, in that ther be princes that restrayne the auarice of the aged: & that there be maisters to teach the youthful. We se by experience, that if the brute beasts were not tied, & the corne & seedes compassed with hedges or ditches, a man should neuer gather the fruite when they are ripe. I meane, y^e strife & debate wil rise continually amonge the people, if the yonge men haue not good fathers to correct them, & wise maisters to teach them. We canot deny, but though the knife be made of fyne Steele, yet sometimes it hath nede to be whet: & so in lyke maner the yong man, during the time of his youth, though he do not deserue it, yet from time to time he ought to be corrected. O princes & great lords, I know not of whom you take counsell when your sonne is borne, to proude him of a maister & gouernour, whom you chose not as the most vertuous, but as the most richest: not as the most sagest, but as the most vile & euil taught. Finally, you do not trust him wryth your children that best deserueth it: but y^e most procureth it. Againe I say, O princes & great lords, why do you not withdraw your childre from their hands which haue their eyes more to their owne profite the their harts vnto your seruice. For such to enrich themselves, do bring by princes viciouly. Let not princes thinke y^e it is a trifle to know, how to find & chose a good master: & the lord which herein doth not employ his diligence, is worthy of great rebuke, And because they shal not pretend ignoraunce, let them beware of that
man

man whose life is suspicious, and extreame couetous. In my opinion, in the palace of princes the office of tutorship ought not to be geuen as other comon offices, that is to wete, by requestes or money, by priuities or importunities, eyther els for recompence of seruices: for it foloweth not though a man hath ben imbassadour in straunge realmes, or captaine of great armies in warre, or that he hath possessed in the roial palace offices of honour, or of esteemacio that therfore he should be able to teach, or bring vp their children. For to be a good captayne, sufficeth only to be hardy, and fortunate: but for to be a tutor, and gouernour of princes, he ought to be both sage, and vertuous.

Of the ii. children of Marcus Aurelius the Emperour, of the which the best beloued dyed. And of the maisters he prouided for the other named Comodus, Chap. rrrv.

Marcus Aurelius the xviij. Emperour of Rome, in y time that he was married with Faustine, only doughter of the Emperour Antonius Pius, had only ii. sonnes, wherof the eldest was Comodus and the second Verissimus. Of these ii. chyldren the heyre was Comodus, who was so wycked in the 12 yeres he gouerned the empire: that he semed rather the disciple of Nero y cruel, then to descend by the mothers syde: from Anthonius the mercifull, or sonne of Marcus Aurelius. This wicked chylde Comodus was so light in speach, so dishonest in parson, & so cruel with his people: that oft tymes (he being aliue) they layed wagers that ther was not one vertue in him to be found, nor any one vyce in him that wanted. On the contrary part the second sonne named Verissimus, was comely of gesture, proper of personne, & in witte verie temperate: & the most of al was, that by his good conuersacion of al he was beloued. For the faire and vertuous princes by theyr beauty draweth vnto them mens eyes: & by their good conuersacion they winne their hartes. The chylde Verissimus was the hope of the comon people, & the glory of his aged father: so that the Emperour determined y this chylde Verissimus shold be heyre of the Empire, and that the prince Comodus shold be disherited. Wherat no man ought to maruaile, for it is but iust since the chylde doth not amend hys lyfe: that the father do disinherit him. When good wil doth want, and vicious pleasures abound: the children oft tymes by peruerse fortune come to nought. So this Marcus Aurelius being 52. yeres old, by chaunce this chylde Verissimus (which was the glory of Rome, & the hope of the father) at y gate of Hostia, of a sodayne sicknes dyed. The death of whom was as vniuersally lamented: as his lyfe of al men was desired. It was a pitiful thyng to see, how wofully the father toke the death of his intierly beloued son: & no lesse lametable to behold how the senat toke the death of their prince, beinge the heire. For the aged father for sorow did not go to the Senate: and the senat for few daies enclosed themselues in the high Capitol. And let no man meruaile, though the death of this yong prince was so taken through Rome: for if men knew what they lose when they lose a vertuous prince, they would neuer cease to bewaile and lament hys death. When a knight, a gentleman, a squire, an offyccer, or when any of the people dyeth, ther dyeth but one: but when a prince dieth, which was good for all, and that he lyued to the profit of all

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of al, then they ought to make account that al do dye, & they ought al greatly to lament it. For oft times it chaunseth, that after ii. or iii. good Princes, a foule flocke of tyrants succedeth. Therfore Marcus Aurelius the Emperour, as a man of great vnderstanding, and of a princely parsonne, though the inward sorow from the rootes of the hart could not be plucked: yet he determined to dissemble outwardly, and to burie his greues inwardly.

For to say the truth, none ought (for any thing) to shew extreame sorow: vnlesse it be that he hath lost his honour, or that his conscience is burdened. The good prince as one that hath his vineyard frozen, wherein was al hys hope, contented with him selfe with that whych remaineth, his so derely beloued sonne being dead: & commaunded the prince Comodus to be brought into his pallace, being his only heyre. Iulius Capitolinus, whych was one of those y^e wrote of the tyme of Marcus Aurelius sayd vpon this matter, that when the father saw the disordinate fraplenes, and lightnes, and also the litle shame whych the prince Comodus his sonne brought with him: the aged man began to weape, and shed teares from his eyes. And it was, bycause the symplenens and vertues of his deare beloued sonne Verissimus came into hys mynd. Though this Emperour Marcus, for the death of hys sonne was very sorowful: yet notwithstanding this he prouided, how his other sonne Comodus should be gouerned, & this before that eyther of age or body he wer greater. For we cannot deny, but when Princes are mē, they wil be such as in their youth they haue bene brought vp. The good father therfore knowing y^e the euil inclinacions of his sonne should do him damage, & the empire in like manner: he sent throughout al Italy, for the most sagest & expert men, to be gouernours & Tutors of Comodus the prince. He made them seke for the most profoundest in learning, the most renowned of good fame, the most vertuous in dedes, and the most depest in vnderstandyng: for as the dust is not swept with fyne cloth, but wth drye broomes: so the lightnes & follies of yong mē are not remedied, but by the hard disciplyne of the aged. Thys commaundement being published and proclaimed in Rome, & the bruit scattered through Italye, there came and ranne thither dyuerse kinde of sages, whom he commaunded to be examyned. He being informed of the bloud of thier predicefours, of the age of their persones, of the gouernment of their houses, of the spendyng of their goodes, of their credit amongst their neighbours, of the sciences they knew, & aboue al, they were no lesse examined of the putenes of their lyues, then of the grauitie of their personnes: for ther are many men whych are graue in open wordes, & very light in secret works. Speakyng therfore more particularly, he commaunded they should examyne the Astronomers of Astronomy, the philosophers in philosophie, the mustines in musike: the Orators in oracions. And so forth of other sciences in order, wherein euery one sayd he was instructed. The good emperour was not so contented to do this once but sondry times, not al in one day, but in many, not only by an other man, but also by him selfe.

Finally they were al examyned, as if they had bene al one, and that y^e same one shold haue remayned & bene kept for al, to be only master & tutor of the young child and prince Comodus. To acquire a perfect knowledge, and to be
sure

sure not to erre in choyce of thinges, in my opinion is not onely required experience of him selfe, and a cleare vnderstanding: but also the aduise of an other. For the knowledge of thinges wholly together is easy: but the choyce of them particularly is harde. This thing is spoken because the good Emperour sent, and commaunded to chose gouernours and maisters of his children. Of many he choose fewe, and of fewe the most wyldest, of the most wyldest the most expert, of the most expert the best learned, of the best learned the most temperate, of the most temperate the most auncient, and of the most auncient the moste noble. Certainly such election is worthy prayse, because they be true maisters and teachers of princes, which are noble of blood, auncient in yeares, honeste in life, men of litle folly, and of great experience. According to the seuen liberal sciences, two maisters of euery one were chosen, so that the prince was but one, and the others were. xiiii. but this notwithstanding the workes of this prince Commodus were contrary to the expectation of his father Marcus Aurelius, because the intention of the good father was to teache his sonne all sciences: and the study of the sonne was to learne all vices. At the bruite of so great a thing as this was, that the Emperour sought to prouide tutors for the prince Commodus, and that they should not be those which were best fauoured, but those whiche were found the most wyldest: in shorte space there came so many philosophers to Rome, as if the deuine Plato had bene reuiued againe in Grece. Let vs not maruelle at all, if the sages desired the acquaintaunce & familiaritie of this good Emperour. For in the ende, there is no man so sage, nor so vertuous in this life, but sometime wylle seke after the fauours of the world. Since there were many sages, and that of those he chose but fourtene. It was necessary he should honestly and wisely dispatche and geue the others leaue, as did behoue him. And herein the good emperour shewed him selfe so wise, that shewing to some a mery countenance, to others speaking gently, and to others by a certaine hope, & to others by giftes & presentes, al the good company of the sages departed: & the good emperour dispatched them, not one being sad which departed, but very wel pleased. For it is not comely for the magnificence of a prince, that the man which cometh to his pallace only for his seruice, should returne murmuring, or without rewarde. This good emperour shewed him selfe sage to seke many sages, he shewed him selfe wise in the choice of some, & of a good vnderstanding in dispatching others, & in contenting the all. For as we see daily by experience, though the elections be good, commonly great affections thereupon engender. For those, for not being chosen are sorry, & to see the others chosen are shamefast. In such case likewise, let it not be esteemed litle to serche a good remedy. For the goldsmith oft tymes demaundeth more for the workmanship, then the siluer is worth: I meane, that sometime princes do deserue more honour for the good meanes they vse in their affaires: then for the good successesse wherunto it cometh. For the one aduenture guideth, but the other wisdom aduanceth. The good emperour not contented with this, prouided that those. xiiii. philosophers whiche should remaine in his pallace, should sitte at the table, and accompany his persone: the which thing he did, to see if their life wer conformable to their doctrine, & if their words did agree to their workes. For ther are many men, which are of a goodly tongue, & of a wicked life.

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Iulius Capitolinus, and Cinna Catullus, whiche were writers of this history say, that it was a wonder to see howe this good Emperour did marke them, to know if they were sober in feading, temperate in drinking, modest in going, occupied in studieng, and aboue all if they were very sage in speakynge, and honest in liuing. Would to God the princes of our tyme were in this case so diligent, and carefull: and that in committing in truste their affaires, they would not care more for one then for others. For speaking with due reuerence, there aboundeth no wysedome in that prince, whiche committeth a thing of importaunce to that man whom he knoweth not, whether he is able to byrnge it to passe or not. Many talke euill, and maruaile that princes and great lordes in so many thinges doe erre: and for the contrary I maruaile howe they hitte any at al. For if they committed their waightie affaires to skilfull men, though perhappes they erre once: yet they hitte it a hundred times, but when they committe their busines to ignoraunt men, if they hitte once, they misse a thousand times againe. In this case I say, there is nothing destropeth younge Princes more, then for that they committe not their affaires to their olde and faithfull seruantes: For in fine the vnfaigned loue is not, but in him that eateth the princes bread daily. It is but reason, that other princes take example by this prince to seke good maisters for their children: and if the maisters be good, and the schollers euill, then the fathers are blamelesse. For to princes and great lordes, it a great discharge of conscience, to see though their children be losse: yet it is not for want of doctrine, but for abundance of malice. The Romaine prince had a custome to celebrate the feast of the God Genius, who was God of their byrthe, and that feast was celebrated euery yeare once, whiche was kepte the same daye of the byrth of the Emperour, ioyfully throughout all Rome: for at this day al the pylsoners were pardoned, and deliuered out of the pylson Mamortina. Yet notwithstanding you ought to knowe, that if any had solwed sedition amonge the people, or had betrayed the armies, or robbed or done any mischief in their temples: those thre offences were neuer pardoned nor excused in Rome. Euen as in Christian religion the greatest othe is to sweare by God, so amongest the Romaines there was no greater othe, then to sweare by the God Genius. And since it was the greatest othe none could sweare it, but by the licence of the Senate: and that ought to be, betwixt the handes of the priestes of the God Genius. And if perchaunce suche an othe were taken of light occasion, he which sware it was in daunger of his life. For in Rome it was an auncient lawe, that no man should make any solempne othe, but that first they should demaunde licence of the Senate. The Romaines did not permitte, that lyers nor disceiuers should be credited by their othes: neither did they permitte them to sweare. For they said, that periured men doe both blaspheme the Gods and deceiue men. The aboue named Marcus Aurelius was borne the xxvii. day of Aprill, in Mounte Celio, in Rome. And as by chaunce they celebrated the feast of the God Genius, which was the daye of his birth, there came maisters offence, Iuglers, and common players, with other loyterers, to walke and solace them selues. For the Romaines in their greate feastes, occupied them selues al night in offring sacrifices to the gods, and after wardes they consumed all the day in pastimes. Those iuglers and
players

players shewed so much pastime, that all those which behelde them were prouoked to laughe, and the Romaines (to say the truth, were so earnest in matters of pastime, and also in other matters of weight that in the daye of pastimes no man was sadde, and in the time appointed for sadnes no man was mery. So that in publike affaires they vsed all to mourne, or els all to reioyce. Cinna Catullus saith, that this good Emperour was so welbeloued, that when he reioyced, all reioyced: and when the Romaine people made any great feast, he him selfe was there present, to make it of more authoritie, and shewed such mirth therein, as if he alone and none other had reioyced. For otherwyle if the prince loke sadly, no man dare shewe him selfe mery. The historiographers say of this good emperour, that in ioyfull feastes and triumphes they neuer saw him lesse mery, then was requisite for the feast: nor they euer sawe him so mery, that it exceded the grauitie of his persone. For the prince whiche in vertue presumeth to be excellent, ought neither in earnest matters to be heauy: nor in thinges of small importaunce to shewe him self light. As princes now a daies goe enuironned with menne of armes: so did then the good Emperour go accompanied with sage philosophers. Yea and more then that, which ought most to be noted, is that in the dayes of feastes & pleasures, the princes at this present goe accompanied with hongry flatterers: but this noble Emperour went accompanied with wise men. For the prince that vseth him selfe with good company, shall alwayes auoyde the euil talke of the people. Sextus Cheronensis saith, that a Senatour called Fabius Patroclus, seing that the Emperour Marcus went alwaies to the Senate and Theaters, accompanied and enuironned with sages: saide one daye to him merily. I pray thee (my lord) tell me, why thou goest not to the Theater, as to the Theater, & to the Senate, as to the Senate. For to the Senate Sages ought to go to geue vs good counsell: and to the Theaters, fooles to make vs pastime. To this the good Emperour answered: my frend, I saye thou art much deceaued. For to the sacred Senate, wherein there are so many sages, I would leade all the fooles to the ende they might become wise: and to the Theaters where all the fooles are, I would bring the sages, to the ende to teache them wisdom. Truly this sentence was fit for him that spake it. I admonishe princes and great lordes, that in steade to kepe company with fooles, flatterers, & parasites, they prouide to haue about them wise and sage men, in especially if the fooles be malicious: for the noble hartes with one malicious worde are more offended: then if they were with a venemous arrow wounded. Therfore returning to our matter, as the emperour was in the feast of the god Genius, & that with him also were the.iiii. sage philosophers, (maisters of the prince Comodus) a iugler more conning then al the rest, shewed sondry trickes, as comonly such vaine loiterers are wont to doe. For he that in like vanities sheweth most pastime, is of the people most beloued. As Marcus Aurelius was sage: so he set his eyes more to beholde these.iiii. maisters, then he did stay at the lightnes of the fooles. And by chaunce he espied that fve of those laughed so inordinatly at the folly of these fooles, that they clapt their hands, they bet their feete, & lost the grauitie of sages by their inordinat laughter: the which was a very vncomly thing in such graue persons. For the honest modestie of the body, is a great witnes of the wisdom and grauitie

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grauitie of the mynde. The lightnes and inconstancie of the sages sene by
 y^e Emperour, and that al the graue Romaines were offended with them, he
 toke it heauely, as well to haue brought them thether: as to haue bene dis-
 ceined in electing them. Howe be it with his wysedom then he helped him
 selfe as muche as he coude, in not manifesting any grieve in his harte: but he
 dessembled and made as though he sawe them not. For sage princes muste
 nedes feale thinges as men, but they ought to dissemble them as discrete.
 The Emperour presently would not admonish them, nor before any reprove
 them, but he let the feast passe on, and also a fewe dayes after, the whiche
 being passed, the Emperour spake vnto them in secret, not telling them open-
 ly, wherein he shewed him selfe a mercifull prince: for open correction is vni-
 iuste, where secret admonition may take place. The thinges whiche Marcus
 Aurelius saide to those fve maisters, when he put them out of his house, he
 him selfe did wyte in the third booke and the first chapter, vnder the title
 Ad stultos pedagogos. And saide that he said vnto them these, and suche other
 like wordes.

Of the wordes whiche Marcus Aurelius spake to fve of the, xiiii maisters
 whiche he had chosen for the education of his sonne, and howe he sent them
 from his pallace for that they behaued them selues lightly at the feast of
 the God Genius. Chap. xxxvi.

My will was not, my frendes, to forsee that whiche can not be excused,
 nor I wyll not commaunde you that, whiche I ought not to com-
 maunde: but I desire that the gods of their grace doe remaine with
 me, and that with you the same iust gods may goe, and that likewyse from
 me, and from you, the vnlucky and vnforgunate chaunces may be withdra-
 wen. For the vnlucky man were better be with the dead: then remayne here
 with the liuing. Since that now I had receiued you, and with great dili-
 gence sought you, to that ende you should be tutors to my sonne (the prince
 Commodus) I proteste to the immortall gods, that I am soyy, and that of your
 shame I am ashamed, and that of your paine, the greatest part is mine. And
 it can be no otherwyse, for in the worlde there shoulde be no frendship so
 streight, that a man therefore shoulde put his good name in daunger. The
 sages that I haue sought, were not provided onely to learne the prince Co-
 modus: but also to refourme al those that liued euill in my pallace. And now
 I see the contrary, for where I thought the fooles shoulde haue bene made
 wyse, I see that those that were wyse, are become fooles. Knowe you not
 that the fine golde defendeth his purenes among the burning cooles? and
 that the man endued with wysedom, sheweth hym selfe wyse, yea in the
 middest of many fooles? For truely as the golde in the fire is proued: so a-
 mong the lightenes of fooles, is the wysedome of the wyse discerned. Doe not
 you knowe, that the sage is not knowen among the sages, nor the foole a-
 mong the fooles? but that amonge fooles wyse men doe shyne, and that a-
 monge the sages fooles are darkened: for there the wyse sheweth his wyse-
 dome, and the foole sheweth his folly. Doe not you knowe that in the sore
 woundes, the surgian sheweth his cunning, and that in the daungerous di-
 seases, the phisition sheweth his science? And that in the doubtful battailes
 the captaine sheweth his stoutnes, and that in the boysterous stormes, the
 maister

maister sheweth his experience? So in like maner the sage man, in that place where there is great ioye, and solace of people, ought to shewe his wisdom and discretion. Do not you know that of a moderate witte, there proceedeth a cleare vnderstandinge, a sharpe memozy, a graue persone, a quiet minde, a good name, and aboue all, a temperate tongue? For he only ought to be called wyse, who is discrete in his workes, and resolute in his wordes. Doe not you knowe that it litle auailleth to haue the tongue experte, the memozy liuely, the vnderstanding cleare, to haue great science, to haue profounde eloquence, a swete style, and ample experience, if with all these thinges you be as maisters, and in your workes as wicked men? certainly it is a great dishonour to a vertuous emperour, that he should haue for maisters of young princes, those which are schollers of vaine Jugglers. Doe not you know, that if all the men of this worlde are bounde to leade a good life, that those which presume to haue science, are muche more bounde then others are, whiche by their eloquence presume to confounde the worlde? For it is a rule certayne, that alwayes euill workes take awaye the credit from good wordes. And to the ende it seame not vnto you that I speake of fauour, I wyll byynge here into your memozy an auncient lawe of Rome, the whiche was made in the tyme of Cinna, whiche saide: We ordeine and commaunde, that more greauous punishment be geuen vnto the sage for one folly onely committed by him openly: then to the simple man for a greater offence committed secretly. A iuste, & very iust law: A iust, and happy Romaines, I saye vnto all those that togethers did finde, & ordeine the law. For the simple man slepyth but one man with his swerde of wrath: but the sage killeth many by the euil example of his life. For (according to the sayng of the deuine Plato) the princes and sage sinne more by the euil examples whiche they geue: then in the faulte and offence that they committe. All the aunciente wyters affirme, that the triumphant Rome neuer began to decay, vntil the Senate was replenished with sage serpentis, and destitute of simple doves. For in the ende there is nothing that soner destroyeth princes, then thinking to haue about them wyse men, that should counsell them: when in dede they are malicious, that seke to deceiue them. What a thing was in olde time, to see the pollicie of Rome, before that Sylla and Marius did alter it, before that Catilina and Cassius did trouble it, before that Iulius Caesar and Pompeius slaundered it, before that Augustus and Marcus Antonius destroyed it, before that Tiberius and Caligula did defame it, and before that Nero and Domician did corrupt it? For the most parte of these, though they were valiaunt & wan many Realmes: yet notwithstanding the vices whiche they brought vs, were more then the Realmes they wanne vs. And the worst of all is, that al our kingdomes are losse, and our vices abide still. If Liuius and the other historiographers doe not deceiue vs, in olde time they might haue sene in the sacret Senate, some Romaines so auncient, with heeres so honozable, others so expert men, others aged so modest, that it was a wonder to see the maiestie they did represente, and a comforte to heare that which they sayde. I speake not that without teares whiche I wyll saye, that in steade of these auncient aged personnes, there sprange vp other younge bablers, the whiche are suche, and so manye, that all the common wealthe is altered, and Rome her selfe slaundered.

For

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For that lande is cursed, and with muche miserie compassed: where the gouernance of the young is so euil, that al wyse for the reuiving of the dead. If we credite that which the auncientes wrote, we cannot deny, but that Rome was the mother of all good worke, as the auncient Grece was the beginner of all sciences. So that the effect of the Grekes was to speake, & the glory of the Romaines was to worke. But now, through our wofull destenies, it is all contrary: for Grece hath banished from it all the speakers to Rome, and Rome hath banished from it all the sages to Grece. And if it be so (as it is in dede) I had rather be banished to Grece with the sages: then to take parte with Rome among the fooles. By the faith of a Christian I sweare vnto you (my frendes) & I being young, sawe an Oratour in Rome which was brought by in the pallace of Adrian my Lorde, whose name was Aristonocus: of his body he was of meane stature, leane of face, & also he was of an vnknown countrey, but he had such a pleasaunt tongue, that though he had made an oration in the senate of thre houres long, there was no mā but willingly was desirous to heare him. For in the old time, if he that made an Oration in the Senate were eloquent in his speache, he was heard no lesse, then if God Apollo had spoken him selfe. This philosopher Aristonocus was on the one parte so gentle in his speache, and on the other parte so dissolute in his life: that he neuer spake worde to the Senate, but it deserued eternall memory: and out of that place they neuer sawe him do good worke, but it merited greuous punishment. As I haue sayed, though in that tyme I was young, yet I remember, that to see this philosopher so losse, all the people did pitie, and the worst of all was, that they neuer hoped of his amende-ment, since daily more and more he losse his honour. For there is no man, that by his eloquence may haue suche renowne: but in the ende he may lose it againe by his euil lyfe. Now I aske you, my frends, sithe you are in the reputation of sages, which was better, or to saye better, whiche had bene lesse enuid: that this philosopher had bene a simple man, and of good life: then to be (as he was) a man of high eloquence, and of euill condition. It was vnpossible, if he had once heard of me that, whiche many times I haue hearde say of him, that he had not counsayled me, yea and futher to doe it he had constrained me, rather to chose the graue, then to lyue in Rome with infamy. For he is vnworthy to lyue amongest men, whose wordes of all are approued, and his workes of all condemned. The first Dictatour in Rome was Largius, and the first lordes of the knightes, was Spurius. And from the tyme of the first Dictatour, vntill the tyme of Silla and Iulius (whiche were the first tyrantes) were foure hundred, and fiftie yeares. In the whiche space, we neuer redde that any Philosopher spake any bayne wordes, nor yet committed any sleaunders deades. And if Rome had done any other wyse, it had bene vnworthy of suche prayse and estimation as it had: for it is vnpossible that the people be well gouerned, if the Sages whiche gouerne them, are in their liues dissolute. I protest to the immortall Gods, & sweare by the faith of a Christian, that when I consider that whiche at this present with myne eyes I see: I can not but sighe for that that is past, and wepe for that which is present. That is to wete, to see then howe the armie fought, to see howe the younge men trauayled to be good, to see howe well princes gouerned, to
see the

se the obedience of the people. and aboue all, it was a merueilous thing to see the libertie and fauour whych the Sages had: and the subiection and small estimation that the simple were in. And now by our euil fortune, we see the contrary in our woful time, so that I cannot tell, whither first I should bewaile the vertues and noblenes of them that are past, or the vices & infamies of these whych are present. For we neuer ought to cease from praysinge the goodnes of the good: nor to cease from reprovynge the wyckednes of the euill. O that I had bene in that glorious worlde, to se so honorable and auncient sages, to gouerne in pleasure: and for the contrary what greife & payne, shame and dishonour is it, to se now so many dissolute sages, and so many yong and busy heades, the whych (as I haue sayd) doe destroye all Rome, and slaunder all Italy, and dishonour them selues. For the want of vertue whych in them aboundeth, endomageth the comon wealth: and the other vices wherewith they are replenished, corrupteth the people in such sorte, that y weale publyke is more dishonored through the dissolute life of them, then it is anoyed by the weapons of their enemies. I say agayn, and repete, my frendes that the prosperity of Rome endured. 400. and. xv. yeres, in the whych time there was a great maiestie of workes, and a marueilous simplicity of wordes, & aboue all, that the best that it had was, that it was rich of the good and vertuous men, and poore of euill and bitious loyterers. For in the end that citie cannot be called prosperous, whych hath in it many people: but that which hath in it few vices. Speakyng therfore more perticulerly, the cause that moued me to put you from me is, bycause in the day of the great feast of god Genius, you shewed (in the presence of the senate) your litle wisdom, and great folly: for so much as all men did behold more y lightnes of your parson, then they did the follies of the iuglers. If perchance you shewed your folly, to thentent men should thinke that you were familiar in my royal pallace, I tell you that the errour of your thought was no lesse, then the euil and example of your work: for no man ought to be so familiar with princes, but (whether it be in sporthe or in earnest) he ought to do him reuerence. Since I geue you leaue to departe, I know you had rather haue to helpe you in your iorney a litle money, then many councelles: but I will geue you both, that is to wete: mony for to bring you to your iournies end, and also counsels to the end you may lyue. And meruail not that I geue counsel to them, that haue an office to counsel others, for it chaunceth oftentimes that the phisition do cure the diseases of others, and yet in dede he knoweth not his owne. Let therfore the last word & counsell be when you shalbe in the seruices of princes and great lordes, that first you labour to be cousted honest, rather then wise. That they do chose you rather for quiet men: then for busy heades, and more for your fewe woordes, then for your much bablyng. For in the pallace of Princes, if the wise man be no more then wise, it is a great happe if he be moch esteemed, but if he be an honest man, he is beloued and wel taken of all.

That Princes and other noble men ought to ouer see the tutours of their children, least they conceale the secret faultes of their scollers. Chap xxxviii.

V We haue before reherfed what conditions, what age, and what grauity maisters ought to haue, which should bring vp the children of Princes. Now reason would we shold declare, what the counsels should be that

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princes shold geue to the maysters, and tutours of their children, befoze they ought to geue them any charge. And after that it is mete we declare, what the counsell shalbe whyche the mayster shall geue to hys dysciple, haung the gouernement of hym.

For it is vnpossible ther should happen any misfortune: wher tyme counsell is euer present. It shal seame vnto those þ̄ shal profoundly consider this matter, þ̄ it is a superfluous thing to treat of these thinges: for either princes chose þ̄ good, or els they chose þ̄ euil. If they chose not good maisters, they labour in vaine to geue the good counsell: for the folish maister is lesse capable of counsell, the the dysolute scoler of holisome admonitiō. If perchaunce princes do make elections of good maisters, then those maisters, both for them selues, and also for others ought to minister good counsels. For to geue counsell to the wyse man, it is either a superfluous dede, or els it cometh of a presumptuous man. Though it be true, that he whych dare geue counsell to the sage man is presumptuous, I saie in lyke maner, that the dyamonde beyng set in gold loseth not his vertue, but rather increaseth in pryce & value: I meane, that the wiser a man is, somuche the more he oughte to desire to knowe the opinion of another: certainly he that doeth so cannot erre. For to none his owne counsell aboundeth somuch, but that he nedeth the counsell and opinion of another. Though princes and great lordes do se with their eyes, that they haue chosen good maisters and tutours to teache their children: yet they ought not therfore to be so negligent of them selues, but that sometimes they may geue þ̄ maysters counsell. For it maye be, that the maisters be both noble, and stout, that they be auncient, sage, & moderate: but it may be also, þ̄ in teaching children they are not expert. For to masters and tutours of princes, it is not somuche necessary that science doth abounde, as it is thame that experience shoulde want. When a rich man letteth out his farme or maner to a farmor he doth not only consider with him selfe befoze what rent he shall pay hym. but also he couenanteth with hym that he shall keape his groundes well fensed and ditched, and his howses well repaired. And not contented to receiue the thirde parte of the frute of his vine: but also he goeth t wyse or shyll in a yeare to visite it. And in seyng if he hath reason, for in the end the one occupieth the goods as tenaunte: and the other doth vie woe the grounde as chiefe lord. Then if þ̄ father of the family with so great diligence doeth recomend þ̄ trees, and the ground to the labourer: how much more ought the father to recomend his children to the maisters: for the father geuing counsell to the maister is no other: but to deliuer his child to the treasurer of sciēce. Princes and great lordes cannot excuse them selues of an offence, if after that they haue chosen a knight, or gentleman for to be maister, or els a learned & wise man to be tutour, they are so negligēt as if they neuer had had children, or did remember that their childre, ought to be their heires: certainly this thing shold not be so lightly passed ouer, but as a wise man, (which is careful of the honoz & profit of his child) he ought to be occupied, as wel in taking hede to the maister: as þ̄ maister ought to be occupied, in taking hede to the child. For þ̄ good fathers ought to know, whether the maister that he hath chosen can comaund, and whether his child wil obey. One of the notablest princes among the auncientes: was Sculeucus, king of the Assiriās and husband of Estrabonica (the daugh-

ter of Demetrius, kyng of Macedony) a lady for her beauty in al Grece the most renowned, though she of her fame in dede she was not very fortunat This is an olde disease, that hapneth alwayes to beautiful women, & ther be many that desire them, & mo that flander them. This king Seuleucus was first maryed with another woman, of whom he had a sonne called Antigonus, the whyche was in loue with the second wife of his father, that is to wete, with y quene Estrabonica, and was almost dead for loue. The whiche the father vnderstanding, married his sonne with her, so y she that was his stepmother, was hys wife: and she y was a faire wyfe, was a faire doughter, & he which was hys sonne, was made his sonne in lawe, & he which was father, was stepfather. The authoꝝ herof is Plutarke in his liues, as Sextus Cheronensis saith, in y third boke of the sayenges of the grekes. The king Seuleucus laboured diligently to bring vp his son Antigonus well, wherfore he sought him.ii. notable maisters, the one a greke, and the other a latine. The king Seuleucus herewith not contented, prouided secretly (by the meane of a seruaunt of his, named Parthemius) that he shold haue no other office in the pallace, but that what the maisters taught oꝝ did to his sonne Antigonus in the day, he shold secretly come and tel him in the night. But by the dilligence of Parthemius, it came to the knowledge of the tutors that they had ouerscers: for in y end ther is nothing accustomed, but at the last wil be reueiled. Since the.ii. philosophers knew the secret, one day they sayd vnto the king Seuleucus these wordes. Mightye prince Seuleucus, since thou hast of trust committed thy son Antigonus into our haides, why doest thou appoint thy seruaunt Parthemius as accuser of our liues? if thou countest vs euil, and him good, thou shalt shewe vs great fauoure if thou wilt discharge vs, & commit to hym the tuition of thy son. For we let the to know, that to men of honoꝝ it is an vntollerable euil to shame the: and no dishonoꝝ to licence them. Thou hast appointed Parthemius to goe and dog vs, to see what we do, oꝝ say openly, and after wardes to make relation vnto the secretly: & the worst is, that by the relation of the symple, we shoud be condemned beyng sages: for triacle is not so contrary to poison: as ignorance is to wisdom. And truly (most noble prince) it is a great matter, that dayly inquisition be made of man: for there is no beard so bare shauen, but that it wil grow againe. I meane, that there is no man of so honest a lyfe: but if a man make inquisition, he may finde wherwithall to detect The king Seuleucus answered them. Consyder my frendes, that I do know right well, that neither the auctoritie of the parson, noꝝ the good creadite of renoume wold be steyned for any other frend in this world: & if the rude men do it not, much lesse ought the Sages to do it. For ther is nothing y men trauaile for so much in this life, as to leaue of the good renoume after their death. Since you are sages, and maisters of my sonne, and likewyse counsailers of my house, it is not mete you shold with any be offended: for by good reason he alone ought to be esteemed in the pallaces of princes, y wil geue vnto the prince good counsell. That which I haue sayed to Parthemius, was not for the doubt of your faith, neither to thinke any daunger in your auctority. And if y thing be wel considered, it goeth well for you, and not euil for me: and the reason herof is, that either you are good, oꝝ els you are euil. If you be good, you ought to be glad that daily your seruices be reported vnto me. For the continuall betyng

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in the princes eares of the good seruices of his seruantes: must nedes cause at the last their seruices to be well rewarded. If you be euill, and in teaching my sonne negligent: it is but reason that I be aduertised. For if the father be deceiued in his opiniō, the son shall receiue poison in his doctrine, and also because you shal not vndoe my realme, nor flaunder me by your euill counsel. If the fatal destinyes permit that my son be euill, I am he that loseth most therby: for my realme shalbe destroyed, and my renoume vtterly abolished, & in the end my sonne shall not enioye the heritage. And if all passe so, you will care litel: for you wil saye you are not in the faulte, since the childe would not receiue your doctrine. Wherefore me thinke it not euill done to ouer see you, as you ouer see hym: for my dutye is to see that you be good, and your dutye is to trauaile that your disciples be not euill.

This kynge Seuleucus was an honorable man, and dyed aged (as Plutarke sayth, and Patroclus more plainely declareth, in the thirde booke of the warre of the Asirians) and for the contrarie bys sonne Antigonus, came to be a wycked Prince in all his doynges.

And this a man may wel perceiue, that if he had not bene of his father so muche corrected, and of the maisters so well instructed: without doubt he wold haue proued much more wicked then he was. For yong men on the one part beyng euill inclined, and on the other parte euill taught, it is vnpossible but that in the ende they should be vitious, and defamed. In my opinionion, though children be not euill inclined, yet the fathers therof ought not to cease to correcte them: for in tyme to come those that write, will commende the diligence of the fathers in correcting the vices of the children. I haue declared this example, to counsell that the father be not so negligent, that he shoulde vtterly forget to loke vnto his sonne, thinking that now the maister hath the charge of him. And of my conceill, that father ought in this thing to be so aduertised, that if at the first he beheld the child with two eyes: that then he shuld loke vnto him with iiii. eyes. For oftentimes it is more requisite that the maisters be punished, then the scollers. Though princes are not daily informed of the life of the maisters, as king Seuleucus was: yet at the least oftentimes they ought to enquire of his state, of the life, & of the behauiour, both of his maisters, and also of the children. And this thing they ought not to do only once, but also they ought to call the maisters, and counsell them lykwise that they haue great respect to the doctrine of their children: thinking alwayes to geue them good counsel, to shew vnto their scollers afterwarde. For otherwyle his maister immediatly is discouraged, when he seeth the father to be negligent, and nothing careful for his bringing vp of his children. Princes in one thing ought to haue great respect (that is to wete) lest the maisters beare with the secret vices of children. And he ought not to doe thus, but also to call them vnto hym, to aduise them, to warne them, to praye them, to counsell and commaunde them, that they haue great respect to the bringing vp of his child: and further, that he geue them some notable counsell, to theentente that the maisters afterwarde maye make relation therof to their scollers. For there is no manne so weake, nor childe so tender: but the force wherby he hath to be vitious, is ynough (if he wil) to be vertuous. I would nowe demaunde the maisters, and tutour, which do gouerne the children of noble and vertuous men,

men, what more strength is required to be a glutton, then to be a sober man? to be a babler, or to be silent? to be diligent, or to be negligent? to be honest, then to be dissolute? and as of those few I speake, so I coulde resite manye others. In this case I wyll not speake as a man of science, but as one of experience: and that is, that by the faith of a christian I sweare, that with lesse trauaill of the maister, and more profyte of the scoller, he maye be soner vertuous then vitious. For there is more courage required, in one to be euill: then strenght in another, for to be good. Also the maisters cominly haue another euill property, worse then this whyche is, they beare with their scollers in some secret vices when they are yong: from the whiche they cannot be withdrauen afterwarde when they are olde. For it chaunceth oftentimes, that the good inclination is overcome, by the euill custome: and certainly the maisters whych in such a case should be apprehended, ought to be punished as traitors pariaured. For to the mayster it is greater treason, to leaue his disciple amongst vices: then to deliuer a forte into the handes of the enemyes. And let no man maruaill, if I call such a mayster a treator, for the one yeldeth the forte whych is but of stones builded: but the other aduentureth his sonne, who is of his proper body begotten. The cause of al this euill is, that as the children of Princes ought to enherite realmes, and the children of greates lordes hope to inherite the great estates: so the maisters are more couetous then vertuous. For they suffer their puples to runne at their own willes when they be yong, to thend to winne their hartes when they shalbe olde: so that the extreame couetousnes of the maisters now a dayes is suche, that it causeth good mens sonnes commonly to be euil and vitious. O tutors of princes, and maisters of great lordes, I do admonyche you, and besides that I counsell you that your couetousnes deceiue you not, thynkyng that you shalbe better esteemed for being clogers of vices: then louers of vertues. For there is none (old nor yong) so wicked, but knoweth that good is better then euill. And further I say to you in this case, that oftentimes God permitte (when those that wer children become old) their eyes to be opened, wher by they know the harme that you haue done them, in suffering them to be vitious in thier youth: at what tyme your dutye had bene to haue corrected their vices. You thought by your goods to be honored for your flattery: but you find the contrary, that you are despised worthely. For it is the iust iudgement of god, that he that committeth euill, shal not escape without punishment: and he that consealeth the euill committed, shal not liue vndefamed. Diadumeus the Historiographer, in the lyfe of Seuerus the. xxi. Emperour declareth, that Apuleius Rufinus, who hadde ben consull twice, and at that tyme was also tribune of the people (a man who was very aged and likewise of greates auctoritie thoroughe out Rome) came one daye to the Emperour Seuerus, and sayed vnto him in this sorte. Moste inuicte Prince, alwayes Augustus, know that I had. ii. children the whiche I committed to a mayster to bring vp, and by chaunce the eldest increasinge in yeares, and diminishing in vertues, fell in loue with a Romaine ladye, the which loue came to late to my knowledge: for to such vnfortunat men as I am, the disease is alwayes past remedy, before the daunger thereof cometh to our knowledge.

The greatest greife that herein I fele, is, that his mayster knew and con-

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sealed the euill, and was not onely not a meanes to remedye it: but also was the chiefe worker of the adultery betwene them to be committed. And my sonne made hym an oblygation, wherein he bounde hym selfe if he would byrnyng hym that romaine lady, he would geue hym after my death, the house and herytages whych I haue in the gate Salaria: and yet herewith not contented, but he and my sonne together robbed me of much money. For loue is costlye to hym that maynteyneth it, and alwayes the loues of the children, are chargefull to the fathers. Iudge you now therefore noble Prince, thys so heinous and shaunderous cause, for it is to muche presumption of the subiecte to reuenge any iniury, knowing that the lord hym selfe will reuenge all wronges. When the Emperour Seuerus hadde vnderstode this so heynous a case, as one that was both in name and dede seuer, commaunded good inquisition of the matter to be hadde, and that before his presence they shoulde cause to appeare, the father, the sonne, and the mayster, to the ende eche one should alleadge for his owne right: for in Rome none could be condemned for any offence, vntlesse the plainetife had first declared the faulte before hys presence, and that the accused shold haue no tyme to make hys excuse. The trueth then knowen and the offenders confessyng the offences, the Emperour Seuerus gaue iudgement thus. I commaunde that this mayster be caste alyue amonge the beastes of the parke Palatine.

For it is but mete that beastes deuoure hym: whych teacheth others to lyue lyke beastes. Also I doe commaunde that the sonne be vtterly dysinheryt of all the goodes of hys father, and banished into the Iles Ballears, and Maiorques.

For the chyld whiche from hys youth is vitious, oughte iustlye to be banished the countrey, and dysherited of hys fathers goods.

This therfore (of the maister and of the sonne) was done by the complaint of Apuleius. Rufinus.

Howe vnconstant fortune is, and howe oft (not thynkynge of it) the threde of lyfe doth breake. I saye it, bicause if this maister had not bene couetous, the father hadde not bene depriued of his sonne, the chyld hadde not bene banished, the mother had not bene defamed, the common weale had not bene shaundered, the maister, of wyld beastes hadde not bene deuoured, neyther the Emperour hadde bene so cruell agaynst them, nor yet their names in Hystories (to their infamies) hadde alwayes continued.

I doe not speake thys without a cause, to declare by wytyng that whych the euill do in the world: For wyse menne ought more to feare the infamy of the litle penne, then the shaunder of the bablyng tongue. For in the ende, the wicked tongue can not defame but the lpyng: but the litle penne doth defame them that are, that were, and that shalbe. To conclude thys, my mynde is, that the maister shoulde endeuous hym selfe that hys scooller shoulde be vertuous, and that he doe not dispayre, though immediately for hys paines he be not rewarded. For though he be not of the creature, let hym be assured that he shalbe of the creatour. For God is so mercifull, that he ofte tymes takynge pitie of the swette of those that be good, chastneth the vnthankfull, and taketh vpon him to require their seruices.

Of the determination of the Emperour when he committed his childe to the tutors, whiche he had prouided for his education.

Chapter. xxxviii.

Cinna the Hystorien in the first booke of the times of Comodus declareth that Marcus Aurelius the Emperour chose. xiiii. masters learned, and wise men, to teach hys sonne Comodus, of the whiche he refused fyue, not for that they were not wyse, but for that they were not honeste. And so he kepte these nyne onely, whiche were both learned in the sciences, and also experte in bringyng vp the chyldren of the Senatours, thoughe in dede they wer verie vnlucky in the bringyng vp of the Prince Comodus. For this cursed prynee had nyne masters whych instructed him, but he hadde aboute nyne thousand byces whych vndyd him. The emperour Marcus Aurelius made fyue bookes of declamations, and in the third booke the syrte Chapter, vnder the title ad Sapientes pedagogos, he brought in these nyne mapsters, and perswaded them greatly that they should be diligent and attent yue to teach hys sonne Comodus. And in this matter, he spake vnto them manye and graue sentences, the wordes whereof doe folow.

The matter is manifest in Rome, and no lesse publyshed thorough out all Italy, what paynes I toke to searche oute so manye Sages to enstrucke my sonne Comodus: the whiche all beyng examined, I kept ouer the wysest, and the best, and though in verie dede I haue done muche, yet I haue not done so muche as I am bounde.

For Prynces in doubtfull matters, ought not only to demaunde counsell, of all the good that be alyue: but also to take payne to talke with those which are dead. That is, to reade the dedes of the good in their wrytynges. You were fouretene mapsters chosen, whereof I haue put out fyue: so that presently you ar but nyne, and if in dede you be wyse men, you shall not be offended with that I haue done. For the greefe of euill thynges procedeth of wisdom, but the admiration of good thynges commeth of small experience. I do not deny, but that wyse men do fele in them passions as men: but in the end, there is no arte nor science that doth excuse vs from the miseries of men. But that toher at I maruaile is, how it is possible that a wyse man shoulde meruaile at any thyng in this world: for if the wyse man shuld be astonied at euery thing of the world, it appeareth that ther is litle constancy or vertue in him at all. Returnyng therfore to our particular talke, I haue taken you to be masters of my son, and you se, of many I chose a few, to the end that with few my son shold be taught. For as it is the fathers dutie to search out good masters, so it is the masters dutie to be diligent about his scoller. The nource of my sonne Comodus gaue hym sucke two yeres with her teates, at the gate of Hostia. And hys mother Faustine other two yeaeres brought him vp wantonly in Capua. How be it thys was a sufficient excuse. I woulde as a pitiefull father (yf I coulde) geue hym correction at the leaste thys twenty yeaeres. For I sweare by the immortall Goddes, that to a Prynce that shalbe an enheritour, one yeaeres punishment is moxe worthe: then twenty yeaeres of pleasure. Synce the nources whiche geueth the chyldren sucke knoweth lytell, and synce the mothers whiche bare them doe lone them muche: and synce the chylde peraduenture (as yet) is but of a weake vnderstandyng.

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standynge, they are occupied about the thinges that are presente, consideringe that chastysmente in muche more betters for him, then pleasure. But the wise man whych hath vnderstandynge, oughte to thynke of that that is past, and by much wylledome to proude for that that is to come: for he can not be counted wise, that onely in one thing is carefull. My sonne Commodus was borne the laste daye of Auguste, in a citie by Danubio. I shall not forget the day that goddys gaue him vnto me: nor yet this day in the whiche I commit hym vnto you. Of greater reason I should remember that daye wherein I put him to be taught: then the day whych I saw him to be borne. For the goddys gaue hym me, as I gaue hym to you mortall, since he is a man, but you shall restore him againe vnto me, and I lykewyse him to the Goddys as immortall, if he be wyse. What woul you I saye more vnto you, but if you regarde that any thinge at all whych I saye, you will regarde muche more thys whych I wyll saye. When the Goddys determined that I should haue a child of my wyfe, and that my wofull destenies deserued, that I should haue such a child: truly the Goddys made me a man in the spyte, and I begot him a beast amongst the beastes in the fleshe. But if you will, you may make hym a god amongst the goddys by science. For princes winne infamy, for beyng feareful and selfe willed: but they get good renowne, for beyng wise and patient. I would you should apply this busines well, and therfore it is necessarye that you examine him ofte. For it is a general rule, that the precious iewel is litle regarded, when he whych hath it knoweth not the value thereof. I require that you aunswere me in this one thyng. What dyd I geue vnto my sonne Commodus, when the goddys gaue him me, but frayle and mortall fleshe? by the corruption wherof hys life shal ende: but you shal geue hym highe doctrine, whereby he shal alwayes deserue perpetuall memoire. For the good renowne is not gotten, by that the weake fleshe doth: but by that whych the highe vnderstandynge inmagyneth, and by that the curious harte executeth. If his tender age knew what I gaue to his weake fleshe, and if his dul vnderstanding could com to goddys wisdom which you may geue him: he wold call you his right fathers, & me but his stepfather. For he is the true father that geueth vs doctrine to liue: and he is but an vniust stepfather, that geueth vs fleshe to dye.

Certainely the naturall fathers of children, are but their open enemyes, and cruell stepfathers: synce we geue them such dul vnderstanding, so weake a memoire, a wyll so frowarde, lyfe so shorte, fleshe so frayle, honour so costly, health so vncertaine, ryches so troublesome, prosperitie so scarfe, and death so fearefull. Finally we geue them a nature subiecte, to infinite alterations, and great misfortunes. Reason woulde not you shoulde lytle regarde that whiche I committe vnto your iudgement, that is to wete, that you haue the charge of Commodus my sonne: for the thyng that Princes chesely ought to foresee, is to whome they oughte to recomende the gouernement of theyr children. To be a mayster and Tutor of a Prince in the yearth, is to haue an office of goddys whych are in heauen: bycause he gouerneth him that ought to gouerne vs, he teacheth him that ought to teache vs, he chastneth him that ought to chasten vs. Finally he commaundeth one, that oughte to commaunde all. What wyll you that I saye more vnto you. Truly he that hath

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the charge to teache the children of Princes, and great Lordes, is as the gouernour of the shyppe, a standarde of a battayle, a defence of the people, a guyde of the wayes, a father of the Orphanes, the hope of pupples, and a treasourer of all: for ther is no other true treasore in the common wealthe but the prince whyrche doth mainteine and kepe it in good peace, and iuste iustice. I will tell you furthermore, to the ende you shall esteeme it more, that when I doe geue you my sonne to teache, I geue you more then if I gaue you all the ryches of the Realme. For in him that hath the reformation of the childes life, Dependeth the fame of the Father after he is deade.

So that the Father hath no greater renowne: then to see hys chyld leade an honeste lyfe. I praye the Gods that they maye be so merciful, and the fatall destinies so fortunate, that if tyll thys time you haue watched to teache the children of others, that from hence forwarde you watche to teache thys my sonne Comodus, whyrche I truste shalbe to the comforte of all.

For the thyng that is vniuersally good to all, oughte to be preferred before that whyrche tendeth but to the comoditie of some. You see my frendes, that there is a greate difference to teache the chyldren of Princes, and to teache the children of the people: the cause hereof is, that the greatest parte of those come to the scooles and vniuersities to learne to speake, but I doe not geue you my sonne Comodus, to the ende you should teache hym to speake many wordes, but that you should learne him to do good workes.

For all the gloire of the Princes is, that in the workes whyrche he doth he be byrighte, and in the wordes that he speaketh he be very discrete. After that the children haue spent manye yeares in scooles, after their fathers haue spent muche money vppon them, yf perchaunce the chyld can dispute in Greeke or Latin anye thyng at all: though he be lyghte and vitious, the Father thynketh hys goodes well imployed: for in Rome, nowe a dayes, they esteeme an Oratour more, whyrche can doe nought but bable: then a philosopher whyrche is vertuous. O wofull men, that now lyue in Rome, and muche more wofull shall those be whyrche hereafter shall succede: for Rome is no more that Rome whyrche it was wont to be, that is to wete, that the fathers in olde tyme sente their children to scooles and studies to learne them to be silent: and nowe they sende them to learne to speake to muche. They learned them then to be sage and temperate: and nowe they learne them to be dissolute. And the worst of all is, that the scooles where the sage and pacient were wont to be, and from whence issued the good and vertuous workes: are nowe full of bablynge Oratours, and none issue oute from thence at this present, but the euill and vitious. So that if the sacred Romain lawes are exalted once in a weeke with their tongues: they are broken tenne tymes in the daye in their workes.

What will you I say more, since I can not tel you any thing without hurting my mother Rome but that at this present al pleasures of vain men, is to see their children ouertome others by disputing: but I let you vnderstand that all my gloire shalbe, when my son shal surmount others, not in wordes, but in silence, not to be troublesome, but to be pacient: not in speakyng subtil wordes, but in doing vertuous workes. For the gloire of good menne is in workyng muche, and speakyng littell. Consider my frendes, and do not forget

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get it. that this daye I committe my honour vnto you, I put into your handes the estate of Comodus my sonne, the glory of Rome, the rest of the people which are my subiectes, the gouernement of Italie which is your countrey, and aboue all I referre vnto your discretions, the peace and tranquillitie of the hole common wealth. Therefore he that hath suche a charge, by reason ought not to slepe. For as the wise men say, to great trust, is required much diligence. I will saye no more, but that I would my sonne Comodus shoulde be so well taught, that he shoulde haue the feare of god, and the science of philosophers, the vertues of the auncient Romaynes, the approued counsell of the aged, the corage of the Romaine youth, and the constancy of you whiche are his masters. Finally, I would that of al the good he shold take the good, as of me he ought to take the heritage, and succession of the Emperre. For he is the true prince, and worthy of the emperre, that with his eyes doth behelde the great signozies he ought to enheritte, and dothe employe his harte howe to gouerne it, wherby he shal lyue to the great profit of the common wealth. And I proteste to the immortall gods, with whom I hope to goe, and to the goodnes of my predecessours, whose faith I am bound to kepe. I proteste to the Romaine lawes, the whiche I dyd sweare to obserue in the conquest of Asia, wherein I bound my selfe to continue, and to the frendeshyppe of the Rhodiens, the whiche I haue offered my selfe to kepe, to the ennemyte of the Affricans, the whiche not for me, but for the oth of my predecessours I haue bounde my selfe to mainteine. And I proteste vnto the beuell of the hyghe Capitall, where my bones ought to be burnt, that Rome do not complaine of me beyng aloue, nor that in the worlde to come she curse me after my death. If perchaunce the prince Comodus my sonne, by his wicked lyfe, shoulde be occasion of the losse or hinderance to the common wealth. And though you whych are his masters vndoe it, for not geuyng hym dew punishment, and he thorough his wicked gouernement destroie it, yet I discharge my selfe by all these protestations that I haue made, whiche shalbe witness of my will. For the father is bound no more towarde his child, but to banyshe hym from his pleasures, and to geue him vertuous masters. And if he be good, he shalbe be the glory of the father, the honor of him selfe, the wealth of you, and the profite and comoditie of the hole common wealth.

That tutors of Princes and noble mens chyldren ought to be very circumspect, that their scollers doe not accustom them selues in vices whilles they are yonge, and speciallye they must kepe them from foure vices. Chap. xxxix.

The good and experte Surgeons, vnto greate and daungerous woundes, do not onelye applye medycynes and opntementes whiche doe resolue & stop: but also do minister other good playsters, for to restraine and heale them. And verelye they shewe them selues in the one no lesse sage, then in the other experte: for as greate dyligence ought to be had to preserue the weake fleshe, and to purge the rotten wounde, to the end it maye be healed: so lyke wise the wise trauailers learne diligently the waye, before they take vpon them any iourney, that is to wete, yf there be any daungers in the waye, epyther of robbynge or slepyng, wherein there is anye by pathe that goeth oute of the hyghe waye.

Crulpe

Truly he that in this point is circumspecte, is woorthie to be counted a sage man: for accordyng to the multitude of the peryles of the world, none can be assured, vnlesse he know first where the daunger is, wherein he may fal. To shew therfore that whith by these parables I meane, I saye, that the tutors and masters of pynces, and great Lordes, ought not to be contented onely to know what science, what doctrine, and what vertue they oughte to shewe and teache their scollers: but also with greater care and diligence they ought to know from what euils or wicked customes they ought to withdraw the. For when the trees are tender and yong, it is more necessary to bowe them, and cut of the superfluous braunches with knyues: then to gather their futes with Baskettes.

Those which take vpon them to gouerne Horses, of great pyre & value, and those that tame and breake horses of a good race, take great paines that such beastes be light, that they leape wel, and be well made to the spore, and bydel: but they take much more paines that they be gentill, familiar, & faithfull, and aboue all, that they haue no euill qualities. Then sith it is so, masters ought diligently to watche (if they be good) that in yong Princes there be no apparaunce of any notable vices. For al the vertues which yong do learne, doth not them so much profit: as one onely vice doth thur hurte, if they doe therunto consent, knowyng that therby they may be herafter blamed or despised. For if any man knew a beast, that is wylde and stoburne, and not gentill, and will bye him at greate pyre: suche a one hath his head more full of follyes then of wysedome.

Albeit that maisters ought to withdraw their scollers from many euill customes, amogest all there ar foure principall, in any of the which if the pynce be defamed, the maister which hath taught him should deserue great punishment. For accordyng to the humaine lawes, and customes, al the damage and harme that the beastes do to the vineyarde, the keper that hath charge thereof, shall (as he is bound) recompence.

First the maisters ought to refraine in suche sort the tonges of their scollers, that neyther in sport nor in earnest, they permit the to tell lyes. For the greatest faulte that is in a good and vertuous man, is to be bryefe in y truth: and the greatest villanye that is in a vicious man, is to be long in lyes. Merula in that .v. booke of Cefars saith, that the firste war that Vlpus Traianus made, was against Cebalus king of Daces, who rebelled against the Romaines, and with no smal victorie ouercame the Emperour Domitian, in a battaile which they fought togethers. For as Nafica sayd, the pleasures that Rome had to see many victories were not so greate: as the displeasure was whyche she toke, to see her selfe once ouercome. The good Vlpus Traianus gaue battaile to kynge Cebalus, wherein Cebalus was not onely ouercome, but also taken, and after wardes broughte before the emperour Traianus, whyche sayde vnto him these wordes. Speake Cebalus, why didest thou rebell agaynst the Romaines, since thou knowest that the Romaines are vnuincible. The kynge Cebalus answered him. If the Romaines could not be ouercom, how did I then ouercome the Emperour Domitian.

Traian the Emperour sayde vnto hym againe: Thou art greatly decepued (kynge Cebalus) to thinke that when thou ouercamest the Emperour, thou haddest

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haddest overcome: the Romaines. For when that Romulus founded Rome the Gods ordeyned, that though their emperor dyed in anye battaile, yet not withstanding it is not to be thought that the empyre is overcome. The Historiographers made a great matter of the wordes, that this Vlpian Traianus spake. For therein he shewed, that the Romaine empire was vnuincible. After that this kyng Cebalus was dead, and that (for his desertes) he was depriued: as the Emperour Traian was a mercifull prince, so he prouided that a litle childe that Cebalus hadde, shoulde be brought vp in his pallace, with intention that if the childe became good, they woulde geue hym the Realme whiche his father (thorough Treason) hadde losse.

For in Rome there was an auncient lawe, that all that whiche the father lost by treason, the sonne shoulde recouer by hys faithfull actes. It chaunced, that the good Traian takyng his pleasure in the gardins of Vulcan, sawe the sonne of kyng Cebalus, and many other yong chuldren of Rome, stealynge fruite forth of an orchard, and it is no wonder, for the Locustes did not so much harme to the Corne, as the chuldren do to the fruites, when they entre into the orchardes. When the emperor afterwarde demaunded him fro whence he came, he aunswered: from his studie hearyng Rethorike: but in dede he came from stealing of fruite. The emperor Traian was so angrie & displeased that the childe was a lyer, that he commaunded he shoulde vtterly be depriued and made vopde of al hope: to recouer the realme of his father. The Emperour Traian was greatly importuned, as well of straung Imbassatours, as of hys owne Countrey men, that he woulde chaunge that cruel sentence: for prynces in a furie do commaund that, whiche when they are pacient they doe vndo.

The emperor Traian aunswered them, if the father of this childe which was kyng Cebalus had bene a true prince, he had not losse hys lyfe, neyther hys Realme, nor had not put me & the empyre so many times in daunger: but since the father was a lyer, and the sonne is not true, it were to vniust a thyng to render him the Realme, for to me it shoulde be great reproche, and to our mother Rome as much dishonour, that she beyng the mother of truthe, shoulde geue realmes to chuldren beyng lyers. This was it that Vlpian Traian spake vnto the sonne of kyng Cebalus, Marcus Aurelius the .xvii. Emperour of Rome had .ii. sonnes, as before we haue reherfed, the eldest of the whiche was called Comodus: and his father procured greatly to disinherit him of the empire: for he woulde that the second son named Verissimus shoulde haue inherited it: and he did not onely determine it, but also spake it oft times openly. For that thing is with great difficulty dissembled, & excessiue is beloued by chaunce an olde Senator, and frend of Marcus the emperor, one daye, both goyng out of the Senate house, sayd vnto him: I meruaile at the much, most excellent prince, why thou doest disinherit thy sonne which is eldest, to make thine heire the yongest, knowynge that they are both thy sonnes, and that the gods haue geuen the no others but them. For the good fathers are bound to chasten their chuldren, but they haue not licence to disinherit them. The emperor Marcus Aurelius aunswered him. If thou were a greke philosopher, as thou art a Romain citizen, and if thou knewest the fathers loue towardes hys childe, thou wouldest not take pitie on my sonne whiche vndoeth the Empire: but thou shouldest haue compassion on me his father, which doth dis-

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rit him. For the chyld scarcely knoweth what he loseth, but I that am hys father doe bewaile the domage whyche I doo vnto hym. For in the ende, there is not in the world so cruel a father: but if his sonne should be hurt with the pomell of the swerde in the hande, the father would fele (incontinentlye) the dent of his blade at his harte. In this case, I sweare vnto the by the immortal gods, that I do that whyche I would not do: and I take that from him whyche I would not take. For Anthonius my lord and father in lawe, gaue me the empire, for no other cause, but because he neuer found in me any lye: and for this occasion I doe depriue my sonne from it, for that I neuer found in him any trueth. For it is not mete that the Empire being geuen vnto me for that I was true: should be left inheritance to him that is a lier. For in the ende it is better y the sonne do lose the heritage, then the father shoulde lose his renoume. By these two examples, those whiche are the tutors and maisters of princes and great lordes may see, how to be diligent to kepe them from lyes, whilest they are yong: and it ought to be in such sorte, that neither in pastime, neither in earnest aunswering they should be suffered once to tell a lye. For those that for their pleasure were accustomed to lye in their youth: will not fayle for their profite to lye in their age.

Secondarely, the tutors and maysters ought to keepe their disciples, that they be no gamesters, and that they doe not accustome them selues in theyr youth to be vnrhystes: for it is a great token of the decay of the Empire, when the Prince in his youth is affectionated to play. Experience sheweth vs, that playe is a vice, as Seneca sayeth, whiche hath the propertie of a raging dogge: with whome if a man be once bitten (vnlesse he hath present remedie) for the with he runneth madde, and the disease also continueth with him vncurable vntill the houre of his death. Players not without a cause are compared to madde dogges: for al those that vse it, hurt theyr conscience, lose their honour, and consume theyr substance. It chaunseth oft that in that wherin maysters should be most circumspecte, they (for the most parte) are most negligent: that is to wete, that vnder the coulet of som honest recreation, they agree to their scollers to vse some pastyme, which if therein be conteyned no commendable exercise, the children ought not to vse it, nor yet the tutors to suffer it. For vice is of such a propertie, that if a chyld in hys youth dare playe apointe: it is to be feared when he cometh to yeares, he will playe hys cote. Wayinge the matter moze depely, and aggrauating this vice, I saye further, and affirme: that when the children of Princes and great Lordes playe, a man ought not to make account of that which they may winne or loose: for that of all miseries were most misery, if there fore my penne shoulde forbidde them play. For play ought not to be forbidden to yong children, for the money that they lose: but for the vices whiche they winne thereby, and for the corrupte maners, which therein they learne. Octavian, who was the second Emperour of Rome, and one of the fortunatest Emperours that euer was, among all his vertues was noted of one thing onely, which is: that from his youth he was to much geuen to play at tennis. Of the which vice he was not onely admonished secretly: but also was forbidden it openly. For (as Cicero sayth in hys booke of lawes) when the Emperour was noted of any open vice, they might boldly reprove him in the open Senate. When Octavian was for this vice reproved

Ce.i.

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by the Senate, they sayde he spake these wordes. You haue reason (O fathers conscript) in taking from me my pastime: for it is necessary that the vertues of princes should be so many, that all men might prayse them: and their vices so fewe, that no man might reprove them.

These wordes were notable, and worthy of suche an excellent prince. For in the ende, consideringe their delicate and wanton bypnyng by, together with the libertie that they haue: we ought to thanke and commend them for the good woorkes whiche they doe, and mooste of all to reioyce for the vices whiche they wante. To our matter therefore, amongst the other wicked vices that children get in their youth, when they are players, this is one that they learne to be theues, and lyers. For the money that they playe to demaunde it their fathers they are asfayde, and ashamed: and of their owne proper goodes, as yet they haue none in their handes. Wherefore a man may easely conclude, that if children playe, of necessitie they must steale. The sixe and thirti Emperour of Rome was Claudius Luganus, a man verie temperate in eating, moderate in apparell, bypnyght in iustice, and very fortunate in chivalrie: for he did not onely repulse the Gothes from Illiria, but also vanquished in a battayle the Germaines, wherein were slayne aboute a hundred thousande. This battayle was nere vnto the lake Veracus, in a place called Luganus, and for a memozy of that great battayle and victozy they called him Claudius Luganus. For it was a custome among the Romaines, that according to the good or euill woorkes that princes did: so they were iudged, and known by suche surnames, whether it were good or euill. This Emperour had but one onely sonne, the whiche was a prince comely of personage, and liuely of vnderstanding: but aboute all thynges geuen to playe, so that these good giftes whiche nature gaue him to woork in vertue, he misused alwayes in playe. And amongst younge men he despyeth rather to haunte byce: then among the philosophers to learne vertue. And hereat a man ought not to marueyle, for all men of great courage (vnlesse they be compelled to doe vertuous actes) doe exercise of them selues many detestable vices. It chaunced when this young prince had no moze to playe nor gage, he robbed out of his fathers chamber a ryche ierwell of golde, wherof also his maister was prey. And when the knowledge thereof came to the princes eares, he immediatly disherited his sonne of the Empire, and caused the head of the maister to be cut of his body, & all those like wyse that plaide with him, to be banished the countrey. This acte made euery man asfayde for correction executed after a good sorte hath this propertie: that it encourageth the good to be good, and feareth the wycked from their wickednes.

Merula in the tenth booke of Cæsars (where as at large he mentioneth this matter) saith, that the Romaines esteemed moze the banishement of those players from Rome: then to haue drouen out the Gothes from Illiria, and to save the trouthe they had reason. For a prince deserueth a greater crowne of gloie, to banishe the vicious from his pallace: then he doeth for chasing the enemies out of his dominion.

¶ Of two other vices perillous in youthe, whiche the maisters ought to kepe them from: and that is to be shameles in countenance, and addicted to the luste of the fleshe. Cap. xl.

Thirde

Thirdly tutors ought to trauaile, that the children whiche they haue in charge, be not light and worldly, nor that they doe consent that they be to bolde or shameles. And I saie, that they doe not suffer them to be to light or vnconstant: for of younge men, inconstant and light, commeth oftentimes an oide man, sonde, and vnthriftie. I saie that they doe not suffer them to be to rashe: for of to hardy young men, commeth rebellious and seditious persones. I say that they doe not consent they be shamelesse: for of the vnshamefastnes, commeth sclauderous persones.

Princes and great lordes ought to haue much circumspection, that their children be brought by in shamefastnes, with honestie. For the crowne doth not geue so much glozy to a kyng, nor the head doth more set forth the man, nor the iewel more adourne the breast. nor yet the scepter more become the hande: then shamefastnes, with honestie, beutifieth a younge man. For a man of what estate so euer he be, the honestie which he sheweth outwardly, doth hide many secret vices, wherewith he is endued inwardly. In the time of the reigne of the emperour Helius Pertinax (the nyntenthe Emperour of Rome) two consules gouerned the comyn welth, the one named Verus, and the other Mamillus, one daye they came to the Emperour and were humble suiters to his highnes, beseeching him, that it would please hym to receiue their two children into his seruice, the eldest of the whiche passed not as yet twelue yeares of age: the whiche request, after the Emperour had graunted, the fathers were not negligent to bryng them vnto hym, and being come before his presence, each of them made an oration, the one in Latine and the other in Greke. Wherewith the Emperour was greatly pleased, and all the residue amased: for at that time none serued the Romaine princes, but that he were either very apte to cheualry, or els toward in sciences. As these two children in the presence of the Emperour made their orations, the one of the behelde the Emperour in suche sorte, that his eyes neuer went of him, neither once moued his head to loke down to the earth: and the other contrary behelde the earth alwayes, & neuer lift by his head during his oration. Wherewith the Emperour (being a graue man) was so highly pleased with the demeanours of this child, that he did not onely admitte him to serue him at his table: but also he suffered him to enter into his chambre, and this was a preferment of great estimation. For princes did not vse to be serued at their tables, nor in their chambers with any, vnlesse they were of his owne kynred, or auncient seruauntes. And concerning the other childe, whiche was his compaignion, the Emperoure retourned againe to his father sayng, that when hereafter he shoulde bee more shamefast, he woulde receiue hym into his seruice. And certainly the Emperoure had reason: for good and graue princes, ought not to be serued with light and shameles children. I woulde nowe demaunde fathers whiche loue their children very well, and woulde they shoulde be worthy, what it auaileth their children to be faire of countenance, well disposed of body, liuely of sprighte, whyte of skinne, to haue relowe heeres, to be eloquent in speache, profounde in science, if with all these graces that nature geueth them, they be to bolde in that they doe, and shamelesse in that they saie: the authour hereof is Patritius Senensis, in the firste booke De rege & regno.

THE SECOND BOOKE

One of the moſte fortunate princes was the great Theodoſius, the which amongeſt all other vertues, had one moſte ſingular, which was: that he was neuer ſerued in his pallace with any young man that was vnſhamefaſt, or ſeditious, nor with an olde man which was diſhoneſt. For he ſaid oftentimes that princes ſhall neuer be well beloued: if they haue about the liers, or ſclaundersers. This good emperour ſpake as a man of experience, and very ſage: for if the counſellers and familiars of princes be euil taught and vnpatient, they offende many: and if they be liers, they deceiue all: and if they be diſhoneſt, they ſclaunder the people. And theſe offences be not ſo great vnto them that committe them, as they be vnto the prince which ſuffreth them. The emperour Theodoſe had in his pallace two knightes, the one called Ruſſinus, and the other Stelliconus, by whole prudence and wiſdome the comon wealth was ruled and gouerned. And as Ignacius Baptiſta ſaith, they two were the tutoꝝ & gouernours of the children of Theodoſe, whole names were Archadius, and Honorius: For as Seneca ſaith, when good princes do die, they ought to be more carefull to procure maiſters and tutoꝝ which ſhall teache their children, then to procure realmes or kingdomes for to enriche them. Theſe two maiſters, Stelliconus and Ruſſinus had in the pallace of Theodoſe eche of them a ſonne, the which were marueilous wel taught, and very ſhamefaſt: and for the contrary, the two princes Honorius, and Archadius, were euill mannered and not very honeſt. And therfore the good emperour Theodoſe tooke theſe children oftentimes, and ſet them at his table: and contrary he woulde not once beholde his owne. Let no man marueile though a prince of ſuche a grauitie, did a thing of ſo ſmal importaunce: for to ſay the trueth, the ſhamefaſt children, and wel taughte, are but robbers of the hartes of other men.

Fourthly, the tutoꝝ and maiſters of princes oughte to take good heade that when the younge princes their ſchollers ware great, that they geue not them ſelues ouer to the wicked vice of the fleſhe, ſo that the ſenſualitie and euill inclination of the wanton childe, ought to be remedied by the wiſdom of the chaſte maiſter. For this curſed fleſhe is of ſuche condition, that if once by wantonnes the wicket be opened, Death ſhall ſoner appoche: then the gate ſhalbe ſhut agayne.

The trees which budde and caſte leaues befoze the time, our hope is neuer to eate of their fruite in ſeaſon. I meane, that when chyliden haunte the vice of the fleſhe, whyles they be young: there is ſmall hope of goodnes to be looked in them when they be olde. And the elder we ſee them ware, the more we may be aſſured of their vices. And where we ſee that vice encreaſeth: there we may affirme that vertue diminitheth. Plato in his ſeconde booke of lawes ordeyneth, and commaundeth, that younge men ſhoulde not marie befoze they wote .xxv. yeares of age: and the younge maydens at .xx. becauſe at that age their fathers abide leſſe daungers in begetting them, and geuing of them lyfe, and the children alſo which are bozne, haue more ſtrength againſt the aſſaultes of death. Therefore if it be true (as it is true in dede) I aſke nowe, if to be married and get children (which is the ende of mariage) the Philoſophers doe not ſuffer, vntill ſuche time as they be men: then I ſay that maiſters ought not to ſuffer their ſchollers to haunte the vices of the fleſhe when they be chyliden. In this caſe, the good fathers oughte not alone to

alone to committe this matter to their tutors: but also thereunto to haue an eye them selues. For oftentimes they wyl saye they haue bene at their deuotions in the temples when in dede they haue offered venereal sacrifice to the Courtisan. The vyce of the fleashe is of suche condition, that a man can not geue hym selfe to it, without grudge of conscience, withoute hurte of his renowme, without losse of his goodes, without shortenyng of his lyfe, and also without offence to the common wealth: for oftentimes, men enclined to suche vyce, doe rebell, trouble, and slea under the people. Seneca satisfied me greatly, in that whiche he wyrteth in the seconde booke De Clementia to Nero, where he sayeth these wordes.

If I knewe the Gods would pardon me, and also that men woulde not hate me: yet I ensure thee for the vylenes thereof, I would not synne in the fleashe. And truly Seneca had reason, for Aristotle sayeth that all beastes after the acte of benery are sorry, but the Cocke alone. O gouernours and maisters of great princes, and lordes, by that immortall God whiche created vs I coniure you, and for that you owe to the nobilitie I desyre you, that you wyl bydle with a sharpe snaffle your charge, and geue them not the rayne to followe vyces: for if these younge chyldren lyue, they wyl haue tyme enough to searche, to followe, to attayne, and also to caste of those yokes. For throughe our frapletie, this wicked vyce of the fleashe, in euery place, in all ages, in euery estate, and at all tymes (be it by reason, or not) is neuer out of reason. What shall I saye to you in this case? if the chyldren passe the furiousnes of their youthe without the bydle: then they be boyde of the loue of God, they followe the trompet of sensualitie, after the sounde whereof they runne headlong into the yoke, and lose that whiche profiteeth, to wyne that whiche hurteth? For in the carnall vices, he that hath the least of that that sensualitie desireth, hath muche more thereof then reason wylleth. Considering that the maisters are negligent, the chyldren bolde, their vnderstandynges blynded, and seing that their appetites doe accomplyshe beastly motions: I aske you, what remayneth to the chyld, and what contentation hath he of suche filthe and naughtines? Truly since the fleashe and vicious man is ouercome with his appetite, of those that escape beste I see none other fruite, but that their bodies remayne diseased, and their vnderstanding blynded, their memory dulled, their sence corrupted, their wil hurted, their reason subuerted and their good fame lost, and worst of all, the fleashe remaineth alwayes fleshe. O how many youg men are deceiued, thinking that for to satisfie & by once engaging them selues to vices, & from that time forward they shal cease to be vicious: the which thing not only doth not profite them, but also is very hurtfull vnto them. For fier is not quenched with dry woode, but with cold water. But O god what shal we do, since that now a daies & fathers do as much esteeme their chyldre for being fine, & bold minios among womē, as if thei wer very profound in sciēce, or hardy in fetes of arms? & which is worst, thei oftentimes make more of their bastards gottē in adultery, the of their legitimate child conceiued in matrimony. What shal we say the of mothers? truly I am ashamed to speake it, but thei shold be more ashamed to do it, which is, because they would not displease their husbads, thei hide & wickednes

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wickednes of their children, they put the children of their harlottes to the
nose, they redeme their gages, they geue them money to playe at dyce, they
reconcile them to their fathers when they haue offended, they borrowe them
money to redeme them when they are indebted: finally they are makers of
ther bodies, and vndoers of their soules. I speake this incidently, for that the
maisters would correcte the children, but the fathers and mothers forbydde
them. For it litle auayleth for one to picke the horse with the spurre, when
he that sitteth vpon him holdeth hym backe with the bydle. Therefore to
our matter, what shal we do to remedie this ill in the young man, which
in his fleshe is vitious? Truly I see no other remedye, but with
moiste earth to quenche the flaming fier, and to keape him
from the occasions of vice. For in the warre, honour by
tarrying is obteyned: but in the vice of the fleshe,
the victorie by flying is wonne.

The ende of the seconde booke.

The thirde booke of the Diall of princes, with the

famous Booke of Marcus Aurelius, wherein he entreateth

of the vertues whiche Princes ought to haue, as

Justice, peace, and magnificence.

(:.)

How Princes and great Lordes ought to traualle to administer to all
equall Justice Cap. 1.

Gidius Figulus, one of the most famous & renowned Philosophers of Rome, saide that betwene .i. of the zodiacall signes (Leo & Libra) is a virgin named Justice: the which in tymes past dwelled amonge men in earth, and after she was of them neglected, she ascended vp to heauen.

This Philosopher would let vs vnderstand that iustice is so excellent a vertue, that she passeth all mens capacite: since she made heauen her mansion place, & could fynde no man in the whole earth that would entertayne her in hys house. During the tyme that menne were chaste, gentle, pitiefull, patient, embracers of vertue, honest, and true, Justice remained in the earthe with them: but since they are converted vnto adulterers, tyrants, geuen to be proud, impatient, lyers, and blasphemers, she determined to forsake them and to ascend vp into heauen. So that this Philosopher concluded, that for the wickednes that men commit on earth, Justice hath left from them into heauen. Though this seme to be a poetical fiction, yet it comprehendeth in it hygh and profound doctrine: the which seemeth to be very clere, for where we se iustice, there are fewe theues, fewe murderers, fewe tyrants, & fewe blasphemours. Finally I say, that in that house or common wealth where iustice remaineth, a man cannot commit vice, & much lesse dessemble with the vicious. Homer desyring to exalt iustice, could not tell what to say more, but to call kinges, the children of the great god Iupiter: and that not for the naturalitie they haue, but for the offyce of iustice whiche they minister. So that Homer concludeth, that a man ought not to call iust princes other, but the children of god. The deuine Plato in the fourth booke of his common wealth saith, that the chiefest gift god gaue to men is: that they being (as they be) of such vyle cley, should be gouerned by iustice. I would to God all those which reade this writing, vnderstood right well that which Plato said: for if men were not indued with reason, and gouerned by iustice, amongst all beastes none were so vnpromysable. Let reason be taken from man where with he is indued, and iustice where by he is gouerned: then shall men easily perceiue in what sort he will lead his lyfe. He cannot fyght as the Elephant, nor defend hym selfe as the Tygre, nor he can hunt as the Lyon, neyther labour as the Oxe: and that where by he should profite (as I thynke) is, that he should eate Beeres & Lyons in his lyfe, as now he shalbe eat of worms after his death. All the Poets that inuented fictions, all the Oratours which made Orations, all the Philosophers which wrote bookes, all the sages which left vs their doctrynes, and all the Princes which instituted lawes ment nothing els, but to perswade vs to think how bryefe & vnpromysable this lyfe is, &

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howe necessary a thing iustice is therein. For the filth & corruption which the body hath without the soule: the selfe same hath the common welth without iustice. We cannot deny but that the Romaynes haue bene proude, enuyous, aduouterers, shamelesse, & ambitious: but yet with all these faultes they haue bene great obseruers of iustice. So that if god gaue the so many triumphes beyng laden and enuironed with so manye vices: it was not for the vertues they had, but for the great iustice which they did administer. Plinie in hys second booke saith, that Democritus affirmed there were two gods which gouerned the vniuersall worlde: that is to wete, Rewarde and Punishment. Whereby we may gather, that nothing is moze necessary then true and right iustice. For the one rewardeth the good, & the other leaueth not unpunished the euill. Saint Austyne in the fyfth booke *De ciuitate dei* sayeth these words. Iustyce taken away, what are realmes but denmes of theues: truly he had great reason. For if there were no whips for vacabondes, gags for blasphemers, fyres for perjury, fyre for heretiques, swordes for murderers, galoules for theues, nor prison for rebelles: we may boldly affirme that there woulde not be so manye beastes on the mountaines, as there woulde be theues in the common wealth. In many thinges or in the greatest parte of the common welth, we see that bread, wyne, corne, fysh, woll, and other thinges necessary for the lyfe of the people wanteth: but we neuer sawe but malicious menne in euery place dyd abounde. Therefore I sweare vnto you, that if there were a good bar-gayne to chaunge all the wycked menne in the common wealth, for one onely poore sheepe in the fylde. In the comon wealth we see naught els but whipping, dayly, beheading, slaying, drownyng, and hanging: but notwithstanding this, the wicked which remaine styll are so many in number, that if all those shoulde be hanged that deserue it by iustyce, a man could not fynd hangmen sufficient, nor gallowes to hange them vpon. Admitte according to the varietie of realmes & prouinces, that diuers lawes and customes haue bene instituted therein: Yet for a truth there was neuer nor neuer shalbe found any nation or common wealthe in the worlde so barbarous, but hath bene founded of iustice. For to affirme that menne can bee preserved without iustice, is as muche as to saye the fishe can liue without water. Howe is it possible that a common wealth may liue without iustice: fith without her cannot bee ruled one onely personne: Plinie in an epistle saith, that by him selfe hauinge the charge of a prouince in Affrike, demaunded an olde man and in gouernement experie, what he myght doe to administer iustice well: the aged manne answered, Doe iustice of thy selfe, yf thou wilt be a minister thereof: for the good iudge, with the ryght yerde of hys owne lyfe, ought to measure the whole state of the common wealth. And he sayde further, if thou wilt be right with menne, and cleane before god, be ware of presumption in thyne offyce. For the proude and presumptuous iudges often tymes doe contrary in their wordes, and also excede in their deedes. Plinie also saith that he profited moze with the counsaile thys olde man gaue hym: then with all that euer he had reade in his bookes. O to howe muche is he bounde that hath taken vpon him to administer iustice: For if such one be an vpright man, hee accomplisheth that wherunto he is bounde: but if suche one of hym selfe bee vniuste, iustyce of god he ought to bee punished, and lyke wyse of menne to bee accused.

When

When princes commaund their seruants or subiectes any thing, & that they cannot accomplishe them in such sorte as they had charge to do: then he ought to haue them excused (those excepted) whiche gouerne realmes & prouinces. For no man leaueh to administer iustice, but for want of knowlege or experience: or els through aboundaunce of affection or malice. If a capitaine lose a battaile he may excuse hym self, saying his men were fled when they shoulde haue assaulted their enemies. A poast may excuse hi self for y^e the waters wer so high. A hunter may say the beast is escaped another way & others such like: but a gouernour of a common wealth, what excuse can he haue that he dothe not iustice? Conscience ought to burden hym, & also he ought to be ashamed to take vpon him the charge of any thing, if he doute to bring it to effect: for the shamefast faces & haute courages either ought to put that in execution which they take vpon them, or els they ought to shew a lawfull cause why it tooke no effect. Let vs know first what iustice is, & then we shall knowe what is mete for the administration therof. The office of a good iudge is to defend the common welth, to help the innocent, to ayde the simple, to correcte the offender, to honour the vertuous, to help the orphanes, to do for the poore, to bridel the ambitious: finallye by iustice he ought to geue eche one his owne, & to dispossesse those which hold any thing wrongfully of others.

When a prince commaundeth any man to take the charge of iustice, & such one doth not seeke it of him selfe, if perchaunce afterwarde he did not in all points bryghtly in the administration therof, he might haue some excuse, saying that though he hath accepted it, it was not with minde because he woulde erre, but because with good will he would obey. What shall we saye of manye which without shame, without knowlege, without experience, & without conscience, do procure the office of iustice? If princes knew what they geue whē they geue the charge to any to gouerne the common wealth? I sweare vnto you, that they were better to giue them goods to synd them for .20. yeres: then for to trust them wth the charge of iustice. 20. daies. What a thing is it to see some men shamelesse, dishonest, great talkers, gluttons, ambitious, & couetous: the whiche without any reasonable cause auctoritie or knowlege, demaunde of princes an office of iustice, as if by iustice they dyd demaund their owne: Would to god the geuer would haue an eye to those whych in this wyse do demaunde. But what shal we say of those that doe sollicite the, procure the, importune them, beseeche them, & moze then that, euen as without shame they do demaund it, so without conscience lyke wyse they buy it. There remaineth in this case moze as yet, that is, that if those cursed men do not attayne to that whych they demaunde, & if those (haui^{ng} no conscience) doe not geue it: then they blasphemie & complayne of those whych are in fauour with princes, as yf they had done them greate iniurye. What trouble is it to good men to accomplishe the desyre of the euill. For the couetous and ambitious persons doe but desyre that the good men had the lyke payne in geuyng that they haue in demaunding. Many tymes I haue thought with my selfe, wherein so many damages of the common wealth shoulde consist, such disobedience, such contrarieties, and so many thestes: and in the ende I synde, that all or the most part procede in that, that they proude for ministers of iustice, not for conscience sake, but for couetousnes onely. Admyt that it appertayne to all to desyre and

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procure iustice: yet to none it appertaineth so muche to procure and defend it, as to the royall personne, whiche the subiectes ought some tyme to feare: but princes are bound to minister it equally to all. It is a great matter that princes be pure in lyfe, and that their houses be well ordered, to the end that their iustice be of credyte and auctoritie: for he which of him selfe is vnjust, geueth no hope that an other at hys handes shoulde haue iustice. He whiche cannot gouerne his owne house can euill gouerne the whole common wealth. These princes which are true in their wordes, cleane in their lyues, & iust in their woordes: though some tyme they erre in the administration of y^e common welth, all excuse them, sayeng that they erre not thorough the malice of them selues, but rather thorough the euill counsaile of others. So that all which the good prince doth they commend, and all the euill that chaunceth they excuse. Plutarke in the seconde booke of hys common wealth sayeth, that herein some princes differ from others: for the euill prince is onely obeyed, but the good prince is obeyed, feared, and loued. And more ouer he that is good, maketh heauy thinges light with his goodnes: and the tyrant that is euill, maketh thinges which are light to be very heauy through his naughtyness. Happy is the Prince whiche is obeyed: but muche more happy he, which is obeyed, feared, and loued. For the body is weary often tymes to obeye: but the harte is neuer constrained to loue. Titus the Emperour was once demaunded of these 2. thinges, that is to wete: whether to rewarde the good, or to punish the euill were for a prince more naturall. He answered. As naturall as bothe the right and left arme is in a man: so necessary is rewarde & punishment in a prince. But as we helpe our selues more with the right arme then with the lefte: so the prince ought more to endeouour hym selfe to rewarde then to punish, for punishment ought to be by the handes of a stranger: but rewarde ought to be wth hys owne proper handes. When we perswade princes to be iuste, and that they doe iustice, it is not to be vnderstanded that they should behead murderers, banishe rebelles and sedicious persones, hang theues, and burye felons alyue. For suche or other lyke thinges, rather appertaine to bloody hangemen, then to pitiefull kings. All the profite of iustice is, in that the prince be honest of person, carefull for hys household, zelous of the common wealth, and not large of his conscience. For princes ought not to bee commended for murderynge many cruelly: but for resourmyng the common wealth lounge. Plutarke in the comfortable oration that he wrote to Appoloni, speakynge of the lawes whiche Promotheus gaue to the Egyprians: amongst the residue he resited these three that followe.

We ordeine and commaund, that princes laye not handes on others for any crymes or offences done vnto hym selfe. For princes ought not to vse their handes to reuenge their owne iniuries: but rather by iustice to defende other that be iniured.

We ordeine and commaund, that all tymes when they shalbe in their common wealth and not in warres, they shal not weare weapons defensue, and muche lesse offensue. For good princes neither ought to be hasty, to the end they may kill: nor yet to haue byes, whereby they may be killed.

We ordeine & commaund, that the prince do not onely not kill wth his hands, but also that he do not see them do iustice wth his eyes.

For howe much noble and woorthy a thing it is, before the presence of a prince that all shoulde receiue honour: so sclaunderous a thing it is that anye in his presence should lose their lyues.

The way that princes ought to vse in chosing their iudges and officers in their countreys. Cap. ii.

S Parthianus in the lyues that he wrote of .30. tyrantes saide, that Ciriacus the tyrant, had a memoriall made of certeine of the Senatours whome he woulde haue killed: and when the thing was discovered they slewe him. They founde in the handes of an other tiraunt named Regilius, after he was deade, a memoriall of those whiche with his owne handes he had depriued of their lyues: wherefore they afterwarde depriued him of his buriall. O how many iudges are there in this worlde, that do as much auance them selues of those whom they haue caused to be whipt, to be slaine, to be beheaded, to be haged quartered & slaine: as others do which haue redeemed many captiues, or haue maryed many orphans. Those iudges which according to the order of lawes, customes, and iurisdictiones doe punish the euill, I doe well allowe: but to reioyce and auance them selues of them whome they haue condemned, I vtterly abhorre. For the vertuous and christian iudge ought rather to shed teares in the churches: then by affection to shed bloude of men in the seate of iudgement. And for the confirmation of that whiche I haue sayde, I affirme, that the good iudge and gouernour of the common wealthe, ought not to beare in mynde the murthers and slaughters done by others: but to recorde the iniuries whiche they haue done them selues. For in other mens offences we ought to be silent: and for our owne iniquities we ought to be penitent. Iudges execute some punishments, whiche menne disallowe, and god doth approue: an other tyne god condemneth the, though the worlde do allowe them: therefore the surest thing for suche iudges is, not to reioyse of their brethren whom they haue corrected, but what they thein selues for their owne offences haue deserued. In iudging others, by false witnes, the iudges many tymes against their wills doe erre: but in their owne matters they can neuer erre (vnlesse they will) since the offences whiche we committe are alwaies certaine. Therefore it greueth mee that there bee some so euill: whiche beinge accused before god woulde excuse them selues before menne, yet their owne brethren with false witness they dare condemne. Great care ought princes to haue, to examine them whome they will make iudges and gouernours. For the iudge whiche dayly maketh not an accompte with his conscience in secrete, shall commit euerye houre a thousande euyles in the common wealthe. O poore and miserable common wealthe, where the gouernours and iudges thereof doe not cast their eyes but vnto them whome they ought to chastise, where they doe not thynke in their harte but howe they maye enryche their coffers, where they doe not occupie their handes but to take byrbes, and doe not passe the tyme but in banquettes: And I sayde not without a cause banquettes. For there are many iudges whiche employe theyr iudye moze to geate frindes, to mayntayne their state proude: then for to read booke, to iudge mennes causes bprightly. The iudge which

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neuer readeth, the iudge whiche neuer studieth, the iudge whiche neuer openeth booke, the iudge which is neuer in his house, the iudge which day & night robbeth, howe is it possible that he execute one true iustice? There can bee no greater feare in a man, nor slaunders more greates in the common welth, then when the iudge (who ought to iudge and chastise the offences of others) is alwaies ouerwhelmed with vices him selfe. The iudge which presumeth to be good, and wil be good, and desireth to be good: a manne shoulde finde him nowhere, vnlesse he be studying in his house, or sitting in the place of iustice. Let not princes trust vpon this, when they proude iudges and gouernours for to iudge, saying: that if they fynde any euill, they wil soone cut him of, for suche are so euill, that if they want no meanes to get to those offices, they shal want no counsils nor corrupt frindes to suborne them therein. When princes & great lordes shall finde anye iudge euill, I counsaile them to auoide him immediately, or that they shewe them selues not contented with his dooinges: for suche one shal forthwith enforce him selfe to doe iustice, with intencion that those of the common wealth myght desire him to be theire iudge. Although my penne doth reprove these Iudges whiche are extreme and cruell: yet my entencion is not to commend the others whiche are negligent and carelesse, the whiche neither by knowledge can iudge, nor with stoutnes punish. The iudges whiche iudge, and gouerne, ought not to be with all so familiar, that all dare take vpon them to aske him: for in this case if some commend his gentle conuersacion, others will blame his parcial iustice. I counsaile, admonishe, and require Princes, that they content them selues not only to be true, pitifull, honeste, and vertuous, nor yet to be iuste: but that it is as well necessarie they be obseruers of iustice. For let them knowe that there is great difference betwene him that is iust, and an other that doth minister iustice: for to the prince that is good, cometh honour to his personne, but from him that ministrerth iustice, cometh profite to his common wealth. Peraduenture it is no wonder to see the Prince that will tell no lye, and to see his ministers not to speak one trueth: peraduenture I do not thinke my selfe slaundered, to se the prince temperate in eatinge, and to see all his seruantes distempered bothe wythe eating and drinkinge: peraduenture, and it is no cause to muse vpon, to see the princes chaste and honeste: and to see theire seruantes in fleshe, filthye and dissolute: peraduenture it is no cause to meruaile to see the prince iuste, and to loue iustice: and that verie fewe of hys ministers doe minister it. The ende why all these things are spoken is, to aduertise Princes that they bee not so carefull to bee chaste, sober, true and iust, but that they knowe whether theire gouernours and iudges are corrupted, couetous, greedy, vnshamefast, lyers, or byrbers. For if it toucheth vs much that oure Princes be good: so much more it toucheth vs that the ministers be not euill. One of the things wherewith princes ought to proude with their iudges and gouernours is, that by no meanes they suffer theire lawes and auncient customes to bee broken in theire common wealth: and that in theire stedes straunge customes bee not introduced. For the comminaltye is so variable in that they saye, and so light in that they aske, that they woulde dayly see a newe kinge, and hourly chaunge a newe lawe. Plinie in an epistle that he writeth to Escario saith. *Optime apud Persas capitale per legem fuit prohibitum, nouos aut peregrinos mores*

mores inducere. As if he spake more plainely. Amongest the Perles it was a lawe inuolable, that no man shoulde bringe into the common wealth anye straunge custome: & for suche an offence they shoulde paye none other ransome, but the losse of their heades. As menne dayly doe diminishe in vertue (vntlesse by force they bee withholden) and augment in banitie: so they woulde inuent newe deuyses and straunge customes, wherewith men shoulde be decayed, and the common wealth destroyed. For straunge meates doe alter mennes stomackes. When those of Creta were vngentle bled of the Rhodians, they did not praye to their goddes to sende them pestilence, warre, famine, or sedition amonge their enemies: but that they woulde suffer some cruel maners to bee brought in amongest their people. Let not those thinke that shall reade this, that it was a small curse those of Creta desired, and that it was a small reuenge whiche God gaue them of their enemies, if he gaue them that whiche they dyd requyre: for from warres, famine, and pestilence, some maye escape: but with the newe and straunge deuyses, we see all perishe. Of manye thinges the Historians doe reprove the Emperour Sergius Galba, and for one alone they doe praise him, whiche is that he neuer consented that in Rome anye newe lawe shoulde bee made, nor anye olde custome broken. And hee commaunded that those shoulde bee greuously punished, whiche brought in anye newe lawe: and hee rewarded those whiche put hym in mynde of anye olde custome, the whiche he commaunded to bee obserued. It is a mockerye, yea (better to saye) a scaunder, to see that some younge iudges will doe that of the common wealth, whiche a Taylour dothe of a gobone, (that is to saye) to tourne hym within and without, before and behynde, whiche they ought not to doe, nor the people to consent thereunto. For the Prince dothe not sende them to make lawes, nor to bringe in newe orders, but to the ende that they doe onelye preserve the common wealth in their good customes. Princes ought also to take greate care that vnto lyttle and greate, riche and poore, they minister equall iustice, siche there is no dyuine nor humayne lawe that geueth them power and authoritie to corrupt it, for if a Prince cannot wythout reason dispose his owne goods, much lesse he can make lawes and sell iustice. We doe not denye a Prince but that he is lord of beastes, of fysh, of byrdes, of mynes, of mountaines, of seruants and of felde, finallye that hee is lord of the sea and lande: but therefore we will not graunt hym that he is lord of iustice. For there is none other true Lord of iustice but God, whiche is the selfe same iustice. When a Prince dyeth and maketh his will hee saith: I leaue all my realmes & seignories to the prince my sonne and legittimate heire, and doe leaue vnto my seconde sonne such an estate and duchye, and to my daughter suche landes, and to all I recommend iustice, to the ende they doe obserue it, and cause it to bee obserued euerye one in his owne countrey. It is muche to note that the father dothe not saie that he leaueth vnto his sonne iustice, but that he doth recommend it vnto hym: so that the good prince ought to thinke that they haue not inherited iustice of their predecessours in foure of a parrimonie, but that God gaue it vnto them of truste. Princes of all thinges maye bee called lordes save onelye of iustice, wherof they are but onely ministers. We dare boldly saye, & the prince or grete lord whiche iudgeth causes not accordig to & diuine will, but accordig to
theire

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theire owne affection, we will not call him a iuste iudge, but a roring theefe. For the prince is muche worse whiche robbeth god of iustice: then the theefe whiche stealeth the goods from menne. Suetonius Tranquillus reciteth much wickednes of Domician, and the greatest of all was, the pooze, the Orphans and those whiche coulde doe little, he alwaies punished: & the other that were riche and of auctoritie he pardoned. He compounded with some for money, and with other he dissembled for fauour. Lampridius saide of Alexander Seuerus, the .25. Emperour of Rome, that he neuer kepte in his courtte anye euill man, or suffered any of his parentes to be vicious. And when he was demanded on a time why he banished one of his cosyns, since he was yong & a child: he answered them whiche entreated him for him and alleged: That though he was yonge & his cosin, yet *Charior est mihi respub.* as if more plainly he had said, I haue none other net of mine to me in my palace then the common wealth. O high, and muche more higher woordes, worthy for a truthe to be written in princes hartes, whereby they ought to be aduertised, that he said not, I take for my kynne one parte of the common wealthe. For the prince whiche feareth god, and desired to be founde iust, as he will indifferentely be obeyed of all, so ought he equally to admystrate iustice to all. If they will not credite me nor my penne, let them credit Plato in the booke of his common wealth: who geueth libertie and lycence to all the Plebeyans, to the end that euery one doe loue his wife, his childzen, and his parentes. And this sorte of loue he will not that princes haue, to whome he perswadeith that first aboue all thynges they loue theire common wealthe: for if the Prince doe loue anye other thinge aboue his common wealth, it is impossible but that one daye for the loue of that he will wrythe iustice. When Plato gaue not lycence to Princes not to enlarge their loue on diuers thynges, peraduenture he woulde counsaile them that they shoulde doe some wronges. It chaunceth ofte tymes that princes doe omitte iustice, not for that they will not admystrate it but because they will not be enfourmed of thynges, whiche they ought to remedye, and looke vnto. And this is vnexcusable, where he hurteth hys honour, and burdeneth hys conscience. For at the daye of iudgement, though he bee not accused for malice: yet he shalbee condemned for neglygence. The prince whiche is carefull, to see and enquire the dominages of his realmes: we maye saye that if he doth not proude for them, it is because he can doe no more, but hee whiche is neglygent to see them, and knowe them: we cannot saye but if hee leaue to proude, it is for that hee will not. The prince or greate lord, whych dare take vppon him suche thynges, what name or renoume maye we geue him: I woulde not we shoulde call suche a one father of the common wealth: but destroyer of hys countrey. For there can be no tyrannye greater, nor more vnequall: then for the Physicion to aske his duetye for hys cure, before he hath begone to minister the medicine. That Princes and greate lordes desyre to knowe theire reuenewes, I alowe them: but in that they care not to knowe the dominages of theire common wealthes, I doe discommende them. For the people paye tribute to theire Princes, to the ende they shoulde deliuer them from theire enemies, and defende them from tyrantes. For the iudges whiche wilbee euill, though he I saye muche, it will profite lytle: but to those whiche desyre to be good, that whiche is spoken (as I thinke) iustlyeth.

Not

Notwithstandinge that whiche is spoken I say, that iudges and gouernours ought to consider well with them selues, and see if they wil be counted for iust ministers, or cruell tirantes. For the office of a tyrant is, to robbe the common wealth: and the office of the good Prince is, to reforme the people. Princes and greate lordes, haue moze busynes then they thinke they haue: to see all those whiche will see them, and to heare all those whiche will complain vnto them. And the cause hereof is, admitte that whiche the subiect demaundeth, he presently cannot geue, nor that whereof he complaineth, he cannot reue dye: yet notwithstandinge they remaine after a sorte contented, sayeng that they haue now the shew of all their complaints and iniuries to their princes. For the wounded hartes often tymes vtter their inward paines whiche they feele, without any hope to receiue comfort of that which they desyre. Plutarke in his Apothegmes sayeth, that a pooze and aged woman, desired kyng Phillipe of Macedonie (whiche was the father of kinge Alexander the grente) that he woulde heare her with iustice: and sihe she was verie importunate vpon him, kyng Phillip said on a dave vnto her. I praye the woman be contented, I swere by the gods I haue no leasure to heare thy complainte. The olde woman answered the kinge. Beholde kinge Philyppe, if thou hast not time to heare me with iustice, resigne thy kingdome, & another shall gouerne thy common wealth.

Of an oracion whiche a villayne dwellinge neere to the ryuer of Danubie made before the Senatours of Rome, concerning the tyrannies and oppressions, which their officers vsed in his countrey. And the oracion is deuyled into thre Chapters.

Cap. iiii.

In the .x. yere of the reigne of the good emperour Marcus Aurelius there happened in Rome a generall pestilence: the whiche being so outrageous, the good emperour went into Campaigne, whiche at that tyme was verie healthfull, and without diseases, though it was very drye, and wanted much of that which was necessarie: yet notwithstanding, the good Emperour was there with all the principall Senatours of Rome. For in tyme of pestilence, men doe not seeke where they should reioice their parsones: but where they maye saue their lyues. Marcus Aurelius being there in Campania, was sore bered with a feuer. And as his condicion was alwaies, to be amongst Sages: so at that tyme hys sickenes required to be visited of phisicians. The resort that he had in hys pallace was verie greate, as well of Philosophers for to teach: as of phisicians for to dispute. For this prince ordeyned hys lyfe in suche sorte: that in his absence thinges touchinge the warre were well prouided: and in hys presence was nothyng but matters of knowledge argued. It chaunced one dave as Marcus Aurelius was enuironed with Senatours, Philosophers, phisitions, and other sage men, a question was moued among them, howe greatly Rome was chaunged, not onely in buyldinges, whiche almoste were vtterly decayed: but also in manners, whiche were wholly corrupted: the cause of all this euill grewe, for that Rome was full of flatterers: and destitute of those whiche durste saye the truth. These and suche other lyke wordes heard: the emperour toke vp his hand and blessed him, and declared vnto them a notable example, sayeng. In the first yere that I was cosull there

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there came a pooze villayne from the riuer of Danubye, to aske iustice of the Senate, agaynst a Censour whych he dyd soze oppresse the people, and in dede he dyd so well propounde hys complaint, and declare the follye and iniuries whych the iudges dyd in hys countrey: that I doubt whether Marcus Cicero could vtter it better wryth hys tonge, or the renowned Homer haue wrytten it more eloquently with his penne. This villayne had a small face, great lippes, hollow eyes, hys colour burnt, curled heare, bare headed, hys shooes of a Dorepige skynne, hys coate of gofes skynne, hys girdell of bull ruffes, a longe bearde and thicke, hys eye brydes couered hys eyes, the stomacke, & the neck couered wryth skynnes, heared as a beare, and a clubbe in hys hand. Without doubt when I sawe him enter into the Senate, I imagined it had beene a beast in fourme of a man: and after I hearde that whych he sayde, I iudged hym to be a God (if there are Gods) amongst menne. For if it was a fearefull thyng to beholde hys personne, it was no lesse monstrous to heare his wordes. At that tyme, there was greaie plesse at the doore of the Senate, of manie and diuers personnes, for to sollicite the affaires of theire prouinces: yet notwithstanding this villayne spake befoze the others, for twoe causes. The one, for that men were desyrous to heare what so monstrous a man woulde say: the other because the Senatours had this custome, that the complayntes of the pooze shoulde be hearde, befoze the requestes of the rich. Wherefoze this villayne afterwarde in the myddest of the Senate, began to tel his tale, and the cause of hys comynge thither: in the whiche he shewed him selfe no lesse bolde in wordes, then he was in his attyre straunge, and saide vnto them in thys sorte. O fathers conscripte, and happy people, I Mileno a ploughman, dwelling nere vnto the ryuer of Danube, doe salute you worthy Senatours of Rome, which are conuented here in this Senate, & I beseech the immortal gods my tong this day so to gouerne, that I may say that which is couenient for my countrey, and that they helpe you others to gouerne well the common wealth. For wrythout the helpe of God, we can neither learne the good, nor auoid the euill. The fatale destines permyttinge it, and our wretched full Gods forsakinge vs, our mishappe was suche, & to ye others fortune shewed her self so fauourable: that the proud captaynes of Rome, by force of armes toke our countrey of Germany. And I saye not without a cause, that at that tyme the gods were displeased with vs: for if we Germaines had appeased our Gods, ye Romaynes might well haue excused your selues for ouercomynge of vs. Greate is youre glozre O Romaynes, for the victories ye haue had, and triumphes whiche of manie realmes ye haue conquered: but notwithstanding greater shall your infamy be in the worlde to come, for the cruelties whiche you haue committed. For I let you knowe, yf you do not knowe it, that when the witked went befoze the triumphing chariots sayeng, lyue, lyue, inuincible Rome: on the other syde the pooze captiues went sayeng in theire hartes, iustice, iustice. My predecessours enhabited by the ryuer of Danubye, for when the dreye earth annoyed them, they came to recreate them selues in the freshe water: and if perchaunce the vnconstant water dyd annoy them, then they woulde retorne agayne to the mayne lande. And as the appetites and conditions of men are variable: so there is a tyme to fflye from the lande, to refrethe our selues by the water. And tyme also when we are annoyed with the water to re:

to retourne agayne to the lande. But howe shall I speake Romaynes, that in hyche I woulde speake your couetousnes of taking other mennes goods hath bene so extreme, & your pryde of commatunding straunge countreys hath bene so disordinate: that neither the sea can suffise you in the depenes thereof, neyther the lande assure vs in the fieldes of the same. Ohow great comforte it is for the troubled men, to think and be assured that there are iust gods, the which will do iustice on the vniust. For if the oppressed manne thought them selues not assured, that the gods would take their iniury of their enemies: they with their owne handes woulde destroy them selues. The ende why I speake this is, for so much as I hope in the iust gods, that as you others without reason haue cast vs out of our houses: so by reason shal others come after vs, and cast you others out of Italy, & Rome bothe. There in my countrey of Germany, we take it for a rule vnfallible, that he whiche by force taketh the good of another: by reason ought to lose his owne proper right. And I hope in the gods, & that which we haue for a prouerb in Germany, you shal haue for experience here in Rome. By the grosse woordes I speake, & by the strange apparell which I weare, you may well imagine that I am some rude villaine or barbarous boyme: but yet notwithstandinge I want not reason to know, who is iust and righteous in holdyng his owne: and who is a tyrant in possessing of others. For the rude manne of my profession, though in good stile they cannot declare that whiche they would vtter: yet notwithstandinge that, we are not ignorant of that whiche ought to bee allowed for good, nor whiche ought to bee condemned for euill. I woulde saye therfore in this case, that that which the euill with all their tyranny haue gathered in many daies, the gods shal take from them in one houre: and contrarywise all that which the good shal lose in many yeres, the gods will restore it them in one minute. For speaking the trueth, the euill to prosper in ryches, is not for that the gods will it, but that they doe suffer it, and though at this houre we complaine dissembling, we suffer much, but the tyme shal come that will paye for all. Betue me in one thing, O Romaynes, and doubt not therein: that of the vnlawfull gaine of the fathers, foloweth after the iust vndoing of their children. Manye often tymes doe marueile in my countrey, what the cause is that the gods doe not take from the wicked that which they winne, immediatlye as soone as they winne it: and as I think the reason hereof is, for the dissembling with them, by litle and little they gather together dyuers thinges, and afterwardes when they thinke least thereon, it is taken from them all at once. For the iust iudgement of the gods is, that since without reason they haue done euill to others: others by reason shoud come in lyke maner which doe euill vnto them. It is impossible that the valyant and sage man, who in his deedes presumeth to be wise, shoud take any taste in an other mans good: for if he dyd, he woulde neuer content him selfe with anye thinge, sith he hath not a conscience in that which is euill gotten. I know not Romaines, whether you vnderstande mee, but because you shal vnderstad me better, I say, that I maruaile, & I shoud rather wonder, how the man keepyng another mans goods, can sleepe or rest one hour, sith he knoweth he hath done iniury to the gods, flaudered his neighbours, pleased his enemies, lost his frendes, & endomaged those that he robbed, & woost of all that he hath put his personne in perill. And I saye, that he hath

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hath put his person in peryl: for the day that any man determineth to take my goods, he wyl also the same day (if he can) take my lyfe. It is an odious thing to the gods, and very slaundersous among men, that men should haue so much (thorough their fleshy desires) vertue bounde, and the raine of their euill woorkes so much at lybertie, that another mans misery seemeth to him riches, and that his owne riches semeth to hym selfe pouertie. I care not whether he be Greke, barbarous, Romaine, present or absent, I say and affirme, that he is and shalbe cursed of gods and hated of men, whiche without consideration wil change his good fame into shame, iustice into wronge, right into tyranny, trouthe into lyes, the certaine for the doubtful, hatyng hys owne proper, and spyghing for that of other mennes. He that hath his chiefe intencion to gather goods for his children and seeketh not a good name among the renowned: it is iust that such one doe not onely lose the goods whych he hath gathered, but also that wythout good name he remaine shameful among the wicked. Since you other Romaines naturally are prond, & pryde doth blynd you, you thinke your selues happy, that for hauing so much as ye haue more then others, that therfore you should be more honored then al, the whych truely is not so. For if presently you wyl not open your eyes & cōfesse your owne errors, you shal se, & wheras you aununt your selues to be lords of strange prouinces: you shal fynd yourselues made slaues with your owne proper goods. Gather as much as you wyl, let them doe all you do commaund them: yet as I thynk it lytle auaileth to haue Plebeians houses wyth goodes, and contrariwys the hartes to bee possessed wyth couetousnes. For the ryches whiche are gotten with couetousnes, and are kept wyth auarice, doe take away the good name from the possessor, and do nothyng auaille to maintein his lyfe. It cannot be suffered many dayes, and much lesse hidde many yeres, that one man should be counted bothe for riche among the ryche, and for honoured among the honorable: for it is impossible that he whych is a great louer of tempozall goods, should be a frende of hys good name. If the couetous men were of their owne honor as greedy, as they are of the goods of an other desirous: I sweare vnto you by the immortall gods, that the lytle woorme or moth of couetousnes would not gnawe the rest of theyr lyfe, nor the canker of infamy shoulde destroy theyr good name after their death. Herken you Romaines, herken what I wyl saye, and I beseeche the gods that you may vnderstande it: For otherwise I should lose my labour, and ye others should take no fruite of my woordes. I se that all the worlde hateth pryde, & yet there is none that wyl folow humanitie. Every man condemneth adultery, and yet I se no man that liueth chaste. Every man curseth excesse, and I se no man hye temperatly. Every man praiseth patience, and I se no man that wyl suffer. Every manne blameth flouth, and I se no man, but those that are ydel. Every one blameth auarice, and yet every man robbeth. One thyng I saye, & not wythout teares in thys senate, openly I doe declare it, whych is, that wyth the tonge every man prayseth vertue: and yet they them selues with all their lymmes are seruaunts vnto vyces. Do not thynke that I saye thys onely for the Romaines whych be in Illiria: but for the Senatours whych I se here in the Senate. All you Romaines, in your deuyles about your armes, haue this for your word. *Romanorum est debellare superbos, & parcere subiectis.* Cruelye you shoulde better haue

haue saide: Romanorum, est spoliare innocentes, & reddere subiectos. For you Romaynes are but destroyers of the people that be peaceable: and robbers of the swette & laboures of strangers.

The byllayne argueth againste the Romaynes, which without cause or reason conquered theire countrey, and proued manifestlye that theye throughte of sending of their goddes, were banquished of the Romaynes.

Cap. liii.

I Aske ye Romaines what occasion ye haue, that are brought by nigh to the ryuer of Tyber, against vs that liue in peace, nigh to the riuer of Danuby. Peraduenture ye haue seene vs frendes to youre foes, or els we haue shewed our selues your enemies: peraduenture you haue hard say, that forsaking our owne land, we should go conquere fozein realmes: peraduenture ye haue bene aduertised, & we rebelling against our owne lordes, should become obedient to the cruelle barbarous: peraduenture ye haue sent vs some imbaassador to desire vs to be your frendes: or els there came some from vs to Rome, to desyre ye as our enemies: peraduenture some king died in our realme, whiche by his testament made ye heirs to our realme: wherby you claime your title, and seke to make vs your subiectes: peraduenture by some auncient lawe or custome ye haue founde, & the noble and worthy Germany, of necessitye is subiecte to the proude people of Rome: peraduenture we haue destroyed your armie, we haue wasted your fieldes, sacked your cities, spoiled your subiectes, or sauored your enemies: so & to reuenge these iniuries ye should destroy our land: if we had ben your neighbours, or you ours, it had ben no marvel though one should haue destroyed the other. For it chaunceth oftentimes, & through controuersy of a litle pece of ground, tedious warres betwene people arise. Of a trouth none of all these things which I haue named, hath chaunced betwene ye Romaines and vs Germanes. For in Germany we felte youre tyrannie, so sone as we hard of your renowne, If ye be greened with that I haue saide, I pray you be not offended with the that I wil say, whiche is: that & name of Romaines, & the crueltie of tyrants, arrived together in one day vpon our people. And what moze to say, I know not Romaines, of the litle care the goddes do take, & of the great audactie & me haue. For I see & he which posselleth much doth oppresse hym which hath but litle: & he that hath but litle, waiteth not him & hath much. So disordered couetousnes striueth w secret malice, & secret malice geueth place to open theft, & open robbery no man resisteth, & the rof cometh, & the couetice of a malicious man is accomplished, to the prejudice of a whole state. Harken ye romaines, hearken, & by the immortal gods I do censure you, geue eare to that I wil say, which is, consider wel what you haue do: for the gods wordes be in vaine, or els men must haue an ende, the worlde in time must nedes fal, or els the worlde shalbe no worlde. Fortune must nedes make sure the pinne of the whele, or els & shalbe sene which neuer was seene, which is: that which in .8. yeares ye haue wonne, ye shal wthe in .8. daies lose. For nothing can be moze iust, since ye by force haue made your selues tirants: then & the gods by iustice should make ye slaues. And do not think ye romains though you haue subdued Germany, and be lordes therof, that it was by anye

B. l.

warrelpe

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warrelly indurtye: for ye are no more warlike, no more coragious, nor more hardy, ne yet more valiaūt the we Germanes, but sins through our offences we haue prouoked y gods to wrath, they for y punishmēt of cure disordinate vices ordeyned, y ye should be a cruel plague & scourge to our pōs. Do not take your selues to be strōg, neither repute vs to be so weak, y if the gods at y time had fauoured y one part, as much as y other: it might perchance haue happened, ye should not haue enioied the spoile. For to say the truth, ye wan not the victōry through y force of weapōs, y you brought frō Roome: but through the infymie vices, which ye founde in Germany. Therefore since we weare not overcome for beinge cowardis, neither for beinge weak, nor yet for beinge fearefull, but only for beinge wicked, & not hauing the gods laurable vnto vs: what hope ye Romaines to become of you, being as you are vicious, & hauing y gods angry w you? Do not think Romaines to be the more victorior, for y ye asseble great armies, or y ye abound in treasures, neither for y you haue greater gods in your ayd, or that ye build greater tēples, nor yet for that ye offer such great sacrifices. For I let you know, if ye do not know it, y no man is in more fauor w the gods, than he which is at peace w vertue. If y triumphes of y conquerours consisteth in nothing els but in subtil wittes, politike captaines, valiant souldiers, & great armies: about doubt it would litle auaille to cary al this to the warre, sins afterwards we se by experieñce, y men can do no more but geue the battailes, & the gods the selues must geue the victories. If I be not deterued, I thynke that for our offences we haue insufficientlye satisfied the gods wrath. But truelye I beleue that the cruelties which ye haue done vnto vs, and the vnthankfullnesse whiche you haue shewed the goddes (though as yet ye haue not payd it) that once ye shall pay it. And hereafter it may chaunce, that as presentlye ye count vs for slaues: so in tyme to come ye shall acknowledge vs for lordes. Synce the traualynge by the waye, I haue seene the highe mountaynes, diuers prouinces, sundrye nations, countreys so sauage, people so barbarous, suche and so manye miles as Germany is distant from Roome, I muse what sonde toyne came in the Romaines heades: to sende to conquere Germany. If couetousnesse of treasures caused it, I am sure they spent more money to conquere it, and at this present doe spende to kepe it, then the whole reuenewes of Germany amounteth, or maye amount in manye yeares: and perchance theye maye lose it, befoze they recover that they spent to conquere it. And if ye say vnto me Romaines that Germanie is not conquered of Rome for euer, but that onelye Rome should haue the glozye to be mistres of Germany, this also I saye is vanitie and follye. For litle auailleth it to haue the forts and castels of the people: when the hartes of the inhabitautes are absente. If ye saye that therefore ye conquered Germany, to amplifie and enlarge the limittes and boundes of Rome, also mee thinketh this as foolish an enterprise. For it is not the point of wise and valiaunt men to enlarge their dominions, and diminish theire honour. If ye saye ye sent to conquere vs, to the end we should not be barbarous, nor liue like tirautes, but that you would we should liue after your good lawes and customes, yf it bee so I am well content. But how is it possyble ye should geue lawes to straungers, whē you break y lawes of your own pdecessours: great shame ought they to haue, which take vnto the to correct others, when they haue more nede to be corrected the selues.

For the blinde man ought not to take vpon him to leade the lame. If this be true (as presently it is) what reason or occasion had proude Rome, to take and conquer the innocent Germanye? Let vs all go therfore to robbe, to kyll, to conquer, and to spoile, sins we see the worlde so corrupte, and so far from the loue of god, that euery man (as we may perceiue) taketh what hee can, kylleth whom he will, and that which worst of all is, that neither those which gouerne wil remedy so many euils as are committed, neither those which are offended dare complaine. Ye chiefe iudges at this day are so harde to bee entreated, ye take so litle regard vnto the pooze oppressed: & they think it moze quiet to remaine in trouble at home, then to come and put vp their complaints before you here at Rome. And the cause hereof is, that there in their countrey they haue but one which pursueth the: and here in this senate they are euill willed of al, and that is, because he which complaineth is pooze, and the other which is complained on is riche. Therefore since fortune would it, and the fatall destinies permit it, that the proude Rome should be mistresse of our Germanye, it is but reason ye should kepe vs in iustice, and mainteine vs in peace. But you do not so, but rather those which come thither do take from vs our goodde, and ye & are here do rob vs of our good name, saying, & since we are a people without law, without reason, & without a king (as vnknown barbarous) ye maye take vs for slaues. In this case ye Romans are greatly deceiued, for me thinketh it reason ye can not cal vs without reason, since we being such as we are, and as the gods created vs, remaine in our proper countreis, without desiring to seeke or inuade foreine realmes. For with moze reason we mighte say, that ye were men withoute reason, beinge not contented wth the sweete and fertile Italye: but that throughe the dyng of bloude you should desire to conquer al the yearth. In & ye say we deserue to be slaues, because we haue no prince to commaund vs, noz senat to gouerne vs, noz army to defend vs, to this I will aunswere. That since we had no enemies, we neded no armies, & sith euery man is contented wth his lotte and fortune, we had no necessitie of a proude senate to gouerne vs, & we being as we are all equall, it neded not we should cōsēt to haue anye princes amongst vs. For the office of princes is to suppress tyrants, & to mainteine & people in peace. If ye saye further & we haue not in our countrey a cōmon wealthe, noz pollicy, but that we liue as & brute bests in & mountaignes, in this also you haue but small reason. For we in our countrey dyd suffer noe lyeys, neyther rebels, noz sedicious persons, noz me & broughte vs (fro straunge countreis) any apparail for to be vicious, so & sith in apparail we were honest, & in meat very tēperate, we neded no better behauiour. For although in our countrey there are noe merchands of Carthage, oyle of Mauritania, marchāts of Tyre, Steele, of Catabrie, odours of Asia, gold of Spaigne, siluer of Britaine, Amber of Sidonie, silke of Damasco, corne of Scicill, wine of Canady, purple of Arabye: yet for al this we are not brutishe, neyther cease to haue a cōmon wealthe. For these & such other like things, geue moze occasiō to stir vp many vices: the for vertuous me to liue accōrdig to vertue. Blessed, & happy is & cōmō welth, not where grete riches abūde, but where vertues are highly cōmēdēd: not where many light & angrie me resort, but where & paciēt are respected: therfore it foloweth, & of & cōmō welth of Rome for being rich, we should haue pittie: & of & cōmō welth of Germanye for being pooze, ye ought to haue

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enue. Would to god that y contetacion we haue w our pouerty, ye others had y same w your riches. For then neyther ye had robbed vs of our coittreys, nor we had not comen hither now to cōplaine in Rome of your tyrāny. I se remaines, that y one differeth much from the other. For ye others, though ye heare our oppreſſions, yet thereby ye loase not your pastime: but we others can neuer dry the teares of our eies, nor cease to bewaile our infinite misfortunes.

¶ The villaine conclude the his oration against the iudges, which minister not iustice, and declare the howe prejudiciall suche wicked men are vnto the publike weale.
Cap. v.

Ye woulde thinke I haue saide al that I can say, but certainly it is not so. For there remaineth many things to speak, which to heare ye will be as-tonied, yet be ye assured, that to speak then I will not be afrayed, sith you others in doing the are not ashamed. For an open offence, deserueth not secret correction. I meruaile much at ye Romaines, what ye meained to send vs (as you did) such ignorant iudges, y which by the immortal gods I sweare, can neyther declare vs your lawes, & much lesse they can vnderstand ours. And y cause of al this euil is, y ye set not those which be best able to minister to vs iustice in Germany, but those which haue best frindes w you in Rome: presuppose y to those of y senat, ye geue y office of censourship, more for importunitie, the for abilitie. It is litle y I can say here, in respect they dare do there. That whiche ye command the here, I know not: but of y which they do there, I am not ignorant, which is. Your iudges take all bribes y are brought vnto the open: and they pōble & haue as much as they can secretly. They greuously punish y offences of y poore, & dissemble w the faultes of y riche: they cōsēt to many euils, to haue occasion to commit greater thestes: they forget y gouernemēt of the people to take their pleasure in vice. And being here to mitigate slaunders, there are those which are most slaunderous: & wout goods it auailthe no man to aske iustice. And finally vnder the colour y they be iudges of Rome, they feare not to rob all the lād of Germany. What meanethe this ye Romaines, shall your pride neuer haue end in cōmāding, nor your couetice in robbing? Say vnto vs what ye will in words, but oppres vs not so in dedes. If you do it for our children, loade the w yzōs & make the slaues. For ye cā not charge the w more the they are able to carpe, or suffer. If you doe it for our goodes, go thither & take the all. For in our countrey we do not vse as ye Romaines do, nor haue such cōditions as ye haue here in Rome. For you desire to liue poore, because ye desyre to dye riche. If ye say y we will rebel, I marueile what you shoulde meane to think so, sith ye haue spotted vs, robbed vs, & handled vs yll. Assure me ye Romaines, y ye will not brypeople vs: & I will assure you we will not rebell. If our seruice do not content ye, strike of our heads as to euil men. For (to tell ye the truth) y knife shal not be so fearful to our necks, as your tiranies be abhorred in our hartes. Do ye knowe what you haue done, ye Romaines, ye haue caused vs of y miserable realme to sweare, neuer to dwell w our wiues, & to slep our owne children, rather then to leaue them in the handes of so wicked and cruel tirants as ye be. For we had rather they shoulde dye in libertie, the liue in bondage.

bondage. As desperate me we haue determined to suffer, & endure y^e beaſtly mo-
 cions of y^e fleſh, during y^e time we haue to liue, to y^e end we wil not get our wiues
 wth childe. For we had rather liue chaſt. 20. or 30. yeares, theⁿ to leaue our childreⁿ
 ppetual ſlaues. If it be true y^e y^e children muſt endure, y^e which y^e miſerable fa-
 thers do ſuffer? It is not only good to ſley the^m, but alſo it ſhoulde be better not
 to agree they ſhoulde be bozne. Ye ought not to do this Romans, for y^e ſhoulde take
 by force, ought y^e better to be gouerned, to y^e intent y^e y^e miſerable captiues ſeing
 iuſtice duely adminiſtred preſently, ſhoulde therby forget y^e tyranny paſſed, & cōtēt
 the^m ſelues wth ppetual ſeruitude. And ſithe it is true, y^e we are come to cōplain of
 y^e oppreſſions which your officers do here vpon y^e riuier of Danuby, p aduenture
 ye which are of y^e ſenat will here be, & though you are now determined to heere
 be, yet ye are ſlow to remedy be: ſo y^e before ye begin to reſourme an euil cuſ-
 toime, y^e whole cōmon welth is all redy vndon. I wil tel ye of ſome thinges ther-
 of, to thintent you may know the^m, & then to reſourm the^m. If there come a right
 pooze mā to demaūd iuſtice, hauing no mony to geue, nor wine to preſent, nor
 oyle to promiſe, nor frindes to help him, nor reueneue to ſuccour him, & mayn-
 taine him in expēces: after he hath cōplained they ſatiffie him wth wordes, ſaying
 vnto him y^e ſpedely he ſhall haue iuſtice. What wil ye? I ſhoulde ſay, but y^e in the
 meane time they make him ſpend that litle he hath, & geue hi nothing though
 he demaund much, they geue him vaine hope, & they make him waſt y^e beſt of
 his life, euery one of the^m doth promiſſe his fauour, & after wards they al lay hā-
 des vpon him to oppreſſe him. The moſt of the^m ſay his righte is good, & after
 wards they geue ſentence againſt him: ſo that the miſerable perſone whyche
 came to complaine of one, returneth home complaining of all, curſing his cru-
 ell deſtenties, & cryinge out to the iuſt and merifuſſ gods for reuengement. It
 chaunſeth alſo, that oft times there cometh to complaine heare in the Senat,
 ſome flattering man moze for malice, then by reaſon of right, or iuſtice: and ye
 Senators crediting his double wordes, & his fained teares, immediatly or-
 dein a Cēſor to go & geue audience on their cōplaints. Who being gōne, & re-
 turned, ye ſeke moze to remedy & geue eare to the complaints of y^e Iudge: theⁿ
 to the ſclaunders which were among the people. I will declare vnto you mye
 life, O ye Romans, & therby ye ſhall ſe how they paſſe their life in my coun-
 trey. I liue by gathering akornes in the winter, & reapinge corne in y^e ſūmer.
 ſome time I ſithe aſwell of neceſſitie, as of pleaſure, ſo that I paſſe almoſte al
 my lyfe alone in the fieldes, or in the mountaignes. And if you wote not whye,
 heare me, & I wil ſhew you. I ſe ſuch tyranny in your iudges, & ſuch robbeti-
 es as they commit among the pooze people, & there are ſuch diſſentions in that
 realme, ſuch iniuries cōmitted therein, y^e pooze cōmon wealth is ſo ſpoyled, there
 are ſo few that haue deſire to do good, and alſo there are ſo few that hope for
 remedy in y^e ſenate: y^e I am determined (as moſt vnhappy) to baniſhe my ſelfe
 out of mine owne houſe, & to ſeperate my ſelfe from my ſweete company, to the
 end my eyes ſhoulde not be hold ſo miſerable a chaunge. For I had rather wan-
 der ſolitarie in the fields, then to ſee my neighbours hourly lamēt in y^e ſtreets.
 For there the cruell beaſtes do not offende me, vnleſſe I do aſſault the^m: but y^e cur-
 ſed men, though I do ſerue them, yet dayly they bere me. Without doubt it is
 a marueſlous paine to ſuffer an ouerthrowe of fortune: but it is a greater for-
 ment when one ſelethe it without remedy. And yet withoute compariſon my

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greatest griefe is, when my losse may be remedied, & yet he which may, will not: & he yet will, can not by any meanes remedy it. Cruel Romans, ye fele nothing yet we fele, in especiall I which speake it, ye shal se how I fele it, since only to reduce it to memory my eyes do dafell, my tongue wil waxe weary, my iointes do seuer, my hart doth tremble, my entrailes do breake, and my flesh consumeth, what a woeful thing is it, in my countrey to se it with my eyes, to heare it wyth my eares, & to fele it with myne owne hands: Truly the griefes whiche yet wooll Germany suffreth are such, & so many: that I beleue yet yet merciful gods will haue compassion vpon vs. I wil not desire ye to think slander of my woordes: but onely I do beseech ye, you wil vnderstand wel what I say. For you ymagining (as you doe presume to be discrete) shal see right wel that the troubles which came to vs from men, & among men, with men, & by the hands of men: it is a small matter yet we as men do fele them speaking. For according to the truth, & also with liberty, if I should declare euery other iuste aduertisement which came from the senat, & al the tyranny which your iudges comit in the miserable realme, one of these .2. thinges must ensue, either the punishment of me, or yet deprivation of your officers if I say true. One thing onely comforteth me, wherof I with other infortunate people haue had experience, in that I think my selfe happy, to know that the iust plagues proceede not from the iuste gods, but through yet iust deserts of wicked men: And that our secret fault doth waken those, to the end that they of vs may execute open iustice. Of one thing only I am sore troubled, because the gods can not be contented, but for a small fault, they punish a good man much: & for many faultes, they punishe euill men nothing at all, so that the gods do beare with the one, & forgieue nothinge vnto the other. Of secret iudgements of god, that as I am bound to praise your woordes, so likewise if I had licence to condemne them, I durst saye, yet ye cause vs to suffer greuous paines, for that ye punish & persecute vs by the hands of such iudges, the which (if iustice toke place in the world) whē they chastise vs wyth their hands, they do not deserue to haue their heades on their shoulders. The cause why now again I do exclaime on yet immortal gods, is to se, that in these .15. daies I haue bene at Rome, I haue sene such dedes done in your senat: yet if the least of them had ben done at Danuby, the gallows & gibbets had ben hanged thicker of theues, then the vyneyard is with grapes. I am determined to see your doings, to speake of your dishonesty in apparell, your litle temperance in eating, & your disorder in affaires, & your pleasures in liuing: and on yet other side, I see that when your prouision arriveth in our countrey, we carry into the temples, & offer it to the gods, we put it on their heads: so that the one meeting with the other, we accomplish that which is commaunded, & accurse those that commaunded. And sith therfore my hart hath now sene, that which it desireth, my minde is at rest, in spitting out the poyson which in it abideth. If I haue in any thing here offended with my tongue, I am redy to make recompense with my head. For in good faith I had rather winne honour, in offering my selfe to death: then ye should haue it, in taking from me my life. And here the vttermost ended his talke, immediatly after Mar. Aur. saide to those whiche were aboute him. How think ye my frindes, what kernell of a nut, what golde of the myne, what corne of straw, what rose of bypers, what mary of bones, & how noble & balliaunt a man hath he shewed him selfe: What reasons so hye, what woordes so

so wel couched, what truth so true, what sentences so wel pronounced, & also what open malice hath he discovered? By the faith of a good man I sweare, as I may be deliuered from this feuer which I haue: I sawe this villaine standing boldly a whole houre on his feete, & al we beholdinge the earthe as amazed, coude not answer him one word. For in dede this villaine confuted vs with his purpose, & astonied vs, to se the litle regarde he had of his life. The senate afterwarde, being al agreed, the next day following we provided new iudges for the ryuer of Danuby, & commaunded the villaine to deliuer vs by writing, all that he had saide by mouth, to the end it might be registred in þ booke of good sayng of straungers, which were in the senate. And further it was agreed, þ the saide villaine (for the wise wordes he spake) should be chosen senatour, and of the free men of Rome he should be one: and that for euer he should be sustayned w the comon treasour. For our mother Rome hath alwaies bene praysed & esteemed, not only to acquite the seruices which hath bene done vnto her: but also the good wordes, which were spoken in the Senate.

¶ That princes & noble men oughte to be very circumspect in chosinge iudges and officers, for therein consisteth the the profyte of the publike weale.

Cap. vi.

Alexander the great (as the historiographers say) in his youth bled hunting very much specially of the mountains: & that which is to be maruelled at, he would not hunt Deare, goats, hares, nor partridges: but Tigers, Lynxes, elephants, corodilles, and Lyons. So that this mighty prince did not onely shewe the excellency of his courage, in conqueringe proude princes: but also in chaling of cruel, & sauage beasts. Plutarke in his Apothegmes saith: that the greate Alexander had a familiar seruaunt, named Crotherus, to whom often times he spake these words. I let the to know Crotherus, that the valyāt princes ought not only to be bryght in their realmes which they gouern: but also to be circumspect in pastimes which they vie, that the auctoritie whiche in the one they haue worne, in the other they do not lose. When Alexander spake these wordes truly he was of more auctoritie then of yeares: But in the ende he gaue this example, more to be folowed, & commaunded, then to be reprobued or blamed. I saie to be folowed, not in the huntinge that he exercised: but in the great courage which he shewed. To the Plebeyans & men of base condicion, it is a litle thing, þ in one matter they shew the it might, & in other things theyre small power is knowen: but to princes & greate lordes it is a discommendable thing, that in earnest matters any man should accuse them of pryde, & in thinges of sport, they should count them for light. For the noble & valiaunt Prince, in thinges of importaunce, ought to shew great wisdom, & in meane things, great stoutnes. The case was such, þ Alexander þ great, hunting on the wilde mountaines, by chaunce met with a cruel Lion, & as the good Prince would toyn his honoz with the Lion, & also the Lion preferue his own life, they were in griepes the one of the other so faste, that bothe fell to the earthe, where they strided almoste halfe an houre, but in the ende the Lyon remained there deade, and the hardye Alexander escaped all bloudye. This huntynge of Alexander and the Lyon thorought all Grece, was greatly renowned:
I saie

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I say gretly renowned, because þ grauers & painters drew a pourtrait forth, with in stone worke, of this huntunge, & the grauers here of were Lisippus, and Leocarcus, marueilous grauers of artists workes, which they made of mettall, where they liuely set forth Alexander & the Lion fighting, & also a familiar seruant of his named Crotherus, being among þ dogges beholding the. So that the worke seemed not onely to represent an auncient thing: but that þ Lyon, Alexander, Crotherus, & the dogges, seemed also to be aliue in the same chase. When Alexander fought with the Lyon, ther came an Embassatour from Sparthes to Macedonia, who spake to Alexander these wordes. Woulde to god (immortall prince) that þ force you haue bled with the Lyon, in the mountain, you had employed against some prince, for to be Lorde of the earth. By the wordes of the Embassatour, & the deedes of Alexander, may easely be gathered, that as it is comly for Princes to be honest, valiaunt, and stout: so to the contrary it is vnseemly for them to be bolde, and rash. For though princes of their goodes be lyberall, yet of thair lyfe they oughte not to be prodigall. The diuine Plato, in the tenth booke of his lawes saith, that þ .2. renowned Philosophers of Thebes, whose names were Adon, & Clinias fell at variaunce with the them selues, to know in what thing the prince is bound to aduenture his life, Clinias said, that he ought to dye for any thing touching his honour. Adon saide the contrarie. That he should not hazarde his life, vnles it were for maters touching the affaires of the common wealth. Plato saith, those .2. philosophers had reason in þ they saide: but admit that occasion to dye should be offred the prince, for þ one, or the other: he ought rather to dye for that thing touching iustice, then for the thinge touching his honour. For there is no great difference, to dye moze for the one, then for the other. Applying þ we haue spoken, to that we will speake, I say, that we do not desire, nor we wil not, that princes and greates lordes doe destroy them selues with Lions in the chase, neither aduenture their persones in the warres, nor that they put their liues in peril for the common weale: but we only require them, that they take some paines and care to prouide for thinges belonging to iustice. For it is a moze naturall hunting for princes, to hunt out the viciouss of their common weales: then for to hunt the wilde bores, in þ thicke woodes. To the end princes accomplish this which we haue spoken, we wil not aske them time when they ought to eat, slepe, hunt, sport & recreate the selues: but that of the foure and twenty houres that be in the daye and nyghte they take it for a pleasure and commoditie one houre to talke of iustice. The gouernement of the common weale consisteth not, in that they should trauaile vntill they sweate, and molest their bodies, shed their bloude, shorten their lyues, and lose their pastimes: but all consisteth, in that they should be diligent to foresee the damages of their common wealth, and likewise to prouide for good mynisters of iustice. We doe not demaunde Princes and greates lordes, to geue vs their goodes, nor we forbidd them not to eate, to forsake slepe, to sporte, to hunte, nor to putte their lyues in daunger: but we desyre and beseeche them, that they prouide good mynisters of iustice for the common wealth.

Firste they oughte to be very diligent to serche them oute, and afterwards to be moze circumspect to examine the: for if we sighe with the teares to haue good Princes, we oughte muche moze to praye that wee haue not euill officers.

What

What profiteth it the knight to be nimble, & if the horse be not ready: what availeth it the owner of the ship to be sage, & expert, if the Pilot be a foole & ignorant: What profiteth the king to be valiant and stout, and the Captayne of the warre to be a coward: I meane by this I have spoke, what profiteth it a Prince to be honest, if those which minister iustice be dishonest: What profiteth it vs if the prince be true, if his officers be liars: What profiteth it vs if the prince be sober, if his ministers be drunken: What profiteth it if the prince be gentle, & loving, if his officers be cruell, & malicious: What profiteth it vs, that the prince be a geuer, liberrall, & an almes man, if the iudge which ministereth iustice, be a byrber, & an open thefe: What profiteth it if the prince be carefull, & vertuous, if the iudge be negligent and vicious: finally I say, that it lytel availeth that the prince in his house be secretly iust, if aboyning to that, he trust a ticaunt & open thefe with the gouernement of the common weale. Princes and great Lordes when they are within their pallaces at pleasure, their myndes occupied in hygge things, do not receiue into their secreat companye, but their entier frindes. At another time they will not, but occupy them selues in pastimes and pleasure: so that they know not what they haue to amend in their vses, & much lesse by which they ought to remedy in their common weales. I will not be so eger in reprouing, neither so satyrcal in writing, as it should seme I would perswade Princes, that theye liue not accordinge to the highnesse of their estates: but accordinge to the life of the religious. For if theye will keepe them selues from beinge tyrantes, or beinge outragiouslye vicious: we cannot deny them sometimes to take their pleasures. But mye intention is not, so straghtelye to commaunde Princes to be iuste: but onelye to shewe them howe theye are bounde to doe iustice. Common wealthes are not losse, for that their Princes liue in pleasure: but because they haue lytel care of iustice. In the ende people doe not murmure when the Prince dothe recreate his person: but when he is to slacke to cause iustice to be executed. I would to GOD, that Princes toke an accompte with the godde, in the thynges of their conscience, touchyng the common wealthe: as theye doe with the men, touchyng their rentes and reuenewes. Plutarke in an Epistle hee wrote to Traiayne the Emperoure, sayeth: it pleaseth me verie well, moste puissaunte Prince, that the Prince be suche one, as all maye saye that in hym there is nothyng worthe of reprehension: butte addyng thereunto, it dyspleaseth mee muche more that he shoulde haue so cuill iudges, that all shoulde saye, if them were nothyng worthe of commendacion. For the faultes of Princes verie well maye be excused: butte the offences of the officers, can by noe meanes be endured. Manye Princes and greates Lordes deceiue them selues, in thynkyng that theye doe their dute, in that theye be vertuous in their performes, but it is not so: For it suffyseth not a Prince to drawe vnto hym all vertues, butte also he is bounde to roote all vices oute of the common wealthe. Admitte that Princes will not, or of them selues cannot gouerne the common wealthe: yet let vs desire and admonysh them, to seeke good officers to doe it for them. For the poore Plebeian hath no accompte to render, but of his good or euill lyfe: butte the Prince shall render accompte, of his vicious lyfe which hee hath ledde, and of the lytle care that hee hath had of his common wealthe.

THE THIRDE BOOKE

Seneca in an epistle he wrote to a frinde of his named Lucilla sayeth. My dere friend Lucilla, I would gladly thou wouldest come & see me here in Rome: but I pray thee recomend to good iudges & Ile of Scicile. For I would not desire to enjoy thy sight, if through my occasion I shouldst leaue the common wealthe out of order. And to the entent thou mayest knowe what condicions they ought to haue, whom thou shouldst chose for gouernours or iudges: I will let thee vnderstand, that they ought to be graue in their sentences, iust in their wordes, honest in their workes, mercyfull in their iustice, and aboue all, not corrupted with bribes. And if I do aduertise thee of this, it is because if thou diddest take care to gouerne thy common wealthe well, thou shouldst now be suspicious to examine them, to whom presently thou must recomende the gouernement therof. I woulde saye afterwarde, that all that whiche the auercent Philosophers haue writtten in manye booke, and haue leste by dyuers sentences, Seneca dyd reherse in these fewe wordes: the whiche are so graue, and necessarie, that if Princes receyued them in their memoerie to put them in execution, and iudges had them before their eyes for to accomplish them, they woulde excuse the common wealthe of dyuers slaunders, and theye should allso deliuer them selues from a great burdeyn of their conscience.

It is not a thinge voluntarie, butte necessarie, that the mynisters of iustice be vertuous, well established, and verie honest: For to Iudges nothyng can be more slaunderous, and hurtefull, then when theye should reprocure yonge men of their youthe, others maye iustlye reprehende them of theprelyghtnes. He which hath a publike offyce in the common wealthe, and syteth openlye to iudge therein, oughte to obserue a good order in hys persone, least he be noted dysolute in hys doyng: For the Iudge whiche is wythoute honesty, and consideracion, oughte to consider wyth hym selfe, that if he alone haue authoritie to iudge of other mens goodes, that there are a thousande whyche wyll iudge of hys lyfe. It is not onely a bourden of conscience, to Princes to commit the charge of gouernaunce of the people to dysolute persones: but also it is a greate contempt, and dyspraise of Iustice. For the sentence geuen of hym who deserueth to be iudged, is among the people litle esteemed. Plutarke in hys Apothegmes sayeth, that Philyppe kynge of Macedony, father of the greate Alexander, created for iudge of a prouince a freende of his, whome after he sawe him selfe in suche offyce, occupied hym selfe more in kemmyng hys heade, then in woorkyng or studyng hys booke. Kynge Philyppe beyng enformed of the banyte and insolencye of this iudge, reuoked the potuer whiche he hadde geuen hym, and when he complayned to all of the wronge and grieve whiche was done vnto hym, takyng hys office from hym, Kynge Philyppe sayed vnto hym. If I hadde geuen the office to thee, for none other cause but beyng my frinde, beleeue mee that nothyng in the worlde coulde haue suffysed to haue taken it from thee: beecause I louyng thee so entierlye as I dyd, reason woulde not I should haue depriued thee of this office, wherewith I honoured thee. I gaue thee this office, thinking thou wert vertuous, sage, honest, and allso a man well occupped, and mee thyngke the thou rather occuppest thy selfe in beeholdyng thy persone, then in gouernyng well my common wealthe: whiche thou oughtest not to consent vnto, and muche lesse doe in dede. For the iudge oughte to be so occupped,

in the administration of the common wealth: that he shoulde haue noe leysure at anye tyme to keame his heade. These wordes the good king Phillip spake vnto the iudge, whom he dysplaced of his office, for beeynge to fyne and dplygent in keamyng hys heade, and trymmyng his persone. It is not onelye decent for ministers of iustice, to be graue, and honest: but also it behouethe them to be true, and faithfull. For to a iudge whose offyce is to iudge the true the, there can be noe greater infamy: then to be counted a lyer. When two Plebeians be at variaunce together for one thinge, they come beefore the iudge for noughte els, but that hee shoulde iudge whoe hath the righte and iustice therunto. Therefore if suche a iudge bee not counted true, but a lyer, all take his iudgement for false: so that if the plainetife hath the noe more power, he wyll obeye iustice, yet at the leaste he wyll blaspheme hym that gaue sentence. There are some iudges, that presentlye to gette more moneye, to drawe vnto them more friendes, and to contynue also in their offyces, vse suche shamefull shifres with the pooze plainetifes, and take so large byrbes of the defendants: that bothe parties are by hym selfe assured of the sentence in their fauoure, befoze he come vnto the barre. Manye goe to the houses of iudges, some to demaunde, others to geue instructions, other to woozke decrete, others to importune them, others to wynnem them, but fewe goe to byspte them: so that for those & such seblables, I do aduise, and admonishe offycers, that theye be iuste in their sentences, and vprighte in their woozdes.

The mynysters of iustice oughte to be suche, and so good, that in their lyfe no thyng be woozthe of rebuke: neyther in their woozdes, anye thinge woorthye of reproche. For if herein theye be not verye circumspect, oftentymes that shal happen whiche the goddes woulde not, whiche is: that to the prejudice of the iustice of another, he shall denye the worde of hym selfe. It suffysethe not iudges to bee true in their woozdes: butte it is verye necessarye that theye bee vprighte in their sentences. That is to wete, that for loue theye bee not to large, neither for couetousnesse theye shoulde be corrupted, nor for feare drawn backe, nor wythe prayours to be flattered, nor wythe promyssees blynded: for otherwise, it were a greate shame and inconuenience, that the yerde whiche theye carpe in their handes shoulde be streyghte, and the lyfe whiche theye leade shoulde be verye crooked. To the ende iustices be vprighte, they oughte muche to trauaile to be lyberall: I meane in thinges wherein theye ought to geue sentence. It is vnpossible that those whiche haue respecte in their sentence to fauoure their friendes, shoulde not accustomedly vse to be reuenged of their enemies. Trulye suche a iudge ought not to be counted iust: but a pryuate Tyrante. He that wythe affection iudgethe, and passyon punisheth, is greatlye deceyued. Those in lyke manner whiche haue auctoritie to gouerne, and doe thynke that for bozrowyng a lytle of iustice theye shoulde therebye encrease, and multiplye friendes in the common wealth, are muche abused: for thys acte beefore menne is so heinous, and beefore godde so detestable, that though he for a space he refrayne hys handes, yet in the ende he will extende his power. For the redemer of the Worlde, onelye father of truth, will not permit that suche doe take vpon them the title of iustice which in their offices do shew so extreme wrog. Helius Spartianus in y lyfe of Antonius sayethe, that the good Emperoure going to byspte hys Emprye

THE THIRDE BOOKE

As he was in Capua and there demanding of the state of the Censours, whether they were iust or rightfull, a man of Capua sayed in this wise: by the immortal gods, most noble Prince, I sweare, that this iudge who presently governeth here, is neither iust, nor honest: and therefore me thinke it necessarye that we depriue him of his dignitie and I will accompte vnto thee, what be- fel betwene him and me. I besought him y^e for my sake he would graunt me .4. thinges, which were al iust, & he willingly condescended thereunto: where- of I had no lesse meruel in my harte, then veracion in my body. For when I dyd desire him, I thought nothing lesse then to obtayn it but onely for the contentacion of those whiche instantly desired me to do it. And further this Capuan sayed. By the G O D Genius, I sweare likewise, that I was not y^e more frendely vnto him, for that hee sayde he did it for my sake, more then for a- nother: for he that to me would graunt these foure, it is to be beleued that to o- thers he would graunt foure hundred. For the whiche thou oughtest to pro- uide, most noble Prince, because good iudges oughte to be patient to heare, & iust to determine. By this notable example, iudges ought to haue a great res- pecte, not to those which do desire them: but to that which they demand. For in doing their durie, their enemies will proclaim them iust: and contrary wise if they doe that they shoulde not doe, their nearest frendes will count them ti- rantes. Iudges which pretend fauour to the common wealth, & to be carefull of their consciences, oughte not to content them selues simply to do iustice: but that of them selues they shoulde haue suche an opinion, that none durst presu- me to come and require at their hands, any vile or dishonest thing. For other- wise, if we note the demander to be vnshamefast: we muste nedes somewhat suspecte the iudge in his iustice. Princes ought also to be very circumspect, that the iudges be not only contented to be iust, honest, and true: but also in them there ought to remaine no auarice, nor couetousnes. For iustice, & auarice, can sel dome dwell in one house. Those y^e haue the charge of the gouernement of y^e people, & to iudge causes, ought to take great hede, that wth bribes and presentes they be not corrupted: for it is vnpossible but that the same day, y^e riches & trea- sources in the houses of iudges begin to encrease, y^e the selfe same day the admi- nistracion of iustice, shoulde not decay. Licurgus, Prometheus, & Numa Pompilius did prohibite nothing in their law so muche, neither for anye other cause there ordeyned so greauous punishments: but to thintent iudges shoulde not be co- uetous, nor yet theues. And of truerh they had great consideration, to fore see & forbyd it: for the iudge that hath receaued parte of the theft, wil not geue sen- tence against the stealers thereof. Let not iudges be credyted for saying they receiue no silver, nor golde, neyther silkes, nor iewels, but that they take onely small presentes, as frutes, foule, and other trifles.

For oftentimes it chaunseth, that the iudges doe eate the fruite, and the poore suffer doth fele the moze ill. Cicero in the booke of lawes sayeth that Cato the Censour being very aged, the Senatour sayed vnto him one day in the Se- nate, Thou knowest now Cato, that presently we are in the Calendes of Ja- nuarie, wherein we vse to deuide the offices amonge the people. Wherefore we haue determined to create Manlius, & Calidanus Censours for this yere: wherefore tell vs if they be (as thou thinkest) able and sufficient to supply that Rome. Cato the Censour answered them in this wise. Fathers conscripte, I

let you wete that I doe not receiue the one, nor admit the other. For Manlius is very riche, and Calidanus the citizene extream poore, and truly in bothe there is greate perill. For we see by experience that the riche officers are to muche subiect to pleasures: and the poore officers are to muche geuen to auarice. And further he saide in this case, me thinketh that your Iudges whom ye ought to choose, should not be so extream poore, that they should waite where with to eate: neither so riche, that they should surmount in superfluitie, to geue them selues to muche to pleasures. For menne by greate abundance, become vicious: and by great scarcitie become conetous. The Censor Caro being of suche auctoritie, it is but reason that wee geue credite to his wordes, since he gouerned the romaine Empire so long space, though in dede all the poore be not conetous, nor all the riche vicious: yet hee spake it for this intent, because bothe those Romaines were noted of these ii. vices. For the poore desire to scrape and scratche: and the riche to enioye and kepe. Whiche of those twoe sortes of men princes should chose, I cannot, nor dare not rashely determine. And therefore I doe not counsaile them, either to despise the poore or to choose the riche: but that they geue the auctoritie of iustice to those, whom they knowe to be of good conscience, and not subiect to conetousnes. For the iudge whose conscience is corrupted, it is vnpossible he should minister equall iustice. A man maye geue a shrewed gesse of suspicion in that iudge, whether he be of a bzittell conscience, or no yf he see him procure the office of iustice for him selfe. For that manne whiche willingly procureth the charge of conscience of another: commonlye lyttle regardeth the burthen of his owne.

Of a letter which thempour Marcus Aurelius wrote to Antigonus his friend, answering an other which he sent hym out of Sicille. wherein he aduertised him of the crueltie of the romaine Iudges. and this letter is deuised into .v. Chapters. Cap. vii.

Marcus Aurelius, companion in the empire, tribune of the people, present ly being sicke, writeth vnto thee Antigonus, healtie and comforte in thy banishment. To flye the extream heate of Rome, and to reade some booke which are brought me, from the realme of Palestine, I am come hether to Capua: and for the haste I made to ryde greate iourneys, the ague hath ouertaken mee, whiche is moze troublesome, then perillous. For it taketh me wyth colde, and plucketh my appetite from me. The .20. daye of Ianuary I receiued thy second letter, and it hapned that thy letter and my feuer tooke me bothe at one instant: but the feuer greued me in suche wise, that I coulde not longe endure to reade thy letter. Wee thinketh we haue no staye nor meane, thou being so bziese, and I so longe: for my longe letter hath taken thy greuous sorowes from the, but thy shorte letter coulde not take my feuer from me. Now that my mynd is beating of thy trauaile, the desire whiche I haue to remedy it is enflamed. I woulde tell the one thinge, and succour thee with some counsaile: but I fynde that the consolation whiche thou wantest, I can not geue the, and that whiche I can geue the, thou needest not. In this letter shal not be written that which was in the first: but herein I will trauaile the best I can to aunswere thee. I will not occupye my selfe to comfort thee, because I am so out of course with this dyscase, & I haue neither wil to write,

C. i.

ne yet

THE THIRD BOOKE

ne yet any fauoure in anye pleasant thinges. If perhappes this letter bee not
 fauour, so compendious, neither so comfortable as those which I was wonne
 to write vnto thee: attribute not the blame vnto my good will, which desireth
 to serue the, but to the sickenes that getteth no place thereunto. For it sufficeth
 the sick to be contented with inedyne, without satisfiinge theire fryndes.
 If thy comfort consisted in writing many letters, & offering the many wordes:
 truelye I woulde not sicke to doe that for all my feuer. But it neither profiteth
 the, nor satisfieth me, since I haue litle, to profer the muche. Talkinge
 nowe of this matter, I doe remember that the auncient lawes of the Rhodi-
 ans saide these wordes. Wee desire & admonishe all menne, to visite the cap-
 tines, the pilgrimes, and the comfortles: and further, we ordeine & comaund,
 that none in the common wealt, be so hardye to geue counsaile, vntilse they
 with he geue remedy. For to the troubled harte wordes comforteth litle, whē
 in them there is no remedye. Of a truthe the lawe of the Rhodians is good,
 & the Romaine whiche shall obserue them much better. Assure thy self that I
 am very desirous to see thee: & also I knowe that thou wouldeste as gladlye
 speake vnto me, to recount me all thy griefes. Truelye I doe not meruaile,
 because the wounded hart quieteth him self moze, declaring his owne griefes,
 then hearinge another mannes consolations. Thou writest vnto mee of sun-
 drye thinges in thy letter, the effecte whereof, that thou certifiest mee, is that
 the iudges and officers in that realme be verpe rygorous, and extreame: and
 that therefore the Cicilians are greatlye displeased with the Senate.
 Hitherto thou hast neuer tolde me lye, the whiche moueth mee to beleue all y
 thou writest nowe in thy letter. Wherefore I take it for a thinge moste true:
 that for as much as all those of Cicil are malicious and enuyous, they geue the
 iudges iust occasion to be cruell. For it is a generall rule, where men are out
 of order, the ministers of iustice ought to be rygorous. And thought in other
 realmes it chaunced not, it is to be beleued that it is true in this realme: wher
 of the auncient prouerbe saith. All those whiche inhabite the Isles are euill:
 but the Cicilians are worste of all. At this daye the wicked are so myghtye in
 theire malices, and the good are so much diminished in theire vertues: that if
 by iustice there were not a hydel, the wicked woulde surmount all the world,
 and the good shoulde banishe immediatlye.

But retourninge to our matter I saie, that consideringe with what and
 howe manye euyles we are environed, and to howe manye miseries wee
 are subiecte: I doe not meruaile at the vanities that menne committe, but I
 am ashamed of the crueltie whiche our iudges execute. So that we maye ra-
 ther call them tyrantes, which kill by violence: then iudges which minister by
 iustice. Of one thing I was greatlye astonyed, and almost past my sence, which
 is, that iustice of right pertaineth to the gods, and they being offended wil bee
 called pitifull: & wee others borrowe iustice, and not being offended, do glozifie
 our selues to be called cruell. I knowe not what manne wil hurte an other,
 since we see that the gods forgetting theire proper iniuries, haue attained the
 renowne of mercifull, and we others punishinge the iniuries done vnto an o-
 ther, doe remaine with the name of tyrantes. If the punishment of the gods
 were so seuer, as our sinnes are filthye, & that they shoulde measure vs wpth
 this measure: the onely desert of one offence is sufficient to take life from vs.

With reason he cannot be called a manne amongst menne, but a sauage amongst the sauages: that forgetting to be of feeble flesh, tormenteth the flesh of his brother. If a man beholde him selfe from toppe to toe, he shal finde not one thinge in him to moue him to crueltie: but he shall see in him many instrumentes to exercise mercye. For he hath his eyes, wherewith hee ought to beholde the needy and indigent: he hath feete to goe to the church and sermons: hee hath handes to helpe all: he hath his tongue to fauoure the Orphane: hee hath a harte to loue god: and to conclude, he hath vnderstanding to know the euill: and discretion to followe the good. If menne owe much to the goddes, for geuinge them these instrumentes to bee pitifull: truelye they are bounde no lesse vnto them, for takinge fro them all occasions to be cruell. For he hath not geuen them hornes, as to bulles, neither nayles as to the catte, nor yet he hath geuen them popson, as to the serpent: fynallye, he hath not geuen them so perillous feete, as to a hogle to strike, nor he hath geuen them such bloudye teethe, as to the Lyon to bite. Then sith the gods be pitifull, and haue created vs pitifull, and comaunded vs to be pitifull: why do our iudges desire then to bee cruell. Oh howe manye cruell and seuerer iudges are there at this daye in the Romaine empire, whiche vnder the coloure of good zeale to iustice, adventure to vndoe the common welth. For not for the zeal of iustice, but for the desire to attaine to renoune: they haue bene ouercome with malice, and denied their owne proper nature. I do not meruaile that a Romaine censoure shoulde enuie my house, will euill to my frendes, fauour myne enemies, despise my children, with euill eyes beholde my daughters, couet my goods, speake euill of my parsons: But that whiche I am ashamed of is, that dyuers iudges are so gredye to teare mennes fleshe, as if they were beares, and mans fleshe were noynted with honye.

The Emperour continueth still his letter speakinge againste cruell iudges, and reciteth two examles the one of a pitifull kinge of Cipres, & the other of a cruell iudge of Rome. Cap. viii.

By the faith of a good manne I swore vnto thee frende Antigonus, that I beinge yong, knewe a iudge in Rome whose name was Lycaronicus a mā of hygh stature, his flesh neither to fatte, nor to leane, his eyes were some what bloudye and redde, he was of the lynage of the Senators, and on his face he had but a little bearde, and on his heade he had manye whyte heares. This Lycaronicus of long tyme was iudge in Rome, in the romaine lawes he was well learned, and in customes and policies very experte, of his owne nature he spake lyttle, and in the answers he gaue, he was verye resolute. Amongest all those which were in Rome in his tyme, he hadde this excellencye, whiche was, that to all he ministred equall iustice: and to suters with greare speede he gaue brieue expedition, and dispatched them immediatlye. They coulde neuer withdraue him by requestes, neuer corrupt him with giftes, nor begyle him with wordes, nor feare him with threatninges, neither would he receiue a byrbe of anye that did offer it him: And besydes this, hee was verye seuerer in condicion, churlyshe in wordes, vnflexible in requestes, cruell in punishmentes, suspitious in affaires, and aboue all, he was hated of many, and

C. ii.

feared

THE THIRD BOOKE

feared of all. How much this Lycaronicus was hated it cannot bee reported, and of howe manye he was feared, no man can thinke. For in Rome when anye man was inturled hee saide: I praye god that Licaronicus may liue long. When the children did crye, the mothers immediatlye saide vnto them. Take heede of Lycaronicus, and streight waye they helde theire peace: so that wylth the onelye name of Lycaronicus menne were aſtonied, and chyldren kepte ſylence. Thou oughteſt alſo to knowe Antigonus, that when anye commonyou dyd aryſe in a cite, or in anye other prouince, or that anye ſclaunder roſe and encreaſed therein, they were wel aſſured, and they ſaide that no other ſhoulde goe thither, but onelye Lycaronicus. And to ſaye the trueth, when hee was arrepyed at that cite or prouynce, the rebelles were not onelye fledde: but alſo dyuers innocents were for feare of his crueltie hyd. For Lycaronicus was ſo reſolute a perſonne, that ſome for yll factes, others for conſentinge, ſome for that they fauoured not the good right, others for that they kept them ſecrete: none eſcaped to be tormented of his perſonne, or punyſhed in goodes. Thinkeſt thou Antigonus that they haue bene ſewe whom this Iudge hath cauſed to be whipte and carted, caſt into welles, beheaded, taken, baniſhed, and put in the ſtockes, during the tyme that the Romaines hadde him with them. By the immortal gods I ſwore vnto thee, and as Genius the god of nature maye helpe mee, that the gallouſes and gibbets were ſo furniſhed with ſeete, handes, and heades of menne, as the ſhambles were with oxen, ſheepe, and kyddes. This Lycaronicus was ſo fleſhely to ſhed human bloud, that he was neuer ſo conuerſant nor had ſo merye a countenance: as the ſame daye hee ſhoulde cauſe any manne to be drowned in Tyber, hanged in mount Celio, beheaded in the ſtreete Salario, tormented or caſt into the priſon Marmortina: A cruell, o ſperſe, and unſpeakable conditton that this iudge Lycaronicus hadde. For it was not poſſible that he ſhoulde bee brought bp betweene the delicate armes of the Romaines: but in the vile intrayles of you benemous ſerpents. I retourne ones moze to ſaye, that it is vnpoſſible he ſhoulde be noſtiſhed with the delicate milke of women: but with the cruell bloude of Tigres. If thys Licaronicus were cruell, why did they geue him ſuche auctoritie? I curſe ſuche auctoritie. If hee did it for that hee had greate zeale to iuſtice: I curſe ſuch zeale of iuſtice. If hee did it to winne moze honour, I curſe that honour: for that mā ſhalbe curſed of the gods and hated of menne, which taketh life from others, though it bee by iuſtice, onelye to encreaſe his renowne.

The gods are muche offended and the people greatly damaged, where the Senate of Rome calleth that Iudge gentle whiche is corrupted: and him that is cruell iuſte. So that nowe amongeſt the Romaine people, thoſe whiche heale with oyle are not credited: but thoſe onelye whiche cure with ſyre. If any man thinke it, at the leaſte I doe not thynk it, that when Licaronicus died, all the cruell iudges dyd ende with hym: for throughte all the Romaine Empire there was no moze but one Licaronicus, and at thys preſente there is a boue.iii. or.iiii. in euerye common wealth.

Not without feares I ſpeake that whiche I will ſpeake, whiche is, that in thoſe daies as all the iudges that miniſtered were pitifull: ſo was this Lycaronicus renowned for cruell. But nowe ſynce all are cruell, we hope in a iudge whiche is pitifull. In the .xii. yere of the foundation of our mother Rome, the
ſir

first king therof was Romulus, who sent a commaundement to al the neigh-
bours and inhabitants there aboutes, to the end that all banished menne, all
those whiche were afflicted, all those which were persecuted, & all those whiche
were in necessitie shoulde come to Rome, for they shoulde bee defended from
their enemies, and succoured in their necessities. The same being spred thro-
roughout Italy, of the pitie and clemency whiche Romulus shewed in Rome
(if the Annales of the auncientes do not deceiue vs) Rome was more peo-
pled with inhabitants in .x. yeres, then Babilon or Carthage, in a hundred.
A noble harte of Romulus, which such thinges inuented: blessed be that tong,
which commaunded that the famous Rome with clemency and pitie shoulde
be founded. In the originall booke whiche were in the high capitoll once I
founde dyuers letters written, to the sacred senate and romayne people, and
in the beginning of the letters the wordes saide thus. We the king of Parthes
in Asia, to the fathers conscripte of Rome, and to the happye romayne people
of Italie, and to all those whiche with the Romayne senate are confederate,
whiche haue the name of Romaynes, and the renoume of clemencie, health
and tranquillitie to your personnes we doe sende you, and desire the same of
the gods for our selues. Beholde therefore Antigonus, what tytle of clemen-
cie had our fyrst Romaynes, and what example of clemencie dyd the Empe-
rour leaue for them to come: so that synce the barbarous straungers called
them pittfull: it is not to be beleued, that to their subiects or natural countrey
menne they were cruell. As the auncientes haue traualled of al to be beloued,
so they at this present throughe their cruelties, seeke nothing but to be fea-
red. If the gods perhaps shoulde reuue the dead, and shoulde compare the ly-
uinge before them in iudgement: I suppose they would say these are not their
chilozen, but their enemies, not encreasers of the common wealth, but destroy-
ers of the people.

I being xxxvii. yeres of age, laye in winter season in a yle called Cheryn,
whiche now is called Cipres, wherein is a lytle mountaine as yet ful of wood,
whiche is called mounte of Archady, where groweth an herbe called Labia,
whiche the auncientes saye, that if it be cut it droppeth bloude: and the nature
of it is, that if one rubbe any manne with the bloud therof hoate (although he
woulde not) yet he shal loue him, and if they annoynt him with the bloud that
is colde, he shal hate him.

Of this herbe we neede not doubtte any thinge at all, for I dyd proue it, and
noynted one with that bloud, who soone r lost his lyfe then the loue whiche he
bare me. There was a kynge in that yle of greate example of lyfe, and gret-
lye renoumed of clemencie, though in dede neither by wyting nor by wo-
rdes I coulde neuer knowe his name: but that he was buryed vnder .iiii. pil-
lers in a tombe of marble, and about the tombe were engraued these grecke
and auncient letters, where amongst other thynges these wordes were en-
grauen.

The mighty gods whiles they drew out the length
Of my weak yeres to passe the flud of lyfe
This rule I had my common wealth to strenght
To norishe peace and stint vaine blasfes of strife

¶ By vertues waye if sought I could obtaine
by vyces pathe I neuer sought to get
by dyedles peace if I could right attaine
by clatering armes blynd hasard could not lee

¶ B.

THE THIRD BOOKE

¶ By curteis meanes if I could ouercome
By raging threats I heaped vp no dread
By secreete shuffles if I might guide my dome
By open force I nowd the payne were spread.

¶ By gentle read if I could chastice eke
By sharpe waies no further prooffe I sought
In my ward sight I neuer thought to strecke
before I had to conuerse chekes them brought

¶ My free consent could neuer mainly beare
my tongue to tell one sweete mysing lye
Nor yet my hollow eares would euer heare
There crooked tales that flatter oft awrye.

¶ My schooled harte was alwaies taught to staye
From egre luste of others heaped good
I forst my selfe his proper wealth to way
And stand content as fortunes iudgement stood.

¶ My frendes decaye I alwaies watche to aide
And recke not for bent of enuies bowe
In huge expence I neuer lawfully paid
my glittering golde, nor spread yet so lowe.

¶ For greuous fautes I neuer punisht wight
with mynde appease but eist I would forgie
my griefe did growe when iust reuenge did high
And eke I ioied to pardon men to lye.

¶ A mortall man amongst blynde heapes of men,
Nature my mother produced me here
And therefore loo enclosed in this den
The ege wormes my senseles eares were

¶ Amongst the wights that vertue did enhance
A vertuous life I freely passed on
And since that death his kingdome did aduance
my beauly spirite, to haunt the gods is gone.

How thinkest thou Antigonus, what epitaph was this, and what prince
thought he to be, of whom I shoulde saye, his lyfe ought to be glorious,
and his memozy eternall? I swere vnto the, by the law of a good man,
and as the gods maye prosper me, I tooke not so muche pleasure in Pompey
with his Hierusalem, in Semiramis with her India, in kynge Cyrus with hys
Babilon, in Caius Cesar with hys Gaulles, in Scipio with his Affrike: as I
haue in the kynge of Ciptes in his graue. For moze glozy hath that king there
in that sharpe mountaine being deade: then others haue had in proud Rome
being alive.

¶ Marcus Aurelius continueth his letter againste cruell iudges. Of the woordes
whiche the emperor Nero spake concerning iustice, and of the instruction the em-
peror Augustus gaue to a iudge which he sent into Dacys.

Cap. ix.

Neether for that which I wrote in this letter, nor yet for that which king
Cyrus had in his graue: my entencion is not to defende the euill, to the
ende that for theire euill deedes, and outrageousnes, they should not be
punished. For by this meane, it shoulde be woyle for me to fauour the m: then
for them to be euill. For they through debilitie do offende: and I by malice do
erre. But in this case it semeth vnto mee, and to all others whiche are of good
iudgement, that since frailtie in men is natural, and the punishment whiche
they geue is voluntarie: Let iudges therefore in ministring iustice shewe,
that they do it for the zeale of the common wealth, and not with a mynde to
reuenge. To the ende the faultie maye haue occasion to amende the faultes
past, and not to reuenge iniuries present, the diuine Plato in the booke of his
common wealth saide, that iudges ought to haue two things alwaies present
before their eyes, that is to wote, that in iudging thinges touching the goodes
of others, they shewe no couetousnes: and in punishing anye man, they shewe
no reuenge. For iudges haue licence to chastice the bodye: but therefore they
haue

haue not licence to hurte theire hartes. Nero the emperour was greatly de-
 tained in his lyfe, and verie cruell in his iustice, and with all hys cruelties is
 chaunced, that as one on a daye brought him a iudgement for to subscribe, to
 behead certeine murderers: he fetchung a greate lyghe said these woordes,
 O howe happye were I that I had neuer learned to write, onely to be excu-
 sed to subscribe this sentence. Certaynly the Emperour Nero, for speaking such
 a pittfull worde at that tyme, deserued immortall memorie: but afterwarde
 his so cruell lyfe, peruered so notable a sentence.

For speaking y^e cruthe, one euil worke sufficeth to deface many good wordes.
 O howe manye realmes and countreys haue beene losse, not so muche for the
 euilles whyche in those the wicked haue committed: as for the disordinaie
 Iustices whyche the ministers of iustice therein haue executed.

For they thinkinge by rigour to correct the damages past, haue raised by
 present schaulder for euer. It is knowen to al men, who and what the empe-
 rour Augustus hath bene, whose in all his doinges was excedinge good:
 For he was noble, valyaunt, stout, fierie, and a louer of iustice, and aboute all
 verie pittifull. And for so muche as in other thinges he shewed his pitie and
 clemency, he ordained, that no prince should subscribe iudgements of deathe
 with his owne hande, neyther that he shoulde see iustice done of anye wyth
 hys owne eyes. Cruelye the lawe was pittifullye ordeyned, and for the clean-
 nesse and purenes of Emperours verie necessarie.

For it semeth better for Princes to defende theire lande with the sharpe
 sworde: then to subscribe a sentence of deathe, with the cruell penne. Thys
 good Emperour Augustus was verie diligent to choose ministers of iustice,
 and verie carefull to teache them howe they shoulde behaue them selues in
 the common wealthe: admonishing them not onely of that they had to doe, but
 also of that they ought to flye. For the mynisters of iustice, oftentimes sayle
 of theire dutye. In Capua there was a gouernour named Elcaurus, who was
 a iuste iudge, though he were somewhat seuer: tohome the Emperour Au-
 gustus sent to the realme of Dace to take charge of that prouince. And amon-
 gest dyuers other thinges he spake these woordes vnto him to retayne the ym
 in hys memorie. Frende Elcaurus, I haue determynd to plucke thee from
 Capua, and to put into thy custodie the gouernement of the prouince of Dace,
 where thou shalt represent the roiall maiestie of my persone, and thou ough-
 test also to consider well, that as I make thee better in honour and goodes:
 so thou in like case shouldest make thy selfe better in lyfe, and more temperate
 in iustice. For hitherto in iustice thou hast bene a lyttle to rigorous: and in thy
 lyfe somewhat to rashe. I counsaile thee therefore, I doe desire thee, and fur-
 ther I commaunde thee, that thou chaunge thy trade of lyfe, and haue great
 respecte to my honour, and good name.

For thou knowest right well, that the onely profite and honour of the com-
 mon wealthe of Romaine Princes, consisteth in hauinge good or euyl mini-
 sters of theire iustice. If thou wylt doe that I woulde thou shouldest, I let
 the vnderstande, that I doe not commyt my honour in thy truste, neyther my
 iustice, to thynke thou shouldest bee an enuyr of the innocent, & a scourge
 of transgressours: but that onely wyth the one hande thou helpe to sustaine
 the good, and wyth the other thou helpe to amende the euill.

And

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And if thou wilt more perticulerly knowe myentencion, I do send the, to the end thou shouldest be grandfather to the Orphanes, an advocate for the widowes, a plaister for the greend, a staffe for the bynde, and a father to all. Let therefore the resolution of all be, to reioyce myne enemies, to comfort my friends, to lift up the weake, & to fauour the ströge: so that thou be indifferent to all, & partvall to none, so the end that through thy vpright dealing, myne may reioyce to dwell there, & strangers desire to come & serue me here. This was the instruction whiche the emperour Augustus gaue to the gouernour Escaurus. And if a man will consider a way his words wel, he shal fynde them compendious enough, that I would they were written in our iudges hartes. By the letter thou declarest that the iudges whom the Senate sent to that Ile, are not very honest, nor yet without some suspicion of couetousnes. O wofull common wealth, where the iudges therof are cruell, dishonest, & couetous: for the cruell iudges seeke nought elles but the bloude of innocentes, they couet the goods of the poore, & they sclander the good, to suche & so wicked a common welth, I would saye that it were better to remaine in the mountains among the brute bestes: then by such brutish iudges to be gouerned in a comon wealth. For the fierce Lyons (which) of all beasts are moste cruell if in his presens the hunter prostrate him self on the earth before him, the Lyon wil neither touch him nor his garment. O my frinde Antigonus, dost thou thinke that if the common welth be vnhappy which hath such iudges, that therefore Rome may restosse which prouided them? By the faith of a good mā, I sweare vnto the, that I count the Senatours worse which sent them: than the Iudges which went thither. It is a great grieve to a noble & stoute harte to demaunde iustyce of a man, which neither is true, nor yet obserueth Justice: but it is a greater grief to see a Iudge, that to many hath executed tyrāny, & to many poore men hath done sundry wronges, afterwardeg not with the lyfe he leadeeth, but with the authoritie he hath, presumeth to correct diuers Iudges. He that hath the offyce to punish the vicious, ought him selfe to be bolde of all vices: othewyse, he that hath that office, by tyrāny executeth iustice, & furthermore he is a traitour to the common welth. It is impossible that any Iudge shoulde be good, vnlesse he hath the authoritie of his office for necessary, and his pure lyfe for principall. The ende why a iudge is sente in prouinces, is to despyne doubtful causes, to refoirme their maners, so fauour those which can lyde, & by vpolere to enforce those which can do muche. And for the most parte there is no common welth so weake, but may well hang a thefe on the gallouse, though there came no Iudge from Rome to geue sentence. O how many iudges are there now a dayes in Rome, which haue caused dyuers to be hanged, regardynge nothyng but the first theefe: & they remaine free, hauing robbed al the people. Which ought to thinke them selues assured, that though punishment be deferred, yet in the ende the fault shal not be pardoned. For the offences wherch men in their lyfe tyme doe dissemble, the gods after their death doe punish. It is muche good for the common wealth, and no lesse honour for the prince, which hath the charge thereof, that the Iudge be honest of parson, and diligent in iustice, and that in no vice (for the which he punisheth other) he be either noted or defamed himselfe. For muche is the office of iustice peruered, when one thiefe hangeeth another on the galouse.

The Emperour foloweth his purpose in his letter againste cruell iudges, and declareth a notable embassage which came from Judea to the Senate of Rome, to complaine of the iudges that governed that Realme.

Cap. r.

In the thyrde yere after Pompeius tooke the cite of Iherusa, whiche now is called Hierusalem: Valerius Gracchus a Romayne boine, was sente at that tyme into that region for the Romaynes. This Gracchus was verie stout of courage, subtil in affayres, and honeste in lyfe but notwithstanding all this, in conuersacion hee was vnbydeled, and in the administration of iustyce exceeding rigorous. When the Jewes saw them selues not onely subiecte to the Romaynes, but besydes that euill handled: they determined to sende their embassadour to Rome, to shew them to informe the Senate of the tyrannies and oppressions whiche were committed in the land. And for to accomplishe the same, they sent a verie aged manne (as by the heares of his heade ydwell appeare) whose was learned in the Hebrew greeke and latine letters. For the Hebrewes are verie apte to all sciences, but in weapons greately coward. This Hebrew came to Rome, and spake to the Senate in this wise. O fathers conscripte, O happy people, your good fortune and faterall destinies permyttinge it, or to saye better, Wee forsakinge our God, Iherusalem, whiche of all the cities of Asia was lady and maystres, and of all the Hebrewes in Palestine mother, wee see it nowe presently seruaunt and trybutarye to Rome: whereof we Jewes ought not to maruaile, neyther ye Romaynes to be proud. For the highest trees by behement wyndes are soonest blowen downe.

Great were the armys whiche Pompeius hadde; whereby wee were banquished: but greater hath our offences beene, synce by them we doe deserue to bee forsaken of our God. For wee Hebrewes haue a God whiche dothe not put vs vnder the good or euill fortune: but dothe gouerne vs with his mercye and iustice. I wyll that ye heare one thyng by mouth, but I had rather ye shoulde see it by experyence, whiche is: that wee haue so mercifull a God, that though he amongst 50. thousande euill, there was of vs but .10. thousande good: yet hee shewed suche tokens of mercye, that bothe the Egyptians and the Romaynes myght haue seene howe our god can doe moze alone, then all your goddes together. Wee Hebrewes (agreeynge in one faith and vnitie) haue one onely God, and in one God onely we put our trust and belife, and hym wee desyre to serue, though we doe not serue hym, neyther shoulde serue hym, on suche condycion to offende him. Hee is so mercifull, that hee woulde not let vs proue what his mercifull hande canne doe, neyther woulde hee put our woofull people in captiuitie as hee hath, nor also our God can deceyue vs, neyther our wytynges cannot lye.

But the greater offenders wee bee, the greater lordes shall ye bee ouer vs. And as longe as the wyathe of God shall hange ouer vs, so longe shall the power of ye Romaynes endure. For our vnhappy realme hath not geuen ye our realme for youre desertes: nor yet for that you were ryghtfull heyres thereunto, but to the ende ye shoulde bee the scourge of our offenders. After the wyll of our God shalbee fulfilled, after that hee hath apperped
by

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hys wrathe and indignacion againste vs, and that we shalbee purged of oure offences, and that hee shall beholde vs with the eyes of hys clemencie: then we others shal recouer that which we haue lost, and you others shal lose that which you haue euill boorne. And it may so chaunce, that as presentlpe of ye remaines we are commaunded: so the tyme shall come, that of ye others wee shalbe obeyed. And for as muche as in this case the Hebryes feelee one, and ye Romaynes feelee an other: neyther ye can cause mee to woozship manye gods and muche lesse shoulde I bee sufficient to drawe ye to the faith of one onely God. I referre all to God, the creatour of all thinges, by whose myght wee are created and gouerned.

Therefore touchinge the matter of my embassage, knowe ye notwe, that in all tymes paste vntill this presente, Rome hath hadde peace with Iudea and Iudea hath had frendship with Rome: so that wee did fauour ye in the warres and ye others preserved vs in peace. In generallpe nothinge is more desyred then peace, and nothinge more hated then warre. And further all this presupposed, we se it with our eyes, and also do reade of our predecesoures: that the worlde hath bene alwaies in contencion, and reste hath alwaies bene banished. For in dede if we see manye sighe for peace: we see manye moe employe them selues to warre. If ye other woulde banish those from you, whyche doe moue you to beare vs euill will, and we others knowe those which prouoke vs to rebell, neyther Rome shoulde bee so cruell to Iudea, nor yet Iudea shoulde so muche hate Rome. The greatest token and signe of peace, is to dyspatche out of the waye the disturbers thereof. For frendshippe oftentymes is loste, not so muche for the interest of the one or of the other, as for the indiscretenees of the mediatoures. When one common wealthe stryeth against another, it is impossible that their controuersies endure longe, if those which come betwene them (as indifferent mediatoures) be wyse. But if suche one which taketh vppon him those affaires, be more earnestlpe bent then the enemye wherewith the other fyghteth: wee will saye, that hee more subtilpe casteth woode on the fyre, then he draweth water to quenche the heare.

All that whyche I saye (Romaynes) is because that since the banishment of Archelaus from Iudea (sonne of the greate kinge Herode) in his place ye sent vs Pomponius, Marcus Rufus, and Valerius to bee oure Judges: whome haue bene foure plagues, the leaste wherof suffyeth to poison all Rome.

What greater calamitye coulde happen to oure poore realme of Palestine, then Judges to bee sente from Rome to take euill customes from the euill: and they them selues to bee inuentoures of newe byces: What greater inconuenience can chaunce to iustye, then when the Judges which ought to punish the lyghtnes of youthe, doe glorifie them selues to bee captaynes of the lyghte in their age: What greater infamye can be to Rome, then when those which ought to bee iuste in all iustice, and to geue example of all vertues: be euill in all euilles, and inuentoures of all byces: Wherein appeareth your lytle care and muche tyrannye.

For all sayde openlpe in Asia, that the theues of Rome doe hang the theues of Iewrye. What will ye I shall saye more (Romaynes) but that wee lytle esteeme the theues which keepe the wooddes, in comparison of the Judges which robbe vs in oure owne houses.

D hoto

Whiche twofull were our fatall destenyes, the daye that we became sub-
 iecte to the Romaynes. Wee feare no theues whiche shoulde robbe vs in the
 highe waye, wee feare no fyre whiche shoulde burne our goods, nor we feare
 no tyrantes, whiche shoulde make warre agaynst vs, neyther anye Asiri-
 ans whiche shoulde spoyle our countrey: we feare not the corrupte ayre that
 shoulde infect vs, neyther the plague that shoulde take our lyues from vs:
 but wee feare your cruell iudges, whiche oppesse vs in the common welthe,
 and robbe vs of our good name. I saye not without a cause they trouble
 the common wealthe. For that layde a parte whiche they saye, that layde a
 parte whiche they meane, and that layde aparte whiche they robbe, immedi-
 ately they write to the Senate to consent vnto them, not of the good whiche
 they fynde in the auncientes: but of the lightnes whiche they see in the poynt.
 And as the Senatours doe heare them here, and doe not see them there: so
 ye geue more credite to one that hath bene but thre monethes in the p-
 uince, then to those whiche haue gouerned the common wealthe 30. yeares.

Consider Senatours, that ye haue bene made and appointed Sena-
 tours in this place, for that ye were the wylest, the honestest, the beste expe-
 rimented, and the most moderate and vertuous.

Therefore in this aboute all shalbee seene if ye bee vertuous, in that you do
 not beleue all. For if those bee manye and of dyuers nations whiche haue to
 doe with you: muche more dyuers and variable are theire intencions, and
 endes, for the whiche they entreate. I lye if your Iudges haue not done so
 manye wronges in iustice, & forsaken theire disciplyne: that they haue taught
 the youth of Iudea inuencions of byres, whiche neither hath bene heard of
 our fathers, neyther reade in our bookes, ne yet seene in our tyme. Ye o-
 thers Romaynes, since ye are noble and myghty, ye disdaine to take coun-
 sayle of menne that bee pooze: the whiche ye ought not to doe, neither counsaile
 your frendes to doe it. For to knowe, and to haue lytle seldome times goeth
 together. As manye counsailes as Iudea hath taken of Rome: so manye let
 nowe Rome take of Iudea. You ought to knowe, though your Captaynes
 haue worne manye realmes by sheddyng bloude, yet notwithstanding your
 iudges ought to keepe them, not with rygorous sheddyng of bloud, but with
 clemencye and winnyng theire hartes.

O Romaynes, admonishe, commaunde, praye, and aduertise your Iud-
 ges whome ye sende to gouerne straunge prouynces: that they employe them
 selues more to the common wealthe of the realme, then theye handes to
 number theire fyres and forsettes.

For otherwise they shall sclaunder those whiche sende them: and shall hurte
 those whome they gouerne. Your Iudges in iuste thinges are not obeyed
 for anye other cause, but forasmuche as firste they haue commaunded manye
 vniuste thinges. The iuste commaundementes make the humble hartes, and
 the vniuste commaundementes doe turne and conuerthe the merke and hum-
 ble meene, to seuer and cruell personnes. Humayne malice is so geuen to
 commaunde, and is so troublesome to be commaunded, that though they com-
 maunde vs to doe good, wee doe obey euill: the more they commaund vs
 euill, the worse they bee obeyed in the good.

Beleue

THE THIRD BOOKE

Beleue me (Romaines) one thinge, and doubt nothinge therein, that of the great lightnes of the iudges, is sprung the little feare and greate shame of the people. Eche Prince whiche shal geue to anye iudge the charge of iustice, who he knoweth not to bee able, doth it not so much for that he knoweth wel how to minister iustice: but because he is verie craftye to augment his goodes. Let hym be well assured, that when he least thinketh on it, his honour shal bee in moste infamye, his credite lost, hys goodes diminished, and some notable punishment lyght vppon his house. And because I haue other things to speke in secrete, I will here conclude that is open, and synallye I saye, that if ye will preserve vs and our realme for the whiche you haue halferded your selues in manye periles: keape vs in iustice, and wee will haue you in reuerence. Commaunde as Romaines, and wee will obey as Hebrues: geue a pytefull president, and ye shall haue all the realme in safegarde.

What will ye I saye more, but that if you be not cruell to punish the our weakness, we will be verie obedient to your ordinaunces. Before ye proude for to commaunde vs, thinke it well to entreate vs: for by prayeng with al mekenes, and not commaunding with presumption, ye shall synde in vs the loue whiche the fathers are wonte to synde in their chyldren: and not the treason whiche the lordes haue accustomed to synde in their seruantes.

¶ The Emperour concludeth hys letter againste the cruell iudges, and declarreth what the graundfather of king Baco spake in the Senate.

Cap. xi.

ALl that whiche aboue I haue spoke, the Hebrue saide, and not without greate admiration he was hearde of all the Senate. ¶ Rome without come, whiche nowe haste nought but the walles, and arte made a common strewes of tyres. What diddest thou tell mee, when a straunger dyd rebuke and taunte thee, in the myddest of thy Senate: it is a generall rule, where there is corruption of custome, liberties are alwaies losse, which seemeth moste true here in Rome. For the Romaines, which in tymes past went to reuenge their iniuries into straunge countreys: nowe others come out of straunge countreys, to assaulte them in their owne houses. Therefore since the iustice of Rome is condemned, what thinkest thou that I beleue of that Ile of Cicil: tell mee I praye thee Antigonus, from whence cometh thinkest thou so greate offence to the people, and suche corruption to iustice in the common wealth: ¶ Peradventure thou knowest it not, harken and I will tell thee. It is an order whereby all goeth without order. Thou oughtest to know that the counsaillours of princes beinge importunate, and the Prince not resistinge them, but sufferinge them, they deceyue hym, some with couetousnes, other with ignorance, geue from whome they ought to take, and take from whome they ought to geue, they honour them who do dishonour them, they withhold the iustice, and deliuer the couetous, they dyspise the toyle, and trust the lyghte, synallye they proude not for the offyces of personnes, but for the persons of offyces. Marke Antigonus, & I will tell the more. These myserable iudges, after they are prouided & inuested in the auctorite of their offyce (where of they wer unworthy) setting theselues of power to comaund, & by the dygnitie of their

their offices is muche more, then the desert of their personnes: immediately they make them selues to be feared, in mynistring extreame iustice. They take vpon them the estates of greate lordes, they liue of the sweate of the poore, they supply with malice, that which they want in discretion: and that which is worst of all, they myngle another mans iustice, wth their owne proper profite. Therefore here more what I wil say vnto thee, that these cursed iudges, seinge them selues pestered with sundrye affaires, and that they want the cares of knowledge, the failes of vertue, and the ankers of experience, not knowing howe to remedy such smal euils: they inuent others more greater, they disturbe the common peace, only for to augment their owne particuler profite. And finally they bewaile their owne damage, and are dyspleased wth the prosperitie of an other. Nothing can be more iust, that since they haue fallen into offyces not profitable for them, they do suffer (though they would not) great damages: so y^e the one for taking gifts remaine slaundered, and the other for geuing the same mayneth vndone. Harken yet, & I wil tell thee more. Thou oughtest to knowe, y^e the beginnings of these Iudges, are pryde & ambition: their means, enuy and malice, and their endinges are death and destruction. For the leaues shall neuer be greene, where the rootes are dry. If my counsel should take place in this case, suche Iudges should not be of counsaile with princes, neyther yet should theye be defended of the pryuate, but as suspecte men theye shoulde not onelye be caste from the common wealthe: butte also theye shoulde suffer death.

It is a great shame to those which demaund offyces of the Senate, but greater is the rashnes and boldenes of the counsaillers, whyche doe procure the same: and we may say, both to the one, and to the other, that neither the feare of god dothe withdraue them, nor the power of Princes dothe brydell them, nor shame dothe trouble them, neyther the common wealthe dothe accuse them, and finallye neyther reason commaundeth them, nor the lawe subdueth the. But harken, and I will tell thee more. Thou oughtest alwaies to knowe, what the fourme and maner is, that the Senators haue to deuide the offices: for sometimes they geue them to their frindes, in recompence of their frindship, and other times they geue them to their seruautes, to acquite their seruices, and sometime also they geue them to sollicitours, to the end theye shall not importune them, so that fewe offices remaine for the vertuous, the whiche onely for beinge vertuous are prouided. O my frinde Antigonus, I let you to wote, that since Rome dyd kepe her renowne, and the common wealthe was well gouerned, the dyligence whiche the Iudges vsed towardes the Senate, to the ende theye mighte geue them offices: the selfe same oughte the Senate to haue to seke vertuous men, to committe suche charge into their handes. For the office of iustice oughte to be geuen, not to him whiche procureth it, but to him that best deserueth it. In the reare of the foundation of Rome, s. hūdrēth 42. yeares, the Romaine people had manye warres throughout al the world. To wote Chaius Celius, againste those of Thrace, Gneus Cardon his brother againste the Sardes, Iuni⁹ Scilla, againste y^e Cymbres, Minutius Rufus, againste the Daces, Seruius Scipio againste the Macedonians, and Marius Consul againste Iugurtha kynge of Numidians: and amongst all these, the warre of the Numidians was the most renowned, and also peryllous. For if Rome had many armies againste Iugurtha to conquere him, Iugurtha hadde in Rome good frindes

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whiche did fauour him King Boco at that time was kinge of Mauritanes, who was Iugurthas frinde, & in the end, he was after wards the occasion that Iugurtha was ouerthrowen, & y^e Marius toke him. These two kinges Marius the Consul brought to Rome, & triumphed of them, leadinge them befoze his triumphant chariot, their neckes loden with yrons, & their eyes ful of teares. The which vn lucky fortune, al the Romaines which beheld lamented, & toke great ppye of the staungers whom they heard. The nighte after the triumphe was ended, it was decreed in the Senat, that Iugurtha should be beheaded, leauing king Boco aliue, depyued of his countrey. And the occasion therof was this. The Romaines had a custome of longe tyme, to put no man to execution, before that first with great diligence they had looked the auncient booke, to se if any of their predecessours had done any notable seruice to Rome, where by the poore prisoner might deserue his pardon.

It was founde writen in a booke, which was in the highe Capitoll, that the graundefather of kynge Boco was very sage, and a special frinde to the Romaine people, and that once hee came to Rome and made dyuers Orazions to the Senat, and amongst other notable sentences, there was found in that booke, that he had spoken these wordes. Woe be to the that realme where all are such, that neither the good amongst the euill, nor the euill amongst the good are knowen. Woe vppon that realme, which is the enterteiner of al foolles, and a destroyer of all sages. Woe is that realme where the good are fearefull, and the euill to bolde. Woe on that realme where the pacient are despyed, and the sedicious commended. Woe on that realme, whiche destroyeth those that watche for the good: and crowne the those that watche to doe euill. Woe to that realme, where the poore are suffered to be proude: and the riche tyrants. Woe to that realme, where all knowe the euill: and no man doth follow y^e good. Woe to that realme, what so manye euil vices are openly committed: withe in an other countrey dare not secretly be mentioned. Woe to that realme, where all procure that they desire, where all attaine to that theye procure, where all thinke y^e that is euill, where all speake that they thinke, & finally, where al may doe that which they will. In such, and so vnfortunate a realme, where the people are so wicked, let euery man beware he bee not inhabitant. For in shorte tyme, they shal se vpon him, eyther the yre of the gods, the fury of the men, the depopulation of the good, or the desolation of the tyrantes. Diuers other notable things were conteyned in those orazions, the which are not (at this present) touching my letter. But for asmuch as we thought it was a very wise thing, that they should pardon the follye of the nephew, for the desertes of the wise grandfather. Thou shalt reade this my letter openly to the Pretours, & Iudges which are resydente there, and the case shalbe, that when thou shalt reade it, thou shalt admonishe them, that if they will not amende secretlye, we will punish them openly. I wrote vnto thee the last daye, that as touchynge thy banishment I woulde be thy frinde: and be thou assured, that for to enioye thy olde friendshyppe, and to persourne my wooorde, I wyll not let to daunger my persone. I wytte vnto Panucius my secretary, to succoure thee with two thousande Sesterles, where with thou mayest relieue thy pouertrye: and from hence I sende thee my letter, where withe thou mayest comfort thy sorrowfull harte. I saye no more to thee in this case, but that thorough y^e gods thou

thou maiest haue contentacion of all that thou enioyest, healthe of thy person and comfort of thy frindes: the bodely euels, the cruel enemies, the perillous denials, be farre from me, Marke. In the behalfe of thy wife Rufa, I haue saluted my wyfe Faustyne, she and I both haue receiued with ioye thy salutations and with thanks we sent them you agayne. I desire to see thy person here in Italye, and wythe my feuer quartene there with thee in Scicile,

¶ An exhortacion of the auttour to Princes and noble men, to embrace peace, and to eschewe the occasions of warre. Cap. xij.

Octavian Augustus, seconde Emperour of Rome, is commended of all, for that he was so good of his persone, & so welbeloued in al the Romaine Empire. Suetonius Tranquillus saith, that whē any man dyed in Rome in his time, they gaue greate thanks to the gods for that they toke theire life from them, befoze theire Prince knewe what deathe ment. And not contented onely with this, but in their testaments they commaunded their heires, & children, that yearely they should offer great sacrifices of their propre goodes in al the temples of Rome, to the end the goddes should prolong the daies of theire prince. That time in deede myghte be called the golden age, and the blessed land, where the prince loued so well his subiectes, and the subiectes so muche obeyed their prince. For seldome times it happeneth, that one will bee content with the seruices of all: neyther that all will be satisfied with the gouernement of one. The Romaines for none other cause wished for that good prince (more then for the selues) life but because he kepte the comon wealth in peace. The vertue of this prince deserued muche praise, and the good will of the people merited no lesse commendation: he for desiruinge it to them, and theye for geuinge it to him. For to saye the truerthe, there are fewe in nombre that so hartely loue others, that for their sakes will hate them selues. There is no mā so humble, but in thinges of honour will be content to goe befoze, saue onely in deathe, where hee can be content to come behinde. And this semethe to be berpe cleare, in that that nowe dyethe the father, nowe the mother, nowe the husbande, nowe the wyfe, nowe the sonne, and nowe his neighebour, in the ende, euerye man is content with the deathe of an other, so that he with his owne life maye escape him selfe. A prince whiche is gentle, patient, stout, sober, pure, honest, and true, trulye hee of righte oughte to be commended: but aboue all, and more then all, the prince whiche keepeth his comon wealth in peace, hath greate wronge, if hee be not of all beloued. What good can the comon wealth haue, wherein there is warre and discencion? Let euery man saye what hee will, wytheoute peace noe man can enioye hys owne, noe man can eate wytheoute feare, noe man sleapeth in good rest, noe man goethe safe by the waye, noe man trusteth his neighebour, finallye I saye, that where there is noe peace, there we are threatened daylye with deathe, and euerye houre in feare of oure lyfe. It is good the prince doe scourge the realme of theeuers, for there is nothyng more vniuste, thenne that wherthe the pooze wythe toyle and labour doe gette, should wyth bacabondes in idlenesse bee wasted. It is good the prince do weede the realme of blasphemers, for it is an euidente token that those whiche dare blaspheme the kyng of heauchen, will

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not let to speake euill of the princes of the earthe. It is good the pynce dooe cleare the common wealthe of vauaboundes, and playes: for playe is so euill a mote, that it eateth the newe gotone, and consumeth the dye woode. It is good that the pynce doe forbrydde his subiectes of prodigall bankettes, and superfluous apparell: for where men spende muche in thynges superfluous, it chaunseth afterwarde that they want of their necessities. But I aske nowe what auailleth it a pynce to banishe al vices from his common wealthe, if otherwise he keepeth it in warre: The end whype pynces are pynces, is to folowe the good, and to cshewe the euill. What shall we saye therefore, sines that in the time of warre, pynces cannot resourne byres, nor correcte the bypsons. ¶ Of pynces and noble men knowe what damage theye doe to thre countreye, the daye that they take vpon them warre, I thinke and also aspyne, that theye woulde not onelye not beginne it, nor yet anye ppyuate person durste scarcely remember it. And hee that dorthe counsaile the pynce the contrarye, oughte by reason to be iudged to the common wealthe an enemye. Those whiche counsaile pynces to seke peace, to loue peace, to keepe peace, without doubte they haue wronge yf they be not heard, yf they be not beloued, and yf they be not credited. For the counsailler whiche for a lyght occasion counsaileth hys pynce to begynne warre, I say that vnto hym eyther color surmounteth, or els good conscience wanteth. It chaunseth oftentimes that the pynce is vexed and troubled, because one certyfeth hym that a pynce is rebelled, or some other pynce hath invaded his countreye and as the matter requireth, the counsaile is assembled. There are some to calke counsaillours, whiche immediatlye iudge peace to be broken as lyghtlye, as others doe desire that warres shoulde not begynne. When a pynce in suche a case asketh counsaile, they oughte for the wyse not to aunswere hym sodaynely: for thynges touchinge the warres, oughte wiche greates wyse dome firste to be considered, and then wiche as muche aduise ment to be determined. Kyng David neuer toke warre in hande, though he weare berpe wyse, but fyrste he counsailed wiche Godde. The good Judas Machabee neuer etred into battaile, but firste he made his prayer vnto almighty godde. The Grekes and Romaynes durste neuer make warre againste theire enemies, but first they would do sacrifice to the goddes, and consulte also wiche their Oracles. The matters of iustice, the recreations of hys persone, the rewarde of the good, the punysshment of the euill, and the deuydunge of rewarde, a pynce maye communicate wiche anye ppyuate man: but all matters of warre, he oughte fyrste to counsaile wiche God. For the pynce shall neuer haue persyte vpyctorye ouer his enemies, vnlesse he firste committe the quarell thereof vnto Godde. Those whiche counsaile pynces (whether it bee in matters of warre, or in the affayres of peace) oughte allwayes to remember this sentence: that theye geue hym suche counsailes allwayes when hee ys whole in hys chamber, as theye woulde if theye sawe hym at the poynte of deathe berpe sycke. For at that instaunte, noe manne dare speake with flatterye, nor burden hys conscience thorough byberpe. Whenne theye entreate of warre, theye whiche moue it oughte to consider, that if it came not well to passe, all the blame shall bee imputed to theye counsaile. And if that his substaunce be not presently able to recouperce the losse,

let

let him assure him selfe, that hereafter hys soule shall suffer the payne. Men oughte so muche to loue peace, and so muche to abhorre warre, that I beleeue that the same preparacion a prieste hath in his conscience with God befoze he presume to receyue the holye communion, the same oughte a counsayloure haue, befoze to his Prynce he geueyth counsayle in warre. Synce Prynces are men, it is no merueile though they fele iniuries as men, and that they desire to reuenge as men. Therefore, for this cause they oughte to haue wise men of their counsaile, where by they shoulde mitigate and asswage their griefes and troubles. For the counsaylours of prynces, oughte neuer to counsaile thynges they being angry, wherby after they may iustly be displeased, whē they be pacified. Following our matter, in counting the goodes which are lost in loosing peace, and the euyles which encrease in winning warres, I say that amongst other thynges the greatest euil is, that in time of warre they losse by closely all vertues, and set at liberty all vices. During the time that Prynces and great Lordes maintaine warre, though they be lordes of their realmes and dominions by right, yet for a trueth they are not so in deede. For at that time the lordes desire more to content their souldiours, and subiectes: then the souldyers and subiectes seke to content the lordes. And this they doe, because they thorough power myght banquill the their enemies, and further thorough the loue of their money, relieue their necessities. Cyther prynces are gouerned by that wherunto by sensualitie they are moued, or els by that wherewith reason is contented. If they wil followe reason, they haue to much of that they possesse: but if they desire to followe the sensuall appetite, there is nothing that wil content them. For as it is impossible to drye up all the water in the sea: so it is hard to satisfie the harte of man that is couetouse. If prynces, take vpon the warres, saying that their ground is taken from them, and that thereof they haue a conscience: let them beware that suche conscience be not corrupted. For in the worlde there is no warre iustified, but for the beginninge thereof, the prynces at one time or an other, haue their conscience burdened. If prynces take vpon them warre for no other cause, but to augment their state and dygnitye, I saye that this is a vaine hope: for they consume and lose (for the most parte) more in one or thooe yeares warres, then euer they gette agayne duringe their life. If prynces take vpon them warre, to reuenge an iniurye: as wel for this also it is a thyng superfluous. For manye goe to the warres being wronged onely with one thyng, and afterwarde they retorne iniured with manye. If prynces take vpon them warre for none other cause but to wyne honour, me thynketh also that that is an vnprofitable conqueste. For me thinketh that fortune is not a person so famous, that into her handes a man maye commytte hys honoure, hys goodes, and lyfe. If prynces take vpon them warre to leaue of them in the worlde to come some memozye, this no lesse the other semeth to me vaine. For withoute doubt, if we examine the histories that be passe, we shall finde those to be more in number, whiche for beginninge of warres haue bene defamed: then those whiche for banquillinge of their enemies haue ben renowned. If prynces take vpon the warre, supposing that there are in an other countrey more pleasures, and delightes, then in their owne: I saye, that to thinke this, proceedeth of lytle experyence, and of lesse conscience. For to a prynce there can bee noe greater shame, nor consy-

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ence, then to begiune warres in straunge realmes, to maineteyne his owne pleasure and byces at home. Let noe princes deceiue them selues, in thinkinge that there are in straunge countreyes moze thinges, thenne in their owne. For in y^e ende, there is noe lande nor nation in the world, where there is not winter and sommer, night and daye, sickenesse and health, riches and pouertie, myrthe and sadnesse, friendes and enemies, bitious and vertuous, alieue and deade. Synallye I saye, that in all partes all thinges agree in one, saue onely the dispositions of menne, whiche are dyuers. I woulde aske prynces and great lordes, the whiche doe and will liue at theyre pleasures, what theye wante in their realmes, yea though theye bee little. If theye will hunt, theye haue mountaines and parkes: if theye will fishe, theye haue ponde: if theye will walke, theye haue riuers: if theye will refreche them selues, theye haue bayles: if theye will bee merie, theye haue musitians: if theye delight in apparayling them selues, theye haue cythe clothes: if theye will geue, theye haue moneye: if theye desire women, theye haue wiuers: if theye will take their reste, theye haue their gardeines: if winter annoyne them, theye haue whote countreis: and if theye will eate, theye wante no meates. Hee that wythe peace hath all these thynges in his owne dominion, whye thenne wythe warre dothe hee seeke them in a straunge countreye? Whenne oftentimes flye from one countreye to another, not to bee moze deuoute, nor moze vertuous: butte to haue greater libertie and opportunitie to haunte vices. And afterwarde whenne theye see the endes of theirer derdes, theye cannot refraine their hartes from sighes, since theye mighte haue enioyed that at home wythe peace, whyche in straunge countreyes they soughte wythe trouble. There are so fewe thynges wherewythe wee are contented in the world, that if perchance a manne fynde in anye one place, anye one thing wherewythe to contente him, lett him beeware that the deuill doe not deceiue him, sayinge: that in suche another place hee maye recreate himselfe better. For whyther so euer we goe, wee shall finde suche penurye, and wante of true pleasures, and comfortes, and suche coppie and abundaunce of troubles and tormentes that for to comforte vs in a hundreth yeres wee scarcely finde one, and to tormente vs, we finde at euery foote a thousande.

The autoure recyterthe the commodities which come of peace, declaring how diuers princes vpon light occasions haue made cruell warres.

Cap. xij.

DImo, an anciente kynge of Ponto, sayde vnto a philosopher whyche was wythe hym: Tell mee philosopher, I haue helthe, I haue honoure, and I haue riches, is there anye thynge moze to bee desyred amongst menne, or to bee geuen of the Goddes in this lyfe? The philosopher answered hym. I see that I neuer sawe, and I heare that I neuer hearde, for helthe, riches, and honoure, the goddes seldome tymes doe truste in one personne, bys tyme is so shorte that possiblie them, that theye haue

haue more reason to praye that theye myghte bee quyt of them, thenne for to bee proude for that theye possesse them. And I tell thee further kynge Dismmo, it lytle profyterhe that the goddes haue geuen thee all these thynges, if thou doest not contente thy selfe therewith, the whyche I thinke theye haue not geuen thee, nor neuer will geue thee. For the goddes are so iuste in bestowynge theire giftes, that to them to whom theye geue contentacion, theye take from them ryches: and to those whom theye geue riches, they take their contentacion. Plutarcke in the fyrste of his pollytyke puiteth this example, and he declareth not the name of this philosopher.

Howe greate a benefyte is that, whiche the goddes geue to princes and greate lordes, in geuynge them theire health, in geuynge them ryches, and in geuynge them honour, but if besides those hee geueth them not contentacion, I saye that in geuynge them the goodes, hee geueth them trauaile and daunger. For if the trauaile of the poore bee greater thenne the trauaile of the riche: withoute comparison the discontentacion of the riche, is greater then the discontentacion of the poore. Whenne lytle regardynge theire health beecome sicke, lytle esteemynge theire riches beecome poore, and beecause theye knowe not what honour is, theye beecome dishonoured: I meane, that the rash prince, untill suche time as theye haue benne well beaten in the warres, will alwayes lytle regarde peace. The daye that youe princes proclaim warres agaynst your enemies, you set at libertie all byces to your subiectes: Yet youe saye your meanyng is not theye shoulde bee euill. I saye it is true. Yet all this loyned together, ye geue them occassion that theye bee not good. Let vs knowe what thyng warre is, and then we shall see, whyther it bee good or euill to followe it. In warres theye doe naught els but kyll menne, robbe the temples, spoyle the people, destroye the innocentes, geue libertie to theues, seporate friendes, and rapse stryfe: all the which thynges cannot bee done withoute greate hurte of iustyce and scrupulositie of conscience. The sedicious manne hym selfe canne not denaye vs, that if twoe princes take bypon them warres beetweene them, and that bothe of them seeme to haue ryghte, yet the one of them onelye hath reason. So that the prince whiche shall fyghte agaynst iustice, or defende the vniuste cause, shall not escape oute of that warre iustified: Not iustified, hee shall remayne condemned: and the condemnation shall be, that all the losses, murders, burnynges, hangynges, and robberies whiche were done in the one or other common wealthe, shall remayne bypon the account of hym, whiche tooke bypon hym the vniuste warre. Althoughe hee dothe not fynde an other prince, that will demaunde an account of hym here in this lyfe yet hee shall haue a iuste iudge that will in another place laye it to his charge. The prince whiche is vertuous, and presumeth to be a christian, beefore hee beeginne the warre, oughte to considere what losse or profyte will ensue thereof. Wherein if the ende bee not prosperous, hee loseth his goodes and honour: and if hee perchance attaine to that he desired, peradventure his desire was to the damage of the common wealthe, and then hee oughte not to desire it. For the desire of one, shoulde not hurte the profite of all. When GOD our lord dyd create princes for princes, and people accepted

them

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them for their lordes, it is to beleue that the goddes neuer commaunded suche things, nor the men would euer haue excepted such, if they had thought y^e princes would not haue done that they were bound, but rather that whereunto they were enclined. For if men follow that whereunto their sensualitie encline the them, they do alwaies erre. Therefore if they suffer them selues to bee gouerned by reason, they are alwaies sure. And besides that, princes should not take vpon them warres, for the burdening of their conscience, the mispendinge of their goodes, and the losse of their honour: they ought also to remember the dutie that they owe to the common wealth the which they are bounde to kepe in peace and iustice. For we others nede not gouernours to searce vs enemies but princes which may defend vs from the wicked. The diuine Plato in his .4. booke de legibus sayeth, that one demaunded him why he did exalt the Lidians so much, and so muche dispraise the Lacedemonians: Plato aunswered: If I commend the Lidians, it is for that they neuer were occupied but in tilling the field: and if I do reprove here the Lacedemonians, it is because theye neuer knewe nothinge els but to conquere realmes. And therefore I saye, that more happie is that realme, where men haue their handes with labouring full of blyssers: then where their armes in fightinge, are wounded with the sweordes. These wordes whiche Plato spake are verie true, and woulde to god that in the gates and hartes of princes they were writen. Plinius in an epistle sayeth, that it was a prouerbe muche bled amongst the Grekes, that he was kyng whiche neuer sawe kyng. The lyke maye we saye, that he onely maye enioye peace, whiche neuer knewe what warre meant. For simple & innocent though a man be, there is none but will iudge him more happie, whiche occupieth his handkerchiefe to dye the sweate of his browes: then he that breaketh it to wipe the bloude of his heade. The princes and greate lordes which are louers of warre, ought to consider, that they do not onely hurte in generall all men, but also specially the good: and the reason is, that althoughe they of their owne willes do abstaine from battaille, doe not spoile, do not rebell, nor slepe: yet it is necessarie for them to endure the iniuries, and to suffer their owne losse and damages. For none are meete for the warre, but those whiche litle esteeme their life, and muche lesse their consciences. If the warre weare onely with the euill againste the euill, and to the hurte and hinderance of the euill litle shoulde theye fele whiche presume to be good. But I am sorie the good are persecuted, the good are robbed, and the good are slaine: For if it were otherwise (as I haue sayde) the euill againste the euill, we woulde take litle thought both for the banquishinge of the one, and muche lesse for the destruction of y^e other. I aske nowe, what fame, what honour, what gloze, what victorie, or what riches in that warre can be wonne, wherein so manie good vertuous, & wyse men are losse: There is suche penurpe of the good in the worlde, and such nede of them in the common wealth, that if it weare in oure power, wee wythe oure teares oughte to plucke them oute of their graues and geue them lyfe, and not to leade them into the warres, as to a shambles to be put to deathe. Plinie in one epistle, and Seneca in an other saye: that when theye desyred a Romaine captaine that with his army he shoulde enter into a greate daunger, whereof greate honour shoulde ensue vnto hym, and lytle profyte to the common wealth: He aunswered. For nothyng would I enter into that daunger,

ger if it were not to geue life to a romayne citize. For I desire rather to go environed with the good in Rome, then to go laden with treasure into my countrey. Comparinge prince to prince, and laboe to laboe, and the chistian with the pagan: without comparison the soule of a chistian oughte more to be esteemed, then the lyfe of a Romayne. For the good Romayne obserueth it as a lawe to dye in the warre: but the good chistian hath this precepte, to lyue in peace. Suetonius Tranquillus in the seconde booke of Cæsars sayeth. That amonge all the Romayne prynces there was noe pryncer so wellbeloued. Nor yet in the warres so fortunate as Augustus was. And the reason hereof is, beecause that pryncer neuer beganne anye warre, vnlesse by greate occasion he was thereunto prouoked. Of how many prynces (not ethnycks, but chistians) we haue hearde and reade all contrarie to this, whyche is: that were of suche large conscience, that they neuer tooke vpon them anye warre that was iuste, to whom I sweare and promyse, that since the warre which they in this worlde beganne, was vniuste: the punishmente whiche in another they shall haue is moste righteous. Xerxes kynge of the Perses beyng one daye at dinner, one broughed vnto hym berbere and sauourye fygges of the prouince of Athens: the whyche beeing sette at the table, he sweare by the immortal goddes, and by the bones of his predecessours, that he would neuer eate fygges of hys countrey but of Athens, whych were the beste of all Grece. And that whyche by woorde of mouth kynge Xerxes sweare, by balaunt dedes with the force and shilde he accomplished, and wente forthwith to conquere Gretia, for noe other cause, but for to fyl him selfe with the fygges of that countrey, so that he beganne that warre not onely as a lyghte pryncer: but also as a vicious man. Titus Lilius sayeth that when the frenche men did cast of the wyne of Italy, immediately they put them selues in armes and went to conquere the countrey, without hauinge anye other occasion to make warre agaynst them: So that the frenchemen for the lyckousnes of the pleasaunt wyne, losse the deare bloude of theire owne hartes. Kynge Antigonus dreamed one night that he sawe kynge Methridates with a swerth in hys hande, who lyke a mower dyd cut all Italy. And there fell suche feare to kynge Antigonus, that he determined to kyll kynge Methridates: so that this wicked pryncer for credytyng a lighte dreame, set all the worlde in an hyproze. The Lumberdes beeing in Pannonia, herde saye that there was in Italy sweete frutes, sauoury fleshe, odoriferous wyne, faire women, good fish, litle colde, and temperate heate: the whyche newes moued them not onely to desire them, but also they toke weapons to goe conquere Italy: So that the Lumberdes came not into Italy to reuenge them of theire enemies, but to bee there more vicious and riotous. The Romaynes and the Carthagiens were friendes of longe time, but after they knewe there was in Spaine great mynes of golde and of siluer, immediately arose betweene them exceedinge cruell warres, so that those twoe puissaunt realmes, for to take eche from other their goods, destroyed their owne proper dominions. The authours of the aboue said, were Plutarchus, Paulus Diaconus, Berolus, & Titus Lilius. Of secret iudgements of god which suffreth such thyngs. Of merciful goodnes of the my Lord, & pmyteth such thyngs, & through & dreame of on price in his thaber, another

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another for to robbe the treasures of Spayne, another to fly the colde of Hungary, another to drinke the wines of Italy, another to eat figges of Grece, shoulde put al the countrey to fire & bloud. Let not my pen be cruel against al princes which haue bruiust warres. For as Traianus said. Just warre is more worthe then fayned peace. I commend, approue, and exalt princes which are carefull & stout, to kepe and defende that which their predecessours leste them. For admit that for dispossesting them, hereof cometh all the breache with other princes. Loke how much his enemy offendeth his conscience for taking it: so much offendeth he his common wealth for not defending it. The wordes which the diuine Plato spake in the first booke of his lawes, dyd satisfie me greatly, which were these. It is not mete we shoulde be to extreme in comending those which haue peace: nor let vs be to behement in reproving those which haue warre. For it may be now, if one haue warre, it is to y end to attaine peace. And for the contrary, if one haue peace, it shalbe to the ende to make warre. In deede Plato sayde verie true: for it is more worthe to desire shorte warre, for longe peace: then shoit peace for longe warre. The philosopher Chilo being demaunded wherby a good or euil gouernour might be knowne, he answered. There is nothing wherby a good and euil man maye be better knowne, then in that for the which they strue. For the tyrannous prince offere the hym selfe to dye to take from an other: but the vertuous prince trauaileth to defend his own. Whē the redemer of this worlde, departed from this worlde, he sayde not I geue ye my warre, or leaue ye my warre: but I leaue ye my peace, and geue you my peace. Thereof ensueth that the good christian is bounde to keepe the peace, which Christ so muche commaunded: then to inuent warre to reuenge his proper iniurye, which god so much hated. If princes dyd that they oughte to doe, and in this case woulde beleue me: for no tempozall thing they shoulde condescend to shed mans bloud, if nothinge els, yet at the leaste the loue of hym which on the crosse shed hys precious bloude for vs, shoulde from that cleane dissuade vs. For the good Christians are commaunded to bewaile theire owne synnes: but they haue no licence to shed the bloude of their enemies. Finally I desire, exhorte, and further admonishe al princes, and great lordes, that for his sake that is prince of peace, they loue peace, procure peace, kepe peace, and liue in peace. For in peace they shalbe rich, & their people happye.

Emperour Marcus Aurelius writeth to his friend Cornelius, wherein he describeth the discomodities of warre, and the vanitie of triumphe.
Cap. xiiij.

Marcus Emperoure, wryteth to thee Cornelius hys faithful friend, helth, to thye person, and good lucke against all euill fortune. Within fiftene daies after I came from the warre of Asia, whereof I haue triumphed here in Rome, remembryng that in times paste thou weare a companion of my trauaile, I sent immediatly to certify thee of my triumphes. For y noble hearts do more reioice of their frinds ioy, then they do of their own prop delights. If thou wilt take pains to come whē I sed to cal thee, be thou assured, y on the one part thou shalt haue much pleasure to se y great abūdās of riches, y I haue brought out of Asia, & to beeholde mye receiuinge into Rome: & on the other.

thou

thou canst not kepe thy selfe from weeping, to se suche a sorte of captiues (the which entered in befoze the triumphant chariotes) bounde, & naked, to augment to the conquerours most glory: & also to them vanquished, to be a greater ignominy. Seldome times we se the sunne shine bright al the day long, but first in the sommer there hath ben a mist, or if it be in the winter, that hath ben a frost. By this parable I meane, that one of the miseries of this worlde is, that we shall se fewe in this worlde, which now be prosperous: but befoze haue had fortune, in some cases, very malicious. For we see by experience, some come to be very poore, and other chaunce to attaine to greate riches: so that thorough the impouerishing of those, the other become riche, and prosperous. The weeping of the one, causeth the other to laugh: so that if the bucket that is emptye aboue, doth not go downe: the other which is full beneath can not come vp. Speaking therfore according to sensualityte, thou wouldest haue bene glad y day to haue sene our triumphe, with the abundance of riches, y great number of captiues, y dyneritie of beasts, y valiantnes of the captaines, the sharpnes of wittes which we brought from Asia, & etred into Rome, wherby thou mightest wel know the dangers y we escaped in that warre. Wherefore speakinge the truth, the matter betwene vs & our enemies was so debated, that those of vs y escaped best, had their bodies sore wounded, & their vaines also almost w our blood. I let thee wete, my Cornelius, y the Parthes are warlike men, & in dangerous enterprises verie hardy & bolde. And when they are at home in their countrey every one w a stout hart defendeth his house, & surely they do yt like good men, & valiaunt captaines. For if we other romaines, without reaso, & through ambition, do go to take another mans: it is mete & iuste, that they by force do defend their owne. Let no man through the abundance of malice, or want of wisdom euny the Romaine Captaine, for any triumphe that is geuen him by his mother Rome: for surely to get this only one daies honoz, he aduētureth his life a 100. times in the fiede. I wil not speak al that I myght say of them y we lede forth to the warres, nor of them which we leaue here at home in Rome, which be al cruell iudges of our fame: for theire iudgement is not bpright accordinge to equitye, but rather procedeth of malice, and enuye. Though they take me for a patient man, & not farre out of order, yet I let thee know my Cornelius, y there is no patience can suffer, nor hart dissemble, to see many romains to haue such great enuy, which (thorough theire malicious tongues) passe not to backebite other mens triumphes. For it is a olde disease of euil men, thorough malice to backebite that with theire tong which thorough theire cowardnes, they neuer durst enterpryse with their hands. Notwithstanding al this ye must know, y in the warre you must first ofte hazard your life, & afterwards to the discretion of suche tongues commit your honoz. Our follye is so folishe, & the desires of men so vaine, that moze for one vaine worde, then for any profite, we desire rather to get vaine gloze w the trauaile: then to seeke a good life w the reste. And therfore willingly we offer oure liues now to great trauaile, and payne onelye that amonge vaine men hereafter we maye haue a name. I sweare by the immortall gods, vnto thee mye Cornelius, y the daie of mye triumphe, where as to the seemyng of all those of this worlde I went triumphinge in the chariote opely: yet I ensure thee my hart wepte secretly. Such is the vannie of men, that though of reason we be admonished,

called,

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called, and compelled, yet we flye fro her: and contrary, though we be liked
eull handled, & despised of the worlde, yet we will serue it. If I be not deceived
it is the prosperitie of foolish men, & wante of good iudgements & cause the
men to enter into others houses by force: rather then to be desirous to be quiet
in their owne, with a good will. I meane & we shoulde in folowinge vertue,
soner be vertuous: then in haunting vices, be vicious. For speaking the troth,
men which in all and for all desire to please the worlde, must nedes offer them
selues to great trauaile and care. O Rome, Rome, cursed be thy folly, and cur-
sed be he that in thee brought vp so muche pryde, and be he cursed of men, and
hated of gods, which in thee hath augmented this pompe. For verie fewe are
they, & worthely fewe it haue attained: but infinite are they, which thorough it
haue perished. What greater baile, or what equall ligures can be, then that
a Romaine captaine, because he hath conquered realmes, troubled quiet men,
destroyed cities, beaten downe castels, robbed the poore, enriched tyrants, car-
ried away treasours, shed much blood, made infinite widdowes, & take manye
noble mens liues, should be afterwarde (with great triumphe of Rome) re-
ceiued in recompence of al this damage: Wilt thou now that I tel thee a grea-
ter follye, which aboue al other is greatest? I let thee wete, infinite are there
that dye in the warres, and one onely carrieth away the glozpe thereof: so that
these wofull & miserable men, though for their carcase they haue not a graue,
yet one captaine goeth triumphing alone thorough Rome. By the immortall
gods I sweare vnto thee, & let this pas secretly, as betwene frindes, that the
day of my triumphe, when I was in my triumphaunt chariot, beholdinge the
miserable captiues laden with yrons, and other men carrynge infinite treasu-
res, which we had eull gotten, and to see the carefull widdowes wepe for the
death of their husbandes, and remembred so many noble Romaines whych lost
their liues in Affrike: though I seemed to reioice outwardly, yet I esure thee I
did wepe droppe of blood inwardly. For he is no mā boine in the worlde, but
rather a fury bzied vp in hel among & furies, & can at the sorow of another take
any pleasure. I knowe not in this case, what reputacion the prince, or captayn
should make of him selfe, that cometh from the warre, and desireth to enter
into Rome, for if he think (as it is reason) on the woundes he hath in his bo-
dy, or the treasures which he hath wasted, on the places that he hath burnt, on
the perils & he hath escaped, on the iniuries which he hath receiued, the multi-
tude of men which brutallie are slaine, the frindes whiche he hath lost, the e-
nemies that he hath gotten, the litle rest that he hath enioied, and the greate
trauaile that he hath suffered: in such case I say, & such a one is sorowful sighs
ought to lament, and with bitter teares oughte to be receiued. In this case of
triumphinge, I neither commend the Assirians, nor enuy the Persians, nor
am content with the Macedonians, nor allowe the Caldians, or content mee w
Grekes. I curse the Troians, and condempne the Carthagiens, because & they
proceeded not according to the zeale of iustice: but rather of the rage of pryde, to
set by triumphes, endamaged their countreys, and leste an occasion to vndo
us. O cursed Rome, cursed thou hast ben, cursed thou art, and cursed thou shalt
be. For if the fatall deseries do not lye vnto me, and my iudgement deceiue
me, and fortune fasten not the nalle: they shall see of thee Rome in time to co-
me, that which we others presently see of the realmes past. Thou oughtest to
knowe

know, that as thou by tyranny hast made thy self lady of lordes: so by iustyce thou shalt returne to be the seruant of seruauntes. O vnhappy Rome, and vnhappy againe I retourne to call the. Tell me I praye thee, why arte thou at this daye so dere of marchaundise, and so chepe of folly? Where are the auncient fathers whiche buylded thee, and wyth theire vertues honoured thee: in whose stede presently thou magnifyest so many tyrantes, whiche with theire byres deface thee. Where are all those noble and vertuous barons which thou hast nourished, in whose stede thou hast now so manye vicious, and barabondes: Where are those, whiche for thy libertye dyd shedde theire bloude, in whose stede now thou hast those, that to bring thee into subiection, haue lost theire lyfe: Where are thy valiant Captaines, which with such great traualle dyd endeuour them selues to defende the walles fro enemies, in whose stede haue succeeded those that haue plucked them downe, and peopled them wyth byres, and vicious: Where are thy great priestes, the whiche did alwaies praye in the Temples, in whose stede haue succeeded those, whiche knowe not but to defile the churches, and with theire wickednes to moue the goddes to wrathe: Where are these so manye philosophers and oratours, which wyth their counsailes gouerned the, in whose stede haue now succeeded so manye simple, & ignorant, whiche with theire malys doe vndo the? O Rome all those auncients haue forsaken the, and we succede those which now are newe, and if thou knewest truely the vertue of them, and diddest consider the lightnes of vs: the day that they ended theire lyfe, the selfe same daye not one stone in thee shoulde haue bene lefte vpon an other. And so those felde shoulde haue sauoured of the bones of the vertuous: whiche now stinke of the bodys of the vicious. Peraduenture thou arte more auncient then Babilon, more beautifull then Hierusalem, more riche then Carthage, more stronge then Troy, more peopled then Thebes, more in circuite then Corinthe, more pleasaunt then Tirus, more fertile then Constantinople, more high then Camena, more vniuersible then Aquileia, more privileged then Gades, more enuironed with Towers then Capua, and more flourishing then Cantabria. Wee see that all those notable cyties perished, for all theire vertuous defendours: and thinkest thou to remayne being replenished wyth so muche byre, and peopled wyth so manye vicious: O my mother Rome, take one thinge for a warning, that the glorie whiche now is of the, was firste of them, and the same destruction that was of them, shall hereafter lyghte vpon the, for suche is the worlde.

For thus goeth the world, euen as wee presently see the troubles of them that be past: so shall those that be to come, see oures that be present.

Capitulus Aurelius goeth on with his letter, and declarcth the order that the Romaynes vsed in setting forth theire men of warre, & of the outrageous villanyes which captaines & souldiours vse in the warre. Cap. xv.

I wyll now declare vnto thee, my frend Cornelius, the order which we haue to set forth men of warre: and thereby thou shalt see the great disorder that is in Rome. For in the olde tyme there was nothing more looked vnto, nor more corrected, then was the discipline of warre. And for the contrarie, now a dayes there is nothinge so dissolute, as are our men of warre. Fewes once spied abrode through the empire, howe the prince doth take vpon him anye

C. i.

warre

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warre, immediatlye dyuers oppinions engender amongst the people, and e-
uery one iudgeth dyuerselye vppon the warre. For as muche as the one saythe
it is iust, and the prince that taketh it vppon hym is iust. Others saye that it is
vniust, and that the prince which beganne it, is a tyrant. The poore and se-
ditionous persons do allowe it, to the ende they might goe, and take other mens
goods by force. The riche and pacient do condemne it, because they would en-
ioye theire owne in quiet. So that they doe not iustifye or condemne warre,
accozdyng to the zeale of iustice: but accoordinge to the litle or muche profite,
that shall folowe them of that enterpryse. I commaunde whiche am a Ro-
mayne Emperour, warre to be proclaimed, because a city or prouince hath re-
belled, and that accoordinge to theire custome they doe obserue the ceremonies
of Rome. First you must vnderstand, the priestes must be called to goe im-
mediate ly to praye to the immortall gods: for the romaine people neuer went
to shedde the bloude of theire enemies in the warres, but first the priestes dyd
shed the teares of theire eyes in the Temples.

Secondly at the sacred Senate doth goe to the temple of the God Iupiter,
and there they sweare all with a solempne othe, that if the enemies (agaynst
whome they goe) doe require a newe confederacion with Rome, or demaund
pardon of their faultes committed: that (all reuengement layde on syde) they
shall not deuipe them merce.

Thyrdlye the consull whiche is appointed for captaine of the warre, went
to the hygh capitoll, and there he maketh a solempne bolue to one of the gods,
whiche lyketh hym best, that hee will offer hym a certaine Jewell, if hee re-
tourne victozious of the same warre: and though the Jewell whiche he dooth
promise be of greate value, yet all the people are bound to paye it.

The .4. is, that they set vp in the temple of Mars the ensigne of the Eagle,
whiche is the auncient romaine ensigne, and that is, that all the Romaynes
take it for comaundement, that no spectacle nor feast bee celebrated in Rome,
duryng the tyme that theire brethren bee in the warres.

The .5. a Pretor mounteth vp to the toppe of the gate of Salaria, and theire
hee bloweth the trumpet to muster menne of warre, and they bring forth the
standers and ensignes to deuyde them amonge the Captaynes.

How fearfull a thyng is it to see, that so soone as the Captayne is enuiron-
ned wpyth the ensigne, so soone hath he licence to commit all euyls, and villa-
nyes. So that he taketh it for a brauerye, to robbe the countreys where by he
passeth: and to deceyue those wpyth whome hee practiseth. What lyberty cap-
taynes and gouernours of warre haue to doe euyll, and to bee euyll, it is be-
rye manifest in those whome they leade in theire companye. For the sonnes
leaueth theire fathets, the seruantes theire lordes, the Schollers theire may-
sters, the offycers theire offyces, the priestes theire Temples, the amorous
theire loues, and this for none other cause, but that vnder the colour of the li-
berties of warre, theire byres shoulde not be punished by iustyce. O my frende
Cornelius, I know not how I shoulde begin to say that whiche I wil tel thee.
Thou oughtest to know, that after our men of warre are gone out of Rome
they nether feare the gods, neither honour the temples, they reuerence not
the priestes, they haue no obedience to theire fathers, nor shame to the people,
dread of iustice, neither compassion of theire countrey, nor remeber that they
are

are children of Rome: and yet very few of them thinke to end their lyfe, but that all shame layde asyde, they loue the condemned ydenes, and hate þe iuste trauaile. Therefore harken, I will tell thee moze, and though it seemeth much that I speake, I ensure thee it is but lyttle in respecte of that they doe, for so muche as some robbe temples, others spread rumours, these breake the dozes, and those robbe the Gods. Somtymes they take the free, somtymes they lose the bond. The nights they passe in playes, the daies in blasphemies, to daye they fight lyke Lyons, to morrowe they flye lyke cowardest. Some rebell against the Captaynes, and others flye to the enemies. fynallye, for all good they are vnhabable, and for all euill they are meete. Therefore to tell the of their filthynes, I am ashamed to describe them.

They leaue theyre owne wyues, and take the wyues of others, they dysshonour the daughters of the good, and they begyle the innocent Virgines, there is no neyghbour but they doe couet, neyther hostesse but þe they do force, they breake their olde wedlocke, and yeaerly seeke a newe mariage: so that they doe all thinges what they list, and nothinge what they ought. Doeſt thou think presently my friend Cornelius þe there are few euils in Rome, sir, so many euill women do go to the warre: Here for their sake, men offend the gods, they are traytours to their countrey, they denye their parentage, they doe come to extreme pouerty, they lyue in infamy, they robbe the goods of others, they waste their owne, they neuer haue quiet lyfe, neither remaneth anye truely in their mouthes: fynallye for the loue of them, oftentymes warre ys moued agayne, and manye good menne lose their lyues. Let vs leaue the reasons, and come to hyſtozies.

Thou knowest right well, that the greatest parte of Asia was conquered and gouerned, moze with the womē Amazones, then with any barbarous people. That yong, noble, and valyaunt Porro, kinge of Iudea, for want of menne, and aboundans of women, was ouertome of the great Alexander. Hanniball the terrible captaine of the Carthagiens was alwaies lord of Italy, vntill hee dyd permitte women to goe to the warre. And when he fell in loue with a mayden of Capua, they sawe him immediatlye tourne his shoulders to Rome. If Scipio the Affricane had not skoured the Romaine armyes of lecherie, the invincible Numantia had neuer bene worne. The Captayne Silla in þe warres of Mithridates, and the couragious Marius, in the warre of the Zimbres, hadde ouer their enemyes so manye victozies, because in their campes they suffered no women. In the tyme of Claudius the Emperour, the Tharentines and Capuans were berre mortall enemyes, in so muche as the one agayne the other pytched theyre campe, and by chaunce one daye in the campe of the Capuans, two Captaynes fell at varyaunce, because they bothe loued one woman, and when the Tharentines perceyued their dissensyon, immediatlye with theyre power gaue them the onset.

Whereof it ensueth, that throughe the naughtynesse of one euill woman, was lost the lybertie of that goodlye cite. I hadde in this warre of Parthes 16. thousande horsemen, and 24. thousand foote men, and 35. thousand women, and the disorder in this case was so greute, that from the hoste I sent my wyfe Faustine, and the wyues of dyuers other Senatours home to their houses, that they shoulde kepe the olde and nourishe the yonge.

THE THIRD BOOKE

Our forefathers led women in the olde tyme to the warre, to dresse meate for the whole, and to cure the wounded: but now we leade them to the ende cowardes shoulde haue occasyon to be effeminate, and the balaunt to be vicious. And in the ende, theire enemies doe breake their heades: but the women doe wound theire hartes. I will that thou knowe other thynges, my Cornelius, and they are, that the Gawles, the Vulcanes, the Flamini, the Regii, the whyche are priestes of the mother Sibilla, of the god Vulcane, of the god Mars, and of the god Iupiter, the feare of the gods set asyde, leauynge theyre temples desert, laying of theire honest garmentes, not remembryng theyre holye ceremonies, breakynge theire streight bowes, an infinite number of them goe to the campe, where they loue moze dishonestye then others: for it is a comunon thyng, that those whyche once presume to bee solytarye, and shamefast, after that they are once flethed: exceede all other in shame & byce.

It is a dyshonest thinge, and also perillous to carpe priestes to the warre: for theire offyce is to pacifye the gods wth teares, and not to threaten men wth weapons. If perchaunce Prynces woulde saye, it is good to carpe priestes to the warre to offer sacrifices to the gods: To this I aunswere, that the temples are buylt to praye, and to praye for to fyght: so that in one place the gods woulde bee feared, and in another honoured and sacrificed. In the yere of the foundation of Rome. 35. the consull Vietro passed into Asia, and went agaynst the Palestines, the whych there rebelled agaynst the Romaynes, and by the waye he passed by the temple of Apollo, in the yle of Delphos, and as there hee made a prayer vnto the god Apollo berre longe, to the ende hee woulde reuele vnto hym whether hee shoulde retorne victorious from Asia or not. The oracle aunswered. O consull Vietro if thou wilt retorne victorious from thy enemies, restore our priestes whiche thou takest from oure temples. For wee other goddes will not: that the man whome wee choose for oure deuyne seruyce, ye others shoulde leade to the byces of the worlde. If it bee true (as it is true in deede) that the god Apollo sayde vnto the consull Vietro, mee thinketh it is no iuste thyng to co condescende that priestes shoulde goe to loose them selues in the warre.

For as thou knowest my Cornelius, wthout doubte greater is the offence that they committe in goynge to bndoe them selues, then is the seruyce whyche they doe to princes beyng desyrous to fyght.

Let vs haue the priestes in the Temples to praye, and let vs see howe the captaynes are wont to gouerne them selues, and in this case thou shalt fynde that the daye that the Senate doe appointe a Senatour for captayne, they proue hym if hee can playe at the weapons in the Theater.

The Consull leadeh hym to the hygh capitoll wth hym, the Eagle is hangd at hys brest, they cast the purple vpon hys shouldeers, they giue him money of the common treasour, immediatlye hee groweth into suche pryde, that forgettynge the pouertie past whyche hee suffered in hys countrey, hee thinketh one daye to make hym emperour of Rome. It is a comunon thyng, that when fortune exalterh merne of lowe estate, to hygh degree, they presume muche, and knowe lttle, and muche lesse what they are woorth. So that if theire feeble force were coequall to their high mynde, one alone shoulde suffice to ouercome their enemies, and also to winne many realmes.

The

The Captaines haue taken a custome nowe in Rome, and they tell mee that it is an inuention of Mauritan, that is, that they tease their bearded, they curl their heares, they clippe their woordes, they chaunge their garments, they accompanie wpyth murderers, they goe the moste part armed, they goe verie faste to seeme fierce, and to conclude they lyttle esteeme to bee beloued, and take it great gloze to bee feared.

And to the intent thou shouldest knowe, my Cornelius, howe muche they woulde bee feared, I will recyte thee an hystoꝛy whyche is, that I standyng one daye in Penthapolyn, a captayne of myne, I hearinge him, and hee not seeing mee, for so muche as they woulde not let hym doe all that hee woulde haue done in the house, hee sayde vnto an hostie of his.

Ye other villaynes dyd neuer knowe captaines of armie, therefore know it, if thou dost not knowe it mother, that the earthe doth neuer tremble, but when yt is threathned wpyth a Romaine Captaine, and the gods doe neuer suffer the Sunne to shine, but where wee others are obeyed.

Sins thou hast nowe harde that hee saide, heare also the balauntnes that hee hath doone. Within shorthe space after, the captayne went vnto a battaile in Arabia, where hee was the firste that fledde, and lefte the standerd alone in the fiede, the whiche had almoste made mee lose the battaile. But I in recompence of his balaunt deede, commaunded to cut of his great head. For ingiuing the onlet vpypon the enemies, the flyenge of one manne doth moze hurte, then the fightinge of two thousande doth profite. I haue often tymes heard the emperour Traian my lorde saye, that the menne whiche in peace seeme moste fierce, in warres commonlye are moste cowardes.

It chauneth that dyuers thynges are compassed, for hauing onely a good eloquence, others for hauinge wpytche crafte, others for being verie diligent; others for opening their purse, and truely this is the moste and best meane that is occupied in Rome. But the affayres of warres do not consiste, in talkinge many woordes before theyze friends: but in fightinge manfullye in the fiede against their enemies. For in the ende, men most full of woordes, are for the moste parte cowardes in dedes. What wilt thou I tell the moze, my Cornelius, of the iniuries whiche the captaines do in cities wherby they passe, of the slaunders whiche they rayse in the prouinces where they abyde: I let thee weete, that the little woode doth not so muche harme that gnaweth the wood, the moth to the garments: the sparke vnto the toae, the locust vnto the corne, neither the wyuell to the garner, as the captaines doe to the people. For they leane no beast but they kyll, noz oxhyarde but they robbe, noz wine but they drinke, noz doue house but they clime, noz temple but they spoile, noz chace but they hunt, no sedicion but they rayse, no villany but that they committe. And they do moze then they ought to do, for they eat wout meaninge to paye, and they will not serue vnlesse they be well payed: and the woost of all is, that if they haue their paye, immediately they change or plaie it. If they bee not paid, they robbe and mutine forthwith: so that with povertie they are not content, and with ryches they ware vicious and insolent. The matter is nowe come to such coruption, and there is at this daye men of warre in Rome so carelesse, that here no captaine seemeth but an example

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of murderers, a flurrier by of sedicious persons, an enuyer of the good, a partaker wyth all euill, a theef of theeuers, a pirate of rourers, and fynally I doe not say that they seeme to bee: but I doe affirme that they are the scourge of your vertuous, and refuge of the vicious. I woulde not say this, but yet not withstandyng I ought to saye it, because it is a thing so farre out of order, and so much to bee laughed at: that these wicked menne though they are our familiar enemies, there is no prince that ruleth them, no Justice that correcteth them, no feare that doth oppesse them, no law that subdueth them, no shame that refraineth them, no parents that correct them, no punishment that doth abase them, no yet death that doth end them: but now as menne which are without remedy, wee let them eat of all.

¶ Marcus Aurelius Emperoꝝ pursueth his letter, shewing the great damages that haue ensued foꝝ the warres begonne wyth straunge realmes.
Cap. xvi.

O Unfortunat Rome, who was not wont to haue such euill lucke, but the older thou art, the more vnlucky I see thee. Foꝝ by wytyngs wee read, and also with our eyes wee see, that the more fortunat a citie oꝝ personne hath been in the beginning, the more froward fortune is vnto him in the endyng. Truly in those auncient tymes, and in those glorioꝝ worlds, I say when they were peopled wyth true Romaynes, and not as now (they which haue no children but bastardeg) the armies were so well taught that came fro Rome, as the philosophers which were in the schooles of Grece. If the greeke wytynges do not lye vnto mee, Phillip the greake king of Macedony, foꝝ this is so renowned in histories, and his sonne the great Alexander foꝝ this was so fortunate in the warres, that they had their armies so well correct: that it rather seemed a Senate which gouerned, then a camp which fought. In that wee can gather out of Titus Lilius, and other wytyers, from the tyme of Quintus Cincinnatus Dictatoꝝ, vntill the noble Marcus Marcellus, were the most prosperous tymes of the Romayne empire. Foꝝ befoꝝe kings dyd trauail, and afterwards it was persecuted with tyrants. In these so happy tymes, one of the greatest felicities that Rome had, was to haue the warrelyke discipline well corrected. And then Rome began to fall, when our armies began to doe dommage. Foꝝ if those of the warre haue truce with byres, the others of the common wealth can not haue peace with vertues. Cursed bee thou Asia, and cursed bee the day that with thee wee had conquest. Foꝝ wee haue not scene the good that haue folowed vs of thy conquest, vntill this present, and the losse and dommage which from thee came vnto vs, shalbee lamented in Rome foꝝ euer. Cursed Asia, wee spent our treasures in thee, and thou hast geuen to vs thy byres. In chaunge of our balyant meime, thou hast sent vs thy fine mineons, wee haue wonne thy cities, and thou triumphest of our vertues. Wee battered thy fortes, and thou hast destroyed our maners. Wee triumphed of thy realmes, and thou diddest cut the throtes of our friends. Wee made to thee cruell warre, and thou conquestest from vs the good peace. With force thou were
ours,

ours, and with good will wee are yours. Wee are binuſt lordes of thy riches, and iust tenants of thy byres. Finally thou Asia art a wofull graue of Rome, and thou Rome art a fylthy sinke of Asia. Since our auncient fathers dyd content them selues with Rome alone, why should not wee their chyl- dren content our selues with Rome and Italy: but that wee must goe to con- quer Asia, where wee aduentured our honoz, and spent our treasure: If those auncient romaines, being as they were, so princely barons in lyfe, and so valyaunt in syghting, and so hardy to commaund, dyd content them selues wth this lytle bozder: why should not wee content our selues not being as they are, hauing a realme riche and vicious: I knowe not what sond toye tooke vs in the head, to goe conquer Asia, and not to content our selues wth Rome: Italy was not so pooze of ryches, nor so destitute of cities, nor so vn- peopled of people, nor so solitary of beasts, nor so vndercked with buyldin- ges, nor so barrayne of good frutes: but that of all these things wee had moze, then our fathers wished, and also moze then wee their chyldren deser- ued. For mee I would say, that it is for want of iudgement or aboundaunce of pryde, for vs to seeke to errede our forefathers in seignozie: when we are not coequall vnto them in vertue. I was contented with all thinges of my forefathers, saue onely that they were a lytle proud, and seditious, and heretw wee their chyldren doe resemble them well.

For as muche as wee are not onely proude and seditious, but also couetous and malycious. So that in vertuous things wee go backward, and in vn- lawfull woozkes wee goe forward. What is become of the great victories that our forefathers had in Asia: What is become of the infinite treasure they haue robbed in that countrey: what is become of so great number of captiues that they tooke in the warre: what is become of the straunge beasts that they sent into Italy. What is become of the ryches which euerie one brought home to his house: what is become of the valyaunt kinges which they tooke in that conquest: what is become of the feastes and triumphes, wherewith they entred triumphing into Rome: What wilt thou I say moze vnto thee in this case, (my Cornelius) but that all they which inuented the warre are dead, all those which were in Asia are dead, all those which defended that coun- trey are dead, all those which entred triumphing into Rome are dead, and sy- nally, all the riches and triumphs whiche our fathers brought from Asia, they and those in short space had an end, except the byres & pleasures where- of wee see no end. O if the valyaunt princes knewe, what a thing it is to in- uent warres in straunge realmes, what tranapls they seeke for their per- sons, what cares in their hartes, what trouble to their subiects, what waste to their treasozs, what pouertie to their frends, what pleasures to their e- nemies, what destruction of the good, what libertie of the euill, and what oc- casion they geue to straungers to speke, what vniuersall euill they sow in their naturall countreys, and what euill poison they leaue to their heires: I sweare by the faith of a good man, that if as I feele it, princes did feele it, and as I taste it, princes did taste it, & also as I haue proued it, princes dyd proue it, I do not say that with effusion of blood I would take realmes by force: but also they offering them to mee with teares, I would not take the willingly. For speaking the truth, it is not the point of valyaunt princes for to sustayne another

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an other mang, to put theire owne in ieoperdye. I aske nowe, what profite toke Rome of the conquest of Asia: I admitte that it durst conquer it, that it was hardye in winning it, obstinate in fightinge, and happy in takinge it: shoulde it therefore bee fortunate in maintaininge it: In this case I saye and affirme, and of that I saye I doe not repent mee: that it is possible to take Asia, but it is but a folye to presume to maintaine it.

Doeſt thou not thinke it a great folye to presume to maintaine Asia, ſynce there neuer cometh newes of a victorie, but that it is occasion of an other battayle, and that to sustaine warre, they robbe all Italy: In Asia our money is spent, our children are perished: In Asia dyed our fathers, for Asia they make vs paye tributes: In Asia the good horses are consumed: Into Asia they cary all our coine: In Asia all the theenes are nourished: From Asia cometh all the sedicious personnes: In Asia all the good doe perishe: from Asia they sende vs all the byces: and fynallye in Asia all our treasures are spent, and in Asia all our excellent Romaines are killed. And sith this is the seruyce that Asia doth to Rome, why will Rome continue warre with Asia: Wher princes befoze vs haue conquered Asia, taken Asia, and possessed Asia: but in the ende, when they saw that it was a countrey where they feared not the goddes, nor acknowledged subiection to theire princes, neither that they were apte to receiue lawes, they determined to forsake them: because they founde by experience, that they neyther weary their bodys with warres, neither wyne their hartes with benefytes. Those Princes not being hardye, nor so bolde to sustaine Asia by lande, shoulde wee others presume to succour it by sea: They forsake it being neighbours, and will wee others maintaine it being straungers: In my oppinion Asia is a countrey, where all the balaunt men haue employed their balauntines, where all the fooles haue proued their folye, where all the proude haue shewed their pryde, where all the princes entred in with myght, where all the tyrantes haue employed their lyfe: but in the ende, it neither profiteth the one to wyll it, nor to the others to knowe it, and yet muche lesse to banquish it.

I knowe not the man that loueth Asia, that wyll eth well to Asia, that speaketh well of Asia, or that fauoureth the thynges of Asia, since shee geueth vs occasion to speake daylye, to sigh nightly, and to weepe hourely.

If men attained to the secrete to knowe the fatall destenies, with which the goddes haue created Asia, they woulde not strive so much in the conquest thereof. For the gods haue created it in such a sygne, that it shoulde be a common pasture where all feede, a common market where all sell, a common inne where all reste, a common table where all playe, a common house where all dwell, a common countrey where all remayne: and there of it cometh, that Asia is despyred of manye, and gouerned of fewe. For beyng as it is a common countrey, euerye manne will make it his owne proper.

Peradventure thou wylt thinke, my frende Cornelius, that I haue spoken nowe all the enyiles of Asia, but harken, yet I will fowrne the a newe question agayne. For accordyng to the damage whyche haue followed (from Asia) to our mother Rome, tyme shall rather want to write, then matter to declare. Not without teares I saye that whyche I wyll saye, that there was neuer anye Romaine Captayne that dyd kille tenne thousand

sand

sende Asians with the weapons he brought into Asia: but that hee lost a hundred thousand remaines with the byces they brought to Rome. So that the Asians by the handes of their enemies died with honour: and lefte vs Romanes alpye full of theyze byces with infamy. I aske nowe what they were that inuented to dyne in common places, to suppe in secreete gardeines, to appaile the women as menne in the theatre, to colour the flethe of priesles with yellowe: to noynt the women as menne in the bathe, the Senatours goyng smellyng to the Senate, Prynces to bee apparayled with purple agaynst the auncient decree to eate twise in the daye as the Tyrant Denny did, to keepe harlottes and concubines as they of Tyre doe, to speake blasphemyes agaynst the goddes whych were neuer heard of before in the empire: These sayde byces of Asia, Asia hath presently sent to Rome.

At the same tyme when in those partes of the Oriente, the warre was kyndeled: tenne valiant capytaynes brought these byces to Rome, whose names my penne shall pardone to tell, because their byle offences shoulde not obscure their valyaunt deedes. Before that Rome conquered Asia we were ryche, we were pacient, we were sober, we were wysse, we were honeste, and aboue all we were lyued contented.

But synce that tyme we haue geueen our selues to forgeat the polycyes of Rome, and to learne the pleasure of Asia: so that nowe all byces may be learned in Rome, as all sciences maye bee hearde in Greece.

By the aboue rehearsed, all warlyke prynces maye see, what profyte they haue to conquer straunge realmes. Let vs nowe leaue the byces, whych in the warres are recovered, and talke of money whych the prynces couet and loue. And in this I saye, that ther is no prince brought into so extreme pouertie, as hee whych conquereth a straunge countrey.

Cornelius, thou halste not seene howe Prynces moze of a wyl then of necessity doe waste their treasures: howe they demaunde that of an other mannes, and howe their owne doth not suffice them: they take those of churches, they seeke greates lones, they inuent great tributes, they demaund grete subsidies, they geue straungers occasion to speake, and make them selues hated of their subiectes: synallye they praye their subiectes, and humble themselves to their enemies. Synce I haue declared the dommages of warre, I wyll nowe declare what the originall of warre is.

For it is impossible that the phisition applye vnto the sicke agreeable medecyne, if hee knowe not of what humour the sicknesse doth proceede. Prynces synce they came of menne, are noryshed with menne, doe counsaile with men, and lyue with menne, and to conclud they are menne. Sometime through pryde whych aboundeth in them: sometyne through want of counsaile, they them selues imagine, and other flatterers telleth, that though they haue muche in respecte of other prynces, yet they can doe lytle. Also they saye vnto them, that yf their substance bee great, their fame ought to be greater. Further they tell the, that the good prince ought lytle to esteeme that hee hath inherited of his predecessors, in respect of the greate deale moze hee ought to leaue to his successors. Also they tell the, yf neuer prince left of him any great memozy, but inuetinge soe cruel warre agaynst his enemy. Also they tel the, yf yf
houre

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houre that one is chosen emperour of Rome, he maye boldly conquire all the whole earth. These bayne reasons being hearde of the princes, afterwarde as their fortune is base, and their myndes high, immediately they desyre their enemies, they open their treasures, they assemble great armies: and in the end of all, the goddes suffer, that they thinke to take an other mannes goods, they waste and lose their owne. O princes, I knowe not whome doth deceyue ye, that you wylche by peace maye bee riche, and by warre will bee poore. O princes, I knowe not who doth deceyue you, that you wylche may be loued doe seke occasions to bee hated. O princes, I knowe not who doth begyle ye, that ye wylche maye enioye a sure lyfe, doe aduenture your selues to the mutabilite of fortune. O princes, I knowe not who doth deceyue you, that you so little esteeme and wey your owne haboundaunce, and so greatlye set by the want of others. O princes, I knowe not who doth deceyue you, that all hauing nede of you, you shoulde haue nede of others. I let thee to wete my Cornelius, though a prince bee more quicke and carefull then all other his predecessors haue beene in Rome: yet it is vnpossible that all thinges touchyng warre, shoulde succede vnto him prosperously. For in the greatest nede of warre, either he wanteth money, or his subiectes doe not succour him, or tyme is contrarye vnto hym, or hee fyndeth perillous passages, he lacketh artillarie, or his Captaines rebell, or els succour cometh to his aduersaries: so that hee seeth hym selfe so miserable, that thoughtes doe more oppresse his harte, then the enemies doe harme his lande. Though a prince had no warre, but for to suffer menne of warre, yet hee ought to take vpon him no warre. I aske thee my Cornelius, what trauaile so greate to his parsonne, or what greater damage to his realme can his enemies doe, then that wylche his owne men of warre doe? The enemies, to doe the worst they canne, will but robbe our frontiers: but our menne of warre do robbe all the whole countrey. The enemies we dare and maye resist, but to oures we cannot, nor dare not speake. The enemies, the worst they can do, is once in a moneth to robbe & runne their wayes: but ours daily do robbe, & remayn still. The enemies feare their enemies only, but ours do feare their enemies, & haue no pittie on their frids. The enemies, the further they go on, the more they diminish: but ours the further they go, the more they encrease. I knowe no greater warre the princes can haue, then to haue men of warre in their realmes. For as experiance doth shew vs, before the gods they are culpable, to princes importunate, & to the people troublesome: so that they lyue to the damage of all, and to the profite of none. By the God Mars I sweare vnto thee (my frende Cornelius) as hee maye directe my handes in the warre, that I haue no complaintes in the Senate, of thesties wylche my captaynes doe committe in Illiria, then of all the enemies of the Romayne people. Worthe for that I saye, and for that I keepe secrete. I am more afrayde to create an ensygne of twoe hundred menne of warre, then to geue a cruell battaile to thirtie thousande menne. For that battaile, fortune (good or euill) forthwith dispatcheth, but with these I can bee sure no tyme of all my lyfe. Thou wouldest saye vnto mee (Cornelius) that since I am Emperour of Rome, I shoulde remedy this since I knowe it. For that prince which dissembleth with the fault of another, by reason hee wylle condemne hym, as if it were his owne. To thys I aunswere, that I am not myghty enough

to remedy it, except by my remedye there shoulde spring a greater inconueni-
ence. And since thou hast not bene a Prince, thou couldest not fall into that I
haue, nor yet vnderstand that whych I saie. For princes by their wise dome
knowe manye thinges, the whych to remedy they haue no power. So it hath
beene, so it is, so it shalbe, so I founde it, so I keepe it, so wil I leaue it them,
so I haue read it in bookes, so haue I seene it with my eyes, so I heard it of
my predecessours, and finally I saie, so our fathers haue inuented it, and so
wyl wee their children sustaine it, and for this euill, wee will leaue it to our
heires. I wyl tell thee one thinge, and imagine that I erre not therein,
whych is, consideringe the great damage, and lytle profyte, which the men
of warre doe bringe to our common wealth: I thynk to doe it, and to sustaine
it, either it is the folly of menne, or a scourge geuen of the gods. For there can
be nothinge moze iust, then for the goddes to permit, that we seele that in our
owne houses: whiche we cause others in straunge houses to lament. All those
thinges I haue wrytten vnto thee, not for that it skilleth greatly that thou
knowe them: but that my harte is at ease to vtter them: For as Alcibiades
saide, the chestes, and the hartes, ought alwaies to bee open to their frendes.
Panurius my secretary, goeth in my behalfe to visite that land, and I gaue him
this letter to geue the, with two horses, wherewith I think thou wilt be con-
tented, for they are gennettes. The weapons and ryches whych I tooke of
the Parthes, I haue nowe deuyned, notwithstanding I doe sende thee .2. Chari-
ottes of them. My wyfe Faustine greeteth thee, and I sende a riche glasse for
thy daughter, and a Jewell with stones for thy sister. No moze but I beseeche
the Gods to geue thee a good lyfe, and mee a good death.

The admonition of the Authour to Princes and greate Lordes to thintent that
the moze they growe in yeares, the moze they are bounde to refraine from vy-
ces. Cap. viii.

Aulus Gellius in hys booke De noctibus Atticis sayeth, that there was an
auncient custome amongst the romaynes, to honour and haue in great
reuerence aged men. And this was so inuoluate a law amongst them,
that there was none so noble of bloode and lynage, neyther so puissaunt in ry-
ches, neither so fortunate in battayles, that shoulde goe before the aged men,
which were loden with whit heares: so that they honoured them as the gods,
and reuerenced them as their fathers. Amongst other the aged menne had
these preheminences, that is to wete, that in seales they sate highest, in the
triumphes they went before, in the temples they did sitte downe, they spake to
the Senate before all others, they had their garments furred, they might eat
alone in secret, and by their onely woorde they were credited as witneses:
Finally I saie, that in all thinges they serued them, and in nothinge they an-
noyed them. After the people of Rome began warre wyth Asia, they forsooke
all their good Romayne customes immediatlye.

And the occasyon hereof was, that since they had no menne to sustaine the
comon wealth, by reason of the great multytude of people which dyed in the
warre: they ordeyned that al the yong menne shoulde marry, the yong maides,
the wydowes, the free, and the bonde, and that the honour whych hadde
bene

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bene done bntyll that tyme bnto the olde menne, from hencefoz the shoulde be done bnto the maried menne, though they were yong. So that the moste honoured in Rome was hee, not of moste yeares, but he that had most children. This lawe was made a litle before the firste battaile of Carthage.

And the custome that the maried menne were moze honoured, then the old menne, endured bntill the tyme of the Emperour Augustus, whiche was such a frende of antiquities, that hee renewed all the walles of Rome with newe stones, and renewed all the auncient customes of the common wealth. Licurgus in the lawes whiche hee gaue to the Lacedemonians ozdained that the young menne passinge by the olde, shoulde doe them greate reuerence: & whē the olde dyd speake, then the younger shoulde bee silent.

And he ozdained also, that if any olde man by casualltye dyd lose hys goodys and came into extreame pouertie, that he shoulde bee sustained of the comon wealth: and that in suche sustentacion they shoulde haue respecte, not onely to succour him for to sustaine hym, but further to geue him to lyue competently. Plutarke in hys Apothegmes declareth, that Cato the Censoure visitinge the corners of Rome, founde an olde manne sittinge at his doore weeping, and shedding many teares from hys eyes. And Cato the Censoure demaundaye hym why hee was so euyl handeled, and wherefoze he wepte so bitterly, the good olde manne aunswered hym.

O Cato, the Gods beinge the onely comfortours, comforte thee in all thy tribulations, since thou arte readye to comforte mee at this woofull hower.

As well as thou knowest that the consolations of the harte are moze necessarye, then the phisike of the bodye: the whiche beeynge applyed sometymes doeth heale, and an other tyme they doe harme. Beholde my scabbed handes, my swollen legges, my mouth without teethe, my peeled face, my white beard and my balde heade: for thou beinge (as thou arte,) discrete, shouldest be excused to aske mee why I weepe.

For menne of my age, though they weepe not for the lyttle they feele: yet they ought to weepe for the ouermuche they lyue. The manne which is loden with yeares, tormented with diseases, pursued with enemyes, forgotten of his frendes, visited with mishappes, and with euill wyll and pouertie: I knowe not why hee demaundeth long life: For there can be no sharper reuengemet of bytes, whych we commit: then to geue vs long lyfe.

Though now I am aged, I was yong, and if any yong manne shoulde doe me anye iniurye, truelye I would not desire the gods to take his lyfe, but that they woulde rather prolonge his lyfe. For it is a great pitie, to heare the man (whych hath lyued longe) account the troubles whiche he hath endured. Knowe thou Cato, if thou doest not knowe it, that I haue lyued. 77. yeares. And in thys tyme, I haue buried my father, my graundefather, twoe Auntes and .5. vnckles. After that I had buried .9. sisters, and .ii. Brethren. I haue buried afterwarde, twoe lawfull wyfes, and syue bonde women, whych I haue hadde as my lemmans.

I haue buried also. 14. chyldren, and .7. maryed daughters: and therewith not contented, I haue buried. 37. Nephues, and .15. Nieces, and that whych greaueth me moste of all is, that I haue buried two frendes of myne, one W remained in Capua, & the other W was residente here at Rome. The death of
whome

whom hath greued me more, then all those of my aliaunce and parentage. For in the worlde there is no like losse to that, where a man loseth hym whom en-
tirelye he loueth and of whom also he is derelye beloued. The fatal destinyng
oughte to content them selues, to haue annoyed mye house with so manye
my fortunes. But after all this, and aboue all this, theye haue lefte me a wit-
ked nephew, whiche shall bee myne heire, and theye haue lefte vnto mee
that all mye life I shall lament. O Cato, for that thou owest to the common
wealthe I doe desire thee, and by the immortal goddes I doe coniure thee,
that since thou arte a vertuous Romaine, and censor of the people, that thou
proude for one of these two thinges, that is to wete, that this mye Nephewe
doe serue mee, or els ordeine that I dye forthewith. For it is a greate crueltye
that those doe pursue me whiche are aliue, since it is now 40. yeares that I
ceased not to betwale the deade. Cato beinge well enfourmed of that the olde
man had tolde him, and since he founde al that true whiche he spake, he called
vnto his presence the yonge Nephewe, and sayde vnto him these wordes. If
thou were suche a childe as thou oughtest to bee, thou shouldest excuse mee of
payne, and thy selfe of trauaile. But since it is not so, I praye thee take that
patientlye that I shall commaunde thee: and be thou assured, that I will not
commaunde thee any thing that shalbee againste iustice. For the vicious yong-
linges (as thou art) ought to be more ashamed of the youthefullnes theye haue
comynitted: then for the punishment whiche is geuen vnto them.

Firste I commaunde thou bee whipte, because thou arte dysobedyent,
and troublesome to thy graunde father,

Secondlye I commaunde that thou bee banished the limittes of Rome, be-
cause thou arte a vicious yonge man.

Thyrddly, I commaunde that of all the goodes thou hast enherited, thou shalt
be disenherited: because thou doest not obey thy graundfather.

And the cause why I geue suche seuerer sentence is, to the end that from hys-
forth the yong shal not disobey the aged, and also that those which haue enhe-
ryted great treasours, shall not think that men shall permit them to bee more
vicious, then others. Phalaris the tiraunt wytyng to a frend of his which was
very aged, said these wordes: the which rather seemed spoken of a philosopher
then of a tyrant. I haue meruailed at thee & am offended wth the my friend Ver-
to, to knowe as I do, that in yeares thou arte very aged, and in workes very
yonge: and also it greueth mee that thou hast lost the credite of knoweledge
in the schooles. It greueth mee more, that through thee y privilege should be
lost, which the old men haue accustomed to haue in Grece: that is to wete, y
all the theues, all the perjured, and all the murderers were more sure, when by
white heares theye seemed to be olde: when theye retyred to the altiers of the
temples. O what goodnesse, O what wisedome, what balyauntries, and
what innocencye oughte the aged men to haue in the auncient tyme: since in
Rome theye honoured them as goddes, and in Grece theye priuiledged those
white heares as the temples. Plinie in an epistle hee wrote to Fabatus sayeth,
that Pittus king of the Epirotes, demaunded a philosopher which was the best
citty of the worlde: who answered. The best citty of the worlde, is Moler-
da, a place of thre hundredth syers in Achaia: because all the walles are of
blacke stones, and all those whiche gouerne it haue hoarye heares.

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And further hee sayde. Woe bee vnto thee Rome, Woe bee vnto thee Carthage, woe bee vnto thee Numancia, woe bee vnto thee Egypte, and woe bee vnto thee Athens fyue cytyes whiche count them selues for the beste of the worlde, whereof I am of a contrarie oppynion.

For theye auante them selues to haue whyte walles, and are not ashamed to haue yonge Senatoures. Thys phylosopher sayde verie well, and I thynke noe manne wyll saye lesse then I haue sayde. Of thys woorde Senex, is deriued the name of a Senatoure, for so were the gouernoures of Rome named, because the fyrste kynge (that was Romulus) chose a hundred aged men to gouerne the common wealth, and commaunded, that all the other Romayne yowthe shoulde employe them selues to the warres.

Since wee haue spoken of the honour whiche in the olde tyme was geuen to the auncient men, it is reason wee knowe now, from what yere they counted men aged, to the ende they shoulde bee honoured as aged men. For the makers of lawes, when they hadde established the honours whych ought to bee done to the aged: dydde aswell ordeyne, from what daye and yere, they shoulde beginne. Dyuers auncient Philosophers dyd put six ages, from the tyme of the byrthe of man, till the houre of deathe.

That is to wete, chyldhood, which lasteth till seuen yeres. Infancy, which endureth vntill seuentene yeres. Youth, which continueth till thirtie yeres. Mannes estate, which remaineth till fyfye and fyue yeres. Age whiche endureth till thre score and eyghtene yeres. Croked age which remaineth till deathe. And so after man had passed fyue and fyfye yeres, they called hym aged. Aulus Gellius in his tenth booke, in the xxvii. Chapter saith, that Tullius Hostilius (who was kynge of the Romainges) determined to count all the old and yonge, whiche were amongst the people: and also to knowe whych shoulde bee called infants, whych yong, and whych olde. And there was noe lytle dyfference amongst the Romayne Philosophers, and in the end it was decreed by the kynge, and the Senate, that men tyll seuentene yeres shoulde bee called infants, and tyll six and forty shoulde bee called yong, and from six and forty wywardes they shoulde bee called olde.

If wee wyl obserue the lawe of the Romainges, wee knowe from what tyme wee are bound to call and honoꝝ the aged men. But addeyng hereunto it is reason that the olde men knowe, to what prowesses and vertues they are bound, to the ende that wyth reason, and not wyth faynyng, they bee serued. For speakyng the trueth, yf wee compare duty to duty, they old men are moze bound to vertue: then the yong to seruice. Wee can not deny, but that all states of natyons (great & small, yong and olde) are bound to bee vertuous: but in this case the one is moze to bee blamed, then the other.

For oftentimes if the yong do offend, it is for that hee wanteth experience: but if the olde man offend, it is for the abundaunce of mallice. Seneca in an Epistle sayde these woordes. I let thee wete my friend Lucillus, that I am verie much offended, and I do complayne, not of any friend or foe: but of my selfe, and of the other. And the reason why I thynk thus, is that I see my selfe olde in yeres, and yong in vices: so that lytle is that wherein I haue serued y gods, & much lesse is that I haue profyted me. And Seneca saith further,
he

he whiche praysethe hym selfe moſte to be aged, and that woulde be honoured for beinge aged: oughte to be temperate in eatinge, honeſt in apparayle, ſober in drinke, ſofte in wordes, wyſe in counſaile, and to conclude, hee oughte to be very patient in aduerſitye, and farre from vices whiche attempt him. Moſt the of prayſe is the greate Seneca, for theſe wordes: but moze woorthye ſhall y olde men be, if they will conſorme their workes according to thoſe wordes. For if wee ſee them abandon vices, and geue them ſelues to vertues: we wyll both ſerue them, and honour them.

¶ That princes when they are aged, ſhould be temperate in eating, ſober in drinke, modeſt in apparell, and aboue all, true in communication.

Cap. xviii.

¶ It is conſonant to the counſaile of Seneca, that the aged ſhoulde bee temperate in eating, whych they ought to do, not only for the reputation of theiſe perſons: but alſo for the preſeruacion of theiſe liues. For the olde men whiche are drunk, and amorous, are persecuted with theiſe owne diſeaſes, and are defamed by the tonges of other. That whiche the auncient men ſhoulde eate: I meane thoſe, whiche are noble, and vertuous: ought to be very cleane, & well dreſſed, and aboue all, that theye take it in reaſon and time: for otherwiſe, to muche eatinge of diuers thinges, cauſeth the yonge to bee ſicke, and enforceth the olde to dye. Yonge men though they eate diſhoneſtly, very haſtely, and eate ſpeakinge, we can do no leſſe but diſſemble with them: but the olde men whych eate much, and haſtely, of neceſſitie we oughte to reprove them. For men of honour ought to eate at the table with a great grauitie: as if they were in anye counſaile to determine cauſes. It is not my intention to perſwade the feeble olde men not to eate, but to admoniſhe them to eate no moze then is neceſſarye. We doe not prohibite them to eate delicate thinges, but to beware of ſuperfluous thinges. We doe not counſaile them to leaue eatinge hauinge nede: but to withdraue them ſelues from curioſities. For though it bee lawefull for aged men to eate ſufficiente, it is not honeſte for them to eate to overcome theiſe ſtomakes. It is a ſhame to wyte it, but moze ſhame ought they to haue whiche doe it, whiche is, that the goodes whiche theye haue toonne and inherited by theiſe predeceſſours, theye haue eaten, and dronken: ſo that theye haue neyther bought houſe, byne, nor yet married any daughter, but they are naked, and theiſe poore children goe to the Tauerneſ and Innes: and the miſerable fathers to the Hoſpitalles, and churches. When anye man cometh to pouertye, for that hiſ houſe is burned, or hiſ ſhyppes drowned, or that theye haue taken all from hym by lawe, or that he hath ſpent it in pleadyng againſt hys enemye, or anye other inconuenience is come vnto hym: mee thinketh wee all are bounde to ſuccoure hym, and the harte hath the compaſſion to beeholde hym: but hee that ſpendeth it in apparayle not requyſite, to ſeeke delitious wyues, and to eate delicate meates, ſo ſuch one I woulde ſaye, that the pouertye hee ſuffereth is not ſufficiente for hiſ deſertes. For of all troubles there is none ſo greate, as to ſee a man ſuffer the euill, whereof he hymſelfe hath bene the occaſion. Alſo according to the counſaile of Seneca, the auncients ought to be well aduertised, in that they ſhould not onely be temperate in eatyng, but alſo they

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shoolde be sober in drinke: and this both for the preservation of their health, and also reputation of their honesty.

For if the olde Philosophers doe not deceive vs, humane bodies doe dye and corrupte because theye drinke superfluously, and eate more then nature requireth. If I shoulde saye vnto the olde manne, that theye shoulde drinke no wyne: theye myghte tell mee, that it is not the counsaile of a Christian. But presuppose theye oughte to drinke, and that for noe oppynion theye shoulde leaue it: yet I admonyshe, exhorte, and desire them, that theye drinke lytle, and that theye drinke verie temperate.

For the disordynate and immesurate drynkynge, causeth ponge men to bee drunke, and the olde men: bothe drunke and foolish. Whow muche authoritye losse theye, and what grauytpe doe honourable and auncient manne lose, whiche in drynkinge are not sober. Whyche semeth to bee true, for as muche as the man beeing loden wyth wyne, though he were the wysest in þe worlde hee shoulde bee a verie foole, that woulde take counsaile of suche one in hys affaires. Plutarke in a booke whiche hee made of the fortune of the Romans sayed: that in the senate of Rome, there was an auncient manne, who made greate exclamacions, that a ponge man hadde in suche sorte dishonoured him, that for the iniuries he hadde spoken, hee deserued death.

And when the ponge manne was called for to aunswere to that hee hadde sayde vnto hym, he aunswered. Fathers conscripte, though I seeme ponge vnto you, yet I am not so ponge, but that I knewe the father of this olde manne, who was a vertuous and noble Romayne, and somewhat a kynne to mee. And I seepnge that his father hadde gotten muche goodes fightynge in the warres, and also seeinge this olde manne spending them in eatynge and drynkynge: I sayde vnto him one daye. I am verie sorre, my lord and vncle, for that I heare of thy honour in the market place: and am the more sorre for that I see done in thy house, wherein we sawe fyfthe men armed before in one houre, and we nowe see a hundreth knaues made drunke.

And worse then that, as thy father shewed to all those that entered hys house, the ensignes hee hadde wonne in the warres: so nowe to those that enter into thy house, thou shewest them dyuers sortes of wynges. My vncle complained of mee, but in this case I make the plaintife iudge, againste mee the defendaunt. And I woulde by the immortal goddes, hee deserued noe more payne for hys woordes: then I deserue by my woordes.

For yf he had bene wyse, hee woulde hane accepted the correction which secretlye I gaue him: and had not come openly, to declare his faults in the Senate. The complaynte of the olde manne beeing heard by the Senate, and the excuse in lyke manner of the ponge man: they gaue iudgement, that theye shoulde take all the goods from the olde manne, and prouyde hym of a tutour whych shoulde gouerne hym and hys house.

And theye commaunded the tutoure, that from hence forwarde hee shoulde not geue him one cuppe of wyne, since hee was noted of drunkenesse. Of truth the sentence whiche the Senate gaue was verie iuste. For the olde manne whiche geueth him selfe to wyne, hath as muche neede to haue a gouernoure, as an infante, or a foole. Laetius made a booke of the feates of Philosophers, and declareth sundrye auncyente bankettes, amonge

amonge the which he putteth one, where were assembled many greate philosophers. And admit that the meats were meane, a simple: yet the bidden gestes were sage. And the cause why they did assemble, was not to eat: but to dispute of some graue doctrynes, whereof the philosophers did somewhat doubt: For in those daies, the greater ϕ Stoikes & the Peripatetikes were in number: so much the more were the philosophers deuided amongst them selues. When they were so assembled, truly they did not eat, nor drinke out of measure: but some pleasaunt matter was moued betwene the masters and the scollers, betwene the yong and the olde, that is to wete, which of them coulde declare any secreete of philosophye, or anye profound sentence. O happy were such feastes, and no lesse happy were they that thether were bidden.

But I am sozry that those whiche nowe byd, and those that are bidden, for a trouth are not as those auncients were. For there are noe feastes now adays of philosophers, but of gluttons, not to dispute, but to murmur, not to open doubtfull things, but to talke of the vices of others, not to confirme aunciente amities, but to begynne newe dissensions, not to learne any doctrynes, but to approue some nouelty. And that whiche worste of all is, that the olde strue at the table with the yonge, not on hym whiche hath spoken the moste grauest sentence: but of hym whiche hath dronke moste wyne, and hath rinsed most cuppes. Paulus Diaconus in the hystoie of the Lombardes declareth, ϕ foure olde Lombardes made a banquet, in the whiche the one dranke to the others yeres, and it was in this manner. They made desyaunce to drinke two to twoe and after eche man had declared howe many yeres olde he was: the one drake as many times as the other was yeres olde, and likewise his companion pledged him. And one of these foure companions had at the leaste, 58. yeres: the second, 63. the thyrde, 87. the fourth, 812. so that a man knowethe not what they did eate in this banquet, eyther litle or muche: but we knowe that hee that dranke least, dranke 58. cuppes of wyne.

Of this so euill custome came the Gorches to make this lawe, which of manye is reade, and of fewe vnderstanded, where it saith. We ordeyn and commaund on payne of death, that no olde man drinke to the others yeres being at the table. That was made because they were so muche geuen to wyne, that they dranke moze ofte, thenne they did eate morselles. The Prynces and greate Lordes whiche are nowe olde, oughte to bee verie sober in drynkynge, synce they oughte greatlye to be regarded and honoured of the yonge.

For speakinge the truthe, and with the libertie, whan the olde man shall bee overcome wth wyne, he hath moze necessitie that the yong man leade him by the arme to his house: then that hee shoulde take of his cappe vnto hym or speake vnto hym with reuerence. Also prynces and greate lordes oughte to be verie circumspecte, that whenne theye become aged, theye bee not noted for yonge, in the apparayle whiche theye weare. For althoughe that for wearinge a fyne and riche garmente, the prynce dothe not enriche or empouerishe his common wealth: yet we cannot denye, but that it dothe much for the reputation of his persone. For the vanytie and curiositie of garments, dothe shewe great lightnes of minde. According to the varietye of ages, so ought the diuersitie of apparayle to bee, whiche semethe to bee verie cleare, in that the yonge maydes be attyred in one sorte, the married women of an other sorte, the widowes of

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an other. And lyke wyse I woulde saye, that the apparayle of chyldren oughte to be of one sorte, those of yonge men of an other, and those of olde men of an other, whiche oughte to bee moze honeste then all.

For men of hoare heades, oughte not to be adourned wiche precious garmettes: but wiche vertuous workes. To goe cleane, to be well apparayled, and to be well accompanied, we doe not forbydde the olde, especialle those whiche are noble, and balyaunt men: but to goe to fine, to go with great traynes, and to goe berre curious, wee doe not allowe. Let the olde men pardon mee, for it is not the office but of yonge fooles: For the one sheweth honeste, and the other lightnes. It is a confusion to tell it, but it is greater shame to doe it, that is to weete, that manie olde men of oure tyme take noe small felicitye, to put caules on their heades, euerye manne to weare iewels on their neckes, to laye their cappes wiche agglettes of golde, to seeke oute dyuers inuencions of mettall to loade their fingers wiche riche ringes, to goe perfumed wiche odiferous sauours, to weare newe fashioned apparayle, and synallye I saye, that though the their face bee full of wincles, they can not suffer one wincle to be in their gowne. All the auncient hystoriens, accuse Quintus Hortensius the Romayne, for that euerye tyme when hee made hym selfe readye, he hadde a glasse befoze hym: and as muche spere and tyme had hee to streyghten the plaits of his gowne: as a woman hadde to trymme the heares of her heade. This Quintus Hortensius beinge Consul, goynge by chaunce one day throughe Rome, in a narrowe street met wiche the other Consul, where throughe the streightnes of the passage the plaights of his gowne weare vndone: vpon whiche occasion hee complayned to the senate of the other Consull, that he had done hym a greate iniurye, sayinge that he deserued to lose his lyfe. The author of all this is Macrobius: in the thyrd booke of the Saturnales. I can not tell if I be deceiued, but we maye saye, that al the curiosite that olde men haue to goe fine, wel appareled, and cleane, is for no other thinge but to shake of age, and to pretende righte to yowthe. What a grieve is it to see dyuers auncient men, the whiche as ripe figges do fall: and on the other side it is a wonder to see howe in their age they make them selues yonge. In this case I saye, woulde to god we might see them hate vices, and not to complaine of the yeares which they haue. I praye and exhorte princes and greute lordes, whom oure soueraigne lord hath permitted to come to age, that they doe not despise to be aged. For speakinge the truthe, the man whiche hath enuye to seeme olde, doth delight to liue in the lightnes of yowthe. Also men of honour oughte to be berre circumspecte, for so muche as after theye are become aged, theye bee not suspected of their friends, but that both vnto their friends & foes, they be counted saythfull. For a lye in a yonge mannes mouthe, is but a lye: but in the mouthe of an olde manne: it is a heynous blasphemie. Princes and greute lordes after they are become aged, of one sorte they oughte to vse them selues to geue, and of thother to speake. For good princes oughte to sell wordes by weighte, and geue rewardes withoute measure. The auncient offenymes complayne, sayinge, that the yonge will bee not conuersant wiche them: and trulye if there be anye faulte therein, it is of them selues. And the reason is, that if sometymes theye doe assemble together to passe awaye the tyme, if the olde man set a talkinge he neuer maketh an ende. So that a discrete man had rather

ther go. xii. miles on foote: then to heare an olde man talke three houres. If with such efficacie wee perswade olde men, that they be honest in their appareile: for a truthe we will not geue them licence to be dissolute in their wordes, sing there is a great difference to note some man in his appareile, or to accuse him to bee malicious or a babler. For to weare riche apparayle, iniurpeth fewe: but iniurious wordes hurte manye. Macrobius in the firste booke of the dreames of Scipio, declareth of a philosopher named Crito, who liued a hundred and fife yeares: and till fiftie yeares he was farre oute of course. Butte after he came to bee aged, he was so well measured in his eatynge & drinking, and so ware in his speache, that they neuer sawe him doe any thinge worthe reprehension: nor heard him speake worde, but was worthe of notynge. On this condicio we would geue licēce to many, y till fiftie yeres they should be yong: so that from thence forth they would be clothed as olde men, speake as old men & they should esteeme them selues to be olde. But I am sorre that at the spring time dothe passe in flower, and afterwarde they fall into the graue as rotten, befoze they tunde any time to pull them out. The olde doe complain y the yong doe not take their aduise: and their excuse herein is, that in their wordes theye are to longe. For if a manne doe demaunde an olde man his opynion in a case, immediatlye hee will beginne to saye, that in the life of suche, and suche kynges and lordes of good memozye, this was done, and this was prouved. So that when a yonge man aske them counsaile, howe he shall behaue hym selfe with the lyuinge: the olde man beginneth to declare vnto him, the life of those whiche bee dead.

The reason whye the olde men desire to speake so longe is that since for their age they can not see, nor goe, nor eate, nor slepe, they woulde that al y tyme their members weare occupied to doe their duties, al that time their tonge shoulde be occupied to declare of their times past. All this being spoken, what moze is to say I knowe not, but that we should contente oure selues, that the olde men shoulde haue their fleshe as muche punished: as they haue their tongue to talke martired. Though it be very bile for a yong man to speak, & slander to a yonge manne not to saye the truthe: yet this vice is muche moze to be abhored in old princes, & other noble & worshipful men, which ought not only to thynke it their dutie to speake truthe, but also to punish the enemies thereof. For otherwise the noble and balpaunt knyghtes shoulde not lose a lytle of their aucthoritie, if a manne sawe on their heades but white heares, and in their mouthes founde nothing but lyes.

Of a letter of the Emperour, Marcus Aurelius, to Claudius and Claudius, reprovinge them beinge olde men, so that they lyued youthefullge.

Cap. xix.

MArke Emperoure, borne in mounte Celio, desyreth to yowe my neyghbours, Claude and Claudine, health of youre persones, and amende-ment of youre liues. I beeinge as I am at the conquest of Asia, and yow remaynyng alwaies in the pleasures of Rome, we vnderstande youre newes very late, and I thinke oure letters arrive there as late. Notwithsta-ndyng to all those whiche goe thither, I geue aunsweres for you others: and

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and of al those which come hither, I demaunde of your healtie. And doe not demaunde of others, howe well, and howe muche I loue you, but of your owne proper hartes: and if your harte saye that I am a feyned friende, then I take my selfe condemned. If perchaunce your hartes dothe tell you that I loue you, beinge true in dede that I hate you, or if I tell you that I hate you, beinge true that I loue you: of truthe I woulde plucke suche a harte oute of my body, and giue it to be eaten of the beastes. For there is noe greater dyscreete, then that whiche the man doth to him selfe. If a straunger begile me, I ought to dissemble it: if an enemye deceiue mee, I ought to reuenge it: if my frend misuse me, I oughte to complayne of hym: but if I doe deceiue my selfe: woth to whom shall I comforte my selfe? For there is no pacience that can suffer the hart to deceiue him selfe in anye thinge, whiche he hathe not deeply considered. Peraduenture ye will saye that I doe not esteeme you, and that I haue not written any letter vnto you of long time. To this I aunswere. That you doe not attrIBUTE the faulte to my negligence, but to the greate distaunce of Countreys that there is from hence to Rome: & also to the greate assayes of Asia, for amongst other discommodities the warre hath this also, that it depriveth vs of the sweete conuersacion of our countrey. I haue alwaies presumed to be yours, and at this present am at no mannes pleasure, more then at yours. And sith you haue alwaies knowen of me, what you desired to know, I haue espied in you others that, whiche of force I must speake. For in the end I haue not sene any possesse so much, to be worthe so much, to knowe so much, nor in all things to be so mighty, but that one day he shoulde neede his poore friende. The diuine Plato sayde, and allso well, that the manne whiche loueth with his hart, neyther in absence forgetteth, neyther in presence becommeth negligent, neither in prosperitie he is proude, nor yet in aduersitie abiect, neyther he serueth for profite, nor yet he loueth for gayne: and synallye he defendeth the cause of his friende as his owne. Diuers haue bene the opinions whiche the auncients helde to affirme for what ende friendes were taken, and in the ende they were fully resolved, that for .4. causes we ought to chose frindes. The first we ought to haue friendes, to treat and be conuersant with all: for according to the troubles of this life, there is no time so pleasauntly consumed, as in the conuersacion of an assured friende. The seconde is, we ought to haue friendes to whom we may disclose the secretes of our hartes: for it ys muche comforte to the wofull harte, so declare to his frende his doubt, if he perceiue that he doth fele them in dede. The thirde, we oughte to searche and chose friendes, to the end they helpe vs in oure aduersities. For litle profyterhe it my harte that with teares the friendes doe heare all that I betwaille, onlesse afterwarde in dede he will take paines to resourme the same.

The fourth, we ought to seke and preserue frindes to the end they be protectors of our goodes, and likewise iudges of our euilles: for the good frinde is no lesse bound to withdraue vs from the vices, whereby we are sclaundered: then to deliuer vs from our enemies, by whom we may be slayne. The ende whye I tolde you all thys was, if that in this letter you chaunce to lyghte of any sharpe worde, that you take it pacientlye, consideringe that the loue whych I beare you, dothe moue mee to speake, and the saythe whych I owe vnto you, dothe not suffer mee that I shoulde keepe it close. For manye thinges oughte to be

be borne amonge friendes, thoughe theye tell them in earnest: whiche ought not to be suffered of others, thoughe theye speake it in gest. I come therefore to shewe the matter, and I beseeche the immortall goddes that there bee noe more then that whiche was tolde mee, and that it bee lesse then I suspect. Gaius Furius poure kinsman and my especiall friende, as hee went to the realme of Palestyne, and Hierusalem, came to see mee in Antioche, and hathe tolde mee newes of Italy and Rome, and among others, one aboue al the residue I haue committed to memozye, at the whiche I coolde not refraine laughinge, and lesse to bee troubled after I hadde thought of it. How manye thinges doe wee talke in gest, the whiche after wee haue well considered, geue occasion to be sorre. The emperoure Adrian mye good lozde, had a Jester whose name was Belpus yonge, comelye, and stoute, albeest hee was verie malicious as suche are accustomed to bee: and whiles the imbassadours of Germaine supped with the Emperour in greate ioye, the same Belpus beganne to iest of euery one that was present, according to his accustomed manner with a certeine malicious grace. And Adrian perceiuing that some chaunged colour, others murmured, and others weare angrie, hee saide vnto this Jester, frinde Belpus if thou loue mee and mye seruice, vse not these spytfull iestes at our supper, which being considered on, may turne vs to euill rest in our beddes. Gaius Furius hath tolde me so many slaunders chaunced in Italy, such nouelties done in Rome, such alteration of our Senate, such contentiō & strife betwene our neighbours, suche lightnes of powtwoo, that I was astonied to here it, & ashamed to wryt it. And it is nothing to tell after what sort he told the vnto me, onlesse you had sene how earnestly he spake them, imagining y as he told the without taking anye paine, so did I receiue them (as he thought) without any griefe: though in deede euerye woorde that he spake, seemed a sharpe percinge arrowe vnto my hart. For oft times some telleth vs thynges, as of small importaunce, the whiche do picke out hartes to the quicke. By the oppinion of all, I vnderstande that you are verie olde, and yet in your chone fantasies, you seame verie yonge. And further theye saye, that you apparell youe selues a newe notwe, as though presentlye you came into the worlde: & moreover they saye that you are offended with nothinge so muche, as when theye call you olde, & that in theaters where comedies are played, and in the fieldes where the brute beastes do runne, you are not the hindmost, and that there is no sport nor lightnes inuented in Rome, but first is registred in your house. And finally they say that you geue your selues so to pleasures, as though you neuer thought to receiue displeasures. Claude and Claudine, by the god Iupiter I sweare vnto you, that I am ashamed of your vnshamefastnes, & am greatly abashed of your maners, and aboue all, I am exceedingly greened for your great offence. For at that time that you ought to lift by your handes, you are returned againe into the filth of the worlde. Many thinges men commit, which though they seme graue: yet by moderation of the person that committeth them, they are made light, but speaking according to the trouth, I fynde one reason, wherebye I mighte excuse your lightnes, but to the contrarye I see tenne wherebye I maye condemne your follies. Solon the phylosopher in his lawes sayde to the Athenians, that if the yonge offended, hee shoulde bee gently admonished, and grieuoulye punished, because hee was strong:

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and if the olde dydde erre, he shoulde be lightly punished, and sharpe ly admonished, sithe he was weake, and feble. To this Licurgus in his lawes to the Lacedemonians sayde contrarye, that if the yonge did offende, hee shoulde be lightly punished, and greuously admonished, sins thzough ignorance he dyd erre: and the olde manne whiche did euill, shoulde be lightly admonished, and sharpe ly punished, sins thzough malice he did offend. These two phylosophers being (as thepe haue bene) of suche authozitie in the worlde that is passe, and consideringe that their lawes and sentences were of suche weighte: it shoulde be muche rashnesse in not admittinge the one of them. Nowe not receyving the one, nor reprovynge the other, mee thynketh that there is greate excuse to the yonge for their ignorance, and greate condemnation o the aged for their experience. Once agayne I retourne to saye that you pardone me, mye friendes, and you oughte not greatlye to wepe it, though I am somewhat sharpe in condemnation, since you others are so dissolute in youre liues: for of youre blacke lyfe, mye penne dothe take ynke. I remember well that I haue harde of thee Claude, that thou haste bene lusty and couragious in thye youthe: so that thye strengthe of all was enuyed, and the beauty of Claudine of all men was desired. I will not wryte vnto you in this letter, mye frindes and neighebores, neither reduce to memozye, howe thou Claude haste imployed thy forces in the seruice of the common wealth: and thou Claudine hast twone muche honoure of thy beauty: for sundye tymes it chaunced, that men of manye goodlye gyftes, are noted of greuous offences. Those whiche strived with thee are all dead, those whom thou desiredst are dead, those which serued thee Claudine are deade, those whiche before thee Claudine sighed, are deade: those which for thee died, are nowe dead: and sins all those are dead with the theyre lightnesse, do not you others thinke to dye, & your follyes allso. I demaunde nowe of thy youthe one thinge, and of thy beauty another thinge, what do you receiue of these pastimes, of these good interteynmentes, of these abundances, of these great contentacions, of the pleasures of the worlde, of the banytte that is passe, and what hope you of all these to carpe into the narrowe graue. O simple, simple, and ignorant persones, howe oure life consumeth, and we perceiue not howe we liue therein. For it is no felicitie to enioy a short, or long life: but to knowe to employe the same well, or euill. O children of the earth, and disciples of banytie, nowe you knowe that tyme flyeth without mouing his wynges, the life goeth without liffinge bype hys fete, the worlde dispatcheth vs not tellinge vs the cause, men beegile vs not mouinge their lippes, our fleshy consumeth to vs brwares, y heart dieth hauing no remedy, & finally our glozy decayeth as if it had neuer bene, and death oppresseth vs wythoute knockinge at the dooze. Though a man be neuer so simple, or so very a foole: yet he can not denaye, but it is impossible to make a fier in the botome of the sea, to make a waye in the ayre, of the thynne blonde to make roughe sinewes, and of the softe baines to make harde bones. I meane that it is impossible, that the grene flower of youthe, be not one daye withered by age.

¶ The Emperour follogethe his letter & perswadeth Claudius & Claudinus being now olde, to geue no moze credit to the worlde, nor to any of his deceptful flatteries.

Cap. xx.

That

That whych I haue spoken now, tendeth moze to aduertise the yong,
 then to teache the olde. For yow others haue now passed the yrome ty-
 me of chyldheode, the sommer of youth, and the haruest of adolescens-
 cy, and are in the wynter of age, where it seemeth an vncomly thyng, that
 those yowet hoarye heares, shoulde bee accompanied wyth such dayne fol-
 lyes. Sythen yong men know not that they haue to ende theire youth, it is
 no maruail that they follow the world: but the olde men which see them sel-
 nes fall into this gyle, why will they runne after vices againe? O world, for
 that thou art the world, so small is our force, and so great our debylitie, that
 thou wylling it, and wee not resisting it, thou doost swallow vs vp in the most
 perillous goulfe, and in the thornes most sharpe thou dost pricke vs: by the
 pyruet waies thou ledest vs, and by the most stony wayes thou carpest vs.
 I meane yf thou bringest vs to the highest fauors, to the end that afterwarde
 wyth a push of thy pike thou myghtest ouerthrow vs. O world, wherein all
 is worldly, two and fyfty yeares haue passed since in thee I was fyrst borne,
 durynge whiche tyme thou neuer toldest mee one trueth: but I haue taken thee
 wyth tenn thousand lies. I neuer demaunded the thyng but thou dost pro-
 myse it mee, and yet it is nothyng at all that euer thou dydst perfoyme. I ne-
 uer put my trust in thee, but euer thou begyled mee. I neuer came to thee;
 but thou dydst vndo mee, fynally neuer saw I ought in thee whereby thou
 deseruest loue, but allways hatred. This presupposed, I know not what is
 in thee O world, or what wee worldyngs want: for if thou hatest vs, wee
 cannot hate the, if thou dost vs iniury, wee can dyssemble it, yf thou spurne
 vs wyth thy feete, wee wyl suffer it, if thou beatest vs wth a staff, wee will hold
 our peace, also although thou pserute vs, wee wil not complayn, though thou
 take ours, wee wil not demaund it of thee, though thou doost beguyle vs, wee
 wyl not cal our selues beguyled, and the woorst of al is, that thou doost chafe
 vs from thy house, yet wee wyl not depart from thence. I know not what this
 meaneth, I know not from whence this cometh, I wote not who ought to
 prayse this same, yf wee couet to follow yf world, w will none of vs, & hate yf
 gods w loue vs: oft tymes I make accout of my yeares past, somtymes also
 I turn & tolle my booke to see what I haue read, and another time I desyre
 my friends to geue mee good counsel: and for no other end I do it, then to
 attain to that I haue spoken, & to know that I wil say. I readdyng Rethorik
 in Rhodes, Adrian my lord mainteynyng mee there, knowynge yf I was two
 and thyrty yeares of age, it happened, that in the sprynge tyme I found my
 selfe solytary, and solytarynes wth lyberty smelled the world, and smelling
 it, I knew it, and knowynge it, I followed it, and followynge it, I attayned
 vnto it, and attaynyng vnto it, thereunto I ioyned my selfe, and ioynynge my
 selfe therewith, I prooued it, and in prouynge it, I tasted it, and in tastynge it
 mee thought it bytter, and in fyndynge it bitter I hated it, and hatynge it I
 left it, and leauynge it is returned, and beeyng returned, I receyued it againe:
 fynally the world myrtyng mee, and I not resistynge it two and fyfty yeares
 wee did eat our bread togethers & in one house wee haue alwayes remained,
 wilt thou know after what sort yf world & I do lue in one house togethers, or
 better to say, in one hart remain: harken the, & in one woord I wil tel it thee.

When

THE THIRDE BOOKE

When I sawe the worlde braue, I serued him, when hee sawe mee sadde, hee flattered mee, when I sawe him wealthy, I asked him, when he sawe mee meere, hee begiled me, when I desired anye thinge, he holpe mee to attaine to it, & afterwards when the same I best enioyed, then he toke it fro mee, when he sawe me not pleased, he vsited me, when he sawe me, he forgot me, when he sawe me overthowen, he gaue me his hand to releue me, when he sawe me exalted, he tripped me again to overthrow me. Finally, when I think that I haue somewhat in the worlde, I fynd that I haue is a burden. Of thys which I haue spoken of the worlde be anye thinge, moze is that a great deale which yet of my selfe I will saye, whiche is, that without doubt my follye is greater, then his mallice, since I am begiled so ofte, and yet allwaies I followe the detelur. O worlde, worlde, thou hast suche moodes and fashions in thy procedyng, that thou ledest vs all to perdition. Of one thinge I maruaile muche, whereof I cannot be satisfied, Which is, since that we may go vpon the brydge, & yet without anye gaine we doe wade through the water, & where as the hallo is sure, we seke to runne into the golfe, and where the way is drye, wee go into the plashe, where we maye eat wholsome meates to nourishe the lyfe, wee receiue popson to hasten deathe, we seke to destroy oure selues, where as we may be without daunger. Finallye I say, without profite we commit a fault, though we see with our eyes the pain to follow. Wise men ought circumspectly to see what they do, to examine that they speake, to proue that they take in hande to be ware whole company they vse, and aboute all, to knowe whom they trust. For our iudgement is so corrupt, that to begile vs, one is ynough; and to make vs not to be disciued, tennie thousande woold not suffice. They haue so greate care of vs, I meane the worlde to begile vs, and the fleshe to flatter vs, that the highe way beinge as it is narrowe, the patheway daunge rous, and full of prickes, the iorney is longe, & the lyfe shorte: our bodie is neuer but laden with vices, & our hartes but full of cares. I haue wondered at deuys things in this worlde, but that which astonieth me most is, that those that be good, we make the beleue they are euill: and those whiche are euil, we perswade others to beleue that they are good. So that wee shoote at the whyle of vertues, & hit the butte of vices. I will confesse one thinge, the whiche beinge disclosed, I knowe that infamy will followe me, but peradventure some vertuous man will maruaile at it, that is, that in those two and fiftie yeares of my lyfe, I haue proued all the vices of this worlde, for no other intent, but for to proue if there bee anye thinge, where in mannes mallice might be satisfied. And afterwarde, all well considered, al examined, and all proued, I fynde, that the moze I eate, the moze I dye for hunger, the moze I drinke, the greater thirst I haue, the moze I rest, the moze I am broken, the moze I slepe, the moze drounner I am, the moze I haue, the moze I couet, the moze I desire, the moze I am tormented, the moze I procure, the lesse I attaine. Finallye I neuer hadde so greate paine through want, but afterwarde I had moze trouble with excesse. It is a great follye to thinke that as longe as a man lyueth in this fleshe, that hee can satisfye the fleshe: for at the last cast he may take from vs our lyfe, but wee others can not take from her her disordynate couetousnes. If men wyd speake with the goddes, or the gods were conuersant with men, the first thing that I woold aske the shold be, why they haue appointed an end to our woful dayes:

and

and wyl not geue vs an end of our wicked desires: O cruel Gods, what is it you do: or what do you suffer by it is certain, that we shal not passe one good day of life only, but in tasting this, and that, life consumeth. O intollerable life of man, wherin there are such malices from þ which we ought to beware, and such perils to fall in, and also so many thinges to cōsider, that then both he and we do end to know our selues when the houre of death approacheth. Let those knowe that knowe not, that the world taketh our wil, and we others like ignorantes cannot deny it hym, and afterwardes having power of our wil, doth constrain vs to that which we would not: so that many times we would do vertuous woorkes, and for that we are now put into the worldes handes, we dare not doe it. The world bfeeth another subtiltye with vs, that to the end wee should not strue with it, it prayleth the times past, because we should lue according to the time present. And the worlde saith further, that if we others employ our forces in his vices, he geueth vs licence that we haue a good desire of vertue. O woulde to god in my dayes I myghte see, that the care whiche the worlde hath to preserve vs, the worldyngs would take it to withdrawe the from his byces. I sweare that the gods shoulde then haue more seruauntes and the world and the flesh should not haue so many slaues.

¶ The Emperoure proceedeth in his letter, & proueth by good reasons, that siche the aged persons wyl be serued and honored of the yong: they ought to bee more vertuous and honest then the yonge. Cap. xxi.

I haue spoken al this before rehearsed, for occasion of you Claude, and Claudine, the which at .3. score and .10. yeares wyl not kepe out of the prison of the world: You I say, which haue your bodie weake and corrupted, what hope shal wee haue of yong men which are but .25. yeares of age: if my memoire deceiue mee not, when I was there, you had nephewes married, and of their children made sure, and two of the children bozne: and since that is true, mee thinketh when þ frute is gathered, the leafe is of no value, and after the meale is taken from the mylle, euil shal the mil grinde.

I meane, that the old man ought to desire, that his daies might be shortned in this worlde. Do not thinke my frendes, that a man can haue his house full of nephewes, and yet say that he is very yong: for in lodige þ tree with frutes, the blossomes immediately fall, or els they become wythered. I haue imagined with my selfe, what it is that you might do to seme yonge, and cut of some of your yeares: and in the end I know no other reason, but when you married Alamberta your daughter with Drusus, and your neere Sophia the faire, with Tuscidan, which were so yonge, that the daughters were scarce .15. yeres olde, nor the yonge mē .20. I suppose because you were ritche of yeares, and pooze of money, that hee gaue to euery on of them in steele of money for dowrye, .20. yeares of yours: here of a man may gather, that þ money of your nephewes haue remained vnto you, and you haue geuen vnto them of your owne yeares: I vnderstand my frendes, that your desire is to bee yonge, and very yong, but I greatly desire, to see you old, and very old. I do not meane in yeares, which in you doeth surmount: but in discrecion, which in you doth want. O Claude & Claudine, note that which I will say vnto you, and beare it alwaies in youre

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memorie. I let you wete, that to mainteine youth, to deface age, to lye contented, to be free from trauayles, to lengthen lyfe, and to auoyde death: these thinges are not in the handes of men whiche doe desire them, but rather in the handes of those which geueth them the which accordinge to their iustice, and not to our couetousnes, doe geue vs lyfe by weight, and death withoute measure. One thynge the olde men do, which is cause of slaunderinge manye, that is, that they wyl speake firste in counsels, they wyl be serued of the yonge in feastes, they will bee fyrste placed, in all that they saye they wyl be beleued, in churches they will be hygher then the respedue, in distributinge of offyces they wyl haue the moste honoure, in there opynions they wyl not bee gayne sayde, synallye, they will haue the credite of old sage men, and yet they wyl leade the lyfe of yonge dotynge fooles. All these premyences and pryulleges, it is verpe iuste that old men shoulde haue spent their yeares in the seruice of the common wealthe: but with this I dooe aduise and requyre them, that the auctoritey geuen them with their whyte heares, bee not dymnyshed by their euil woorkes.

Is it a iust thinge, that the humble and honest yonge man doe reuerence, to the aged man proude, and dysdaynefull: is it a iust thinge, that the gentyll and grattous yonge man doe reuerence, to the enuious, and malycious old man: is it a iust thinge, that the vertuous, and payrent yonge man doe reuerence, to the foolish, and vnpayrente olde man: is it a iust thinge, that the stoute and liberall yonge man doe reuerence, to the mysérable, and couetous olde man: is it iuste, that the dyligente and carefull yonge man doe reuerence, to the neglygente olde man: Is it iuste that the abstynent and sober yonge man doe reuerence, to the greepye, and gluttonous old man: Is it iuste, that the chaste, and continente yonge man do reuerence, to the lecherous, and dysolute olde man: Wee thinketh these thinges shoulde not bee such, that therby the olde man shoulde bee honored: but rather reproued, and punished. For olde men offende moze, by the euil example they geue, then by þ faulte which they doe commit. Thou canste not denaye me, my frende Claude, that it is thirtie and thre yeares sythe we bothe were at the Theathers to beholde a playe: when thou camest late, and found no place for thee to sit in, thou saydest vnto mee who was set, yse my sonne Marke, and sithens now thou arte yong, it is but iust that thou geue me place whiche am aged. If it bee true, that it is xxxiii. yeares sithens thou askedst place in the theathers as an old man, tell mee I praye thee, and also I coniure thee, with what oymement hast thou anoynted thy selfe, or with what water hast thou wasshed thy selfe to become yonge: O Claude, if thou hadst founde anye medicyne, or dyscouered anye herbe, where with thou couldest take whyte heares from mens heades and from women the wrinckles of theire face: I sweare vnto thee and also I doe assure thee, that thou shouldest be moze vsyted and serued in Rome, then the god Apollo is in his Temple at Ephesus. Thou shouldest wel remember Annius priscus the old man, whiche was our neighbour, and somewhat a kinne to thee, the whiche when I tolde him that I coude not bee filled with his good woordes, and to behold his auncient whyte heares, he saied vnto me. O my soone Mark, it appereth wel þ thou hast not byn aged because þ talkest as a yong mā: for if whyte heares do honour þ pson, they greatlye hurt the

the harte. For at that houre when they be aged, the straungers do hate vs, & ours do not loue vs. And he told me more, I let the wete my sonne Marke, that many times my wyfe, and I talking of the yeares of another particular, when she beholdeth mee, and that I seeme vnto her so aged, I saye vnto her, and swere that I am yet yonge, and that the white heares came vnto me by great trauailes, and the age by sicknes. I do remember also, that this Annus Priscus was senatour one yeare: and bycause he woulde not seeme aged, but desired that men shoulde iudge hym too bee yonge: he shaued his bearde and hys heade, which was not accustomed amonge the senatours nor Censours of Rome. And as one day amongest the other Senatours he entred into the hyghe Capitolle, one sayde vnto hym, Tell me man, from whence comest thou: What wylte thou: and why comest thou hither: howe durste thou being no senatour enter into the Senate: he answered, I am Annus priscus the aged, howe chaunceth it that now you haue not knowen me: they replied vnto hym, if thou werte Annus Priscus thou woldest not come thus shauen. For in this sacred senate can none enter to gouerne the comon wealthe: vnlesse his persō be endued with vertues, and his heade with white heares, and therefore thou art banished and deprived of thy office. For the olde which lyue as yonge, ought to be punished. Thou knowest wel Claude, and Claudine, & that which I haue spoken, is not the saynyng of Homere, neither a fable of Ouide, but that you your selues saw it with your eyes, and in his banishment I dyd helpe him with money, and more ouer he was banished another time for the lightnes he dyd commit in the nighte in the cite, and I meruaile not hereof: for we see by experyence, that old men whiche are fleashed in vices, are more obstinate to correct then the yonge. What euill fortune haue the olde men, which suffered them selues too waxe olde in byres: for more dangerous is the fier in an old house, then in a new, and a greate cut of a sworde is not so perillous, as a rotten fistule. Though old men were not honest and vertuous, for the seruice of the gods and the common wealthe, for the sauing of the people, nor for the example of the yonge: yet he ought to be honest, yf it weare but for the reuerence of their yeares. If the poore old man haue noe teeth, how shall he eate: If he haue no heate in his stomacke, howe can he dysgest: If he haue no taste, howe can he drinke: if hee be not strong, howe can he be an adulterer: If hee haue no feete, howe can he goe: If hee haue the palsy, howe can hee speake: if hee haue the goutte in his handes howe can hee play. Finally, suche lyke wordlye and vicious men, haue employed their forces beinge yonge, desirous to proue al these vices: and when they are old it greuethe them extreamely that they can not as yet accomplishe their desiers.

Amongest all the faulces in old men (in my opinion) this is the chiefe, that since they haue proued al thynges, that they shoulde stil remaine in their obstinate folly. There is no parte but they haue trauailed, no villany but they haue assayed, no fortune but they haue proued, no good but they haue persecuted, no euyl but hath chaunced vnto the, nor there is any vice but they haue attempted. These vnhappy men which in this sorte haue spent all their youth, haue in the end their comber cut with infirmities, & diseases: yet they are not somuch greued with the vices (which in them do abound) to hinder them fro vertues, as they are tormented for wante of corpozall courage, to further them in their

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Iustis. O if wee were gods, or that they would geue vs licence to knowe the
 thoughts of the old, as wee see with our eyes the deeds of the yong I swear
 to y^e God Mars, and also to the mother Berecinthe, that without comparison,
 we would punish the moze the wicked desires which the age d haue to be wicked
 then the light deeds of the yong. Tel mee Claude, and y^e Claudine, do you thinke
 though you behaue your selues as yong, you shall not seme to bee old: know
 you not that our nature is the corruption of our body, and that our body hin-
 dereth our vnderstandings, and that the vnderstandings are kept of our
 soule, & y^e oure soule is y^e mother of desires & y^e our desires are y^e scourge of our
 youth, & that our youth, is y^e ensigne of our age & age the spye of death, & that
 death in the end is the house where life taketh hys herber, and from whence
 youth slepeth a fote, and from whence age can not escape a horsback: I woold
 reioyce that you Claude, and Claudine, woold tell me what you fynde in lyfe
 that somuche therewith you should bee contented: since now you haue passed
 foure score yeares of lyfe, during the which tyme either you haue been wye-
 ked in the world, or els you haue been good. If you haue been good, you ought
 to thinke it long vntill you be with the good gods: if you haue been euill, it is iust
 you dye, to the end you bee no worse. For speaking the truth, those which in
 score & 10 yeares haue been wicked in woordes, leaue small hope of their amed-
 ment of lyfe. Adrian my lord, being at Nola in Campania, one brought vnto
 him a nephew of his from the study, where as the yong child had not profy-
 ted a lytel: for hee became a great Gretian and latineist, and moze ouer he was
 faire, gracious, wise & honest. And this Emperor Adrian loued his nephew so
 much, y^e hee saied vnto him these woordes My nephew, I know not whither
 I ought to say vnto thee, y^e thou art good, or euill: for if thou be euill, lyfe shall
 bee euill imployd on thee, and if thou bee good, thou oughtest to die immediatly,
 and because I am woordes the all, I liue longer then all. These woordes which
 Adrian my lord sayed, doe plainly declare and expresse, that in short space y^e
 pale and cruel death doth assaulte the good, and lengtheneth life a great while
 to the euill. The opinion of a philosopher was, that the gods are so profound
 in their secrets, high in their misteryes, and so iust in their woordes, that to
 men which least profit the common wealth, they lengthen lyfe longest: and
 though he had not sayd it, we others see it by experience. For the man which is
 good, and that beareth great zeale and friendship to the common wealth, ei-
 ther the gods take him from vs, or the enemies do sleigh him, or the daungers
 doe cast him away, or the the trauailes do finish him. When great Pompeius &
 Iulius Cesar became enemyes, & from that enmity came to cruel warres, the
 cronicles of that tyme declare, that the kings and people of the occidental part
 became in the fauour of Iulius Cesar, and the mightiest & most puissant of al
 the oziental parts, came in the ayd of great Pompeius, because these two
 Princes were loued of few, and serued and feared of al. Amongst the diuer-
 sity and sundry nations of people, which came out of the oziental part, into
 the host of the great Pompeius, one nation came maruelous cruel & barba-
 rous, which sayd they dwelled in the other side of the mountayns Riphees,
 which go vnto India. And these barbarous had a custome, not to liue no lon-
 ger then fifty yeares: & therfore when they came to y^e age, they made a greater
 fier,

fier and were burned therein alive, and of their owne willes they sacrificed them selues to the gods. Let no man bee astounded at that wee haue spoken but rather let them maruel of that wee wyl speak (that is to say) that the same day that any man had accomplished fifty years, immediatly hee cast him self quick in to the fier, and the parents, children, and his freends, made a great feast. And the feast was, that they did eat the flesh of the dead half burned, and drank in wyne and water the ashes of his bones: so that the stomack of the children beeing alive, was the graue of the fathers beeing dead. All this that I haue spoken with my tounge, Pompeius hath seen with his eyes: for that some beeing in my camp did accomplish fifty years, & bycause y^e case was straunge, hee declared it oft times in the Senate. Let euery man iudge in this case what hee will, and condemne the barbarous at his pleasure, yet I wyl not cease too say what I think. O golden world, which had such men. O blessed people, of whom in the world to come shalbee a perpetuall memory. What conceit of world: what forgetfulness of him self: what stroke of fortune: what whip for the flesh: what liell regard of lyfe: O what bydell for the veruous: O what confusion for those that loue lyfe: O how great example haue they left vs, not to feare death: Sithens those heere haue willingly dispised their owne liues, it is not to bee thought that they died to take the goods of others, neither to think that our life shoold neuer haue end, nor our couetousnes in like maner. O glorious people, and .10. thousand fold happy, that the proper sensualityty beeing forsaken, hath ouercome the natural appetyte to desire to liue, not beleeuing in that they saw, and that hauing faith in that they neuer saw, they strived with the fatall destinies. By the way they assailed for a tyme they, chaunged life for death, they offered the body to death, and aboue all haue woon honor with the gods, not for that they shoold hasten death, but because they shoold take a way that is superfluous of life. Archagent a surgiō of Rome, and Anthonius Musus, a phisition of the Emperō Augustus, and Esculapius father of the phisick, shoold get liell money in that country. Hee that the shoold haue set to y^e barbarous to haue doone as the Romaines at that tyme did, that is to wete, to take siropes in the mornings, pylls at night, to drinke mylk in the morning, to noynt them selues with gromellede, to bee let blood to day, and purged to morrow, to eat of one thing, and to abstain from many: a man ought to think, that hee which willingly seeketh death wil not geue money to lengthen lyfe.

The Emperō concludeth his letter, and sheweth what perilles those old men lyue in which dissolutely like yong children passe their days, and geueth vnto them hollesome counsell for the remedy therof. Cap. xxi.

But returning now to thee Claude, & to thee Claudine mee thinketh, that these barbarous beeing fifty years of age, and you others hauing aboue thre score and .10. it shoold bee iust, that sithens you were elder in years you were equal in vertue, and though (as they) you wyl not accept death patiently: yet at the least you ought to amend your euil liues willingly. I do remember, that it is many years sithens that Fabricius the yong, sonne of Fabricius the old, had ordeyned to haue deceiued mee, of the which if you had not

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told mee, great inconueniences had hapned: and sithens that you did mee so great a benefit, I would now requite you the same with an other like. For amongst frends there is no equal benefit, then to deceyue the deceyuer. I let you know, if you doo not know it, that you are poore aged folke, your eyes are looke into your heads, the nostrils are shutt, the heares are white, the hearing is lost, the tonge salteth, the teeth fall, the face is wrinkled, the feete swell, & the stomack cold. Finally I say, that if the grane could speak, as vnto his subiects, by iustice hee myght commaund you to inhabit his house. It is great pity of the yong men, and of their youthfull ignorance, for then vnto such their eyes are not opened, to know the mishaps of this miserable life, when cruell death doth end their dayes, and adioyneth the to the grane. Plato in his booke of the common wealth sayd, that in balie wee geue good counsels, to fond & light yong men. For youth is without experience of that it knoweth, suspicious of that it heareth, incredible of that is told him, despising the counsaile of an other, and very poore of his owne. For so much as this is true that I tell you Claude, and Claudine, that without comparison, the ignorance which the yong haue of the good is not so much; but the obstinacion which the old hath in the euil is more. For the mortal gods many times do dissemble with a. 1000. offences committed by ignorance, but they neuer forgive the offence perpetrated by malice. O Claude, and Claudine, I doo not meruel that you doo forget the gods (as you doo) which created you, and your fathers, which be got you and your parents, which haue loued you and your frends, which haue honored you: but that which most I maruel at is, that you forget your selues. For you neuer consider what you ought to bee, vntill such time as you bee there where you would not bee, and y without power to return back again. Awake, awake, since you are drownd in your dreams, open your eyes since you slepe so much, accustom your selues to trauells, sithens you are vacabonds, learne that which becometh you sithens now you are so old. I mean, that in time conuenient you agree with death, before he make execution of life. 52. yers haue I known the things of the world, & yet I neuer saw a woman so aged through yers, nor old man with members so feble, that for want of strength could not (if they list) doo good: nor yet for the same occasion should leaue to bee euil if they list to bee euil. It is a meruelous thing to see, and woorthy to note that all the corporal members of man waxeth old, but the inward hart, and the outward tonge: for the hart is alwayes green to inuent euils, & the tonge is alwayes able to tel lies. My opinion should bee that the pleasant sommer being past, you should prepare your selues for the bitter perat winter, which is at hand. And if you haue but few dayes to continue, you should make hast to take vp your lodging. I mean that sith you haue passed the days of your life with trauel, you should prepare your selues against the night of death, to bee in the haue of rest. Let mockries passe as mockries, and accept truth as truth, that is to weete, that it were a very iust thing, and also for your honor necessary, that all those which in times past haue seene you yong & foolish, should now in your age, se you graue and sage. For there is nothing that so much forgetteth the lightnes and folly of the youth, as dooth grauity and constancy in age. When the knight conueth his carice, they blame him not for that the horse mayn is not

not finely commended: but at the end of his race hee should see his horse amended and looked to. What greater confusion can bee to any parson, or greater slander to our mother Rome, then to see that which now adays therein wee see is to weete, the old which can scarcely creep through the Streets, to behold the plays and games as yong men, which serch nought els but pomp and vanity. It grieueth mee to speak it, but I am much more ashamed to see, y^e old Romayns do dayly cause the white hairs to be plucked out of their heads because they would not seeme old, to make their berd small to seme yong, wearing their hosen very close, they^r sherts open beefore, y^e gown of the senatour imbroided, the Romayn signe richly enameled, the collar of gold at the neck, as those of Dace. Fringes in their gowns, as those of Saphire, hoopes in their hattis, as the Greekes, and perles on their fingers, as those of India. What wilt thou I tell thee more, then I haue told thee, but that they weare their gowns long and large, as those of Tharenthe, and they wear theim of the colour as men of warr, and every weeke they haue chaunge as players, and the woorst of all is, that they show them selues as dotting in loue now in their age, as others haue doon hertofore in their youth. That old men are ouertrom by yong desires, I do not meruel, for that brutish lust is as natural, as the daily foode: but the old men (being old men) should be so dissolute, heere with men iustly ought to be offended. For the old men couetous, and of fleshy vicious, both offend the gods, and slea under the comon wealth. How many I haue knowen in Rome, who in their youth haue been highly praysed and esteemed and afterwards through geueing the self to very much lightnes in theyr age, haue been of all abhorred. And the woorst of all is, that they haue lost all their credit, their parents, their fauor, and their poore innocent children they^r profit. For many times the gods permit, that the fathers committing thoffence, the pain should fall vpo their owne childe. The renowned Gaguino Cato, who descended from the high lignage of the sage Catoes, was fife years Flamen pcesst, & administrator to the bestal virgins, thre years pzetoz, two years Censor, one year dictatoz, and fife times Cöfull, being .75. years old, hee gaue him self to solow, serue, and to desire Rosana, the donghter of Gaeus Cursius, a lady of trouth very yong and fair, and of many desired, and much made of: time afterwards passing away, and god Cupide dooing his office, the loue was so kindled inwardly in the hart of this old man, that he rann almost madde: So y^e after he had consumed all his goods in seruing her dayly hee sighed, and nightly he wept, onely for to see her. It chaunced that the sayd Rosana fel sick of a burning ague, wherewith she was so distepered, that shee could eat no meat but desired greatly to eat grapes: and sithens there were none ripe at Rome, Gaguino Cato sent to the riuer of R. heyn to fetch som beeing farre and many miles distant from thence. And when the thing was spred through Rome, & that all the people knew it and the senat vnderstanding the folly of him: the fathers commaunded that Rosana should bee locked vp with the bestal virgins, & the old man banished Rome for euer, to y^end that to the it should bee a punisshmet, & to others an example. Truly it greued mee soze to see it, & also I had great payns in writting it. For I saw y^e father die in ifamy, & his childe liue in pouerty, I beleue y^e al those w^hal hear this exaple, & al those w^hal reade this

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this wytyng, shall find the fact of this amorous old man, both bile and filthy, and they will allowe þe sentence of þe Senat which they gaue against him for good and iust. I sweare that if Gaguino Cato had had as many yong men in his banishment as hee left old men louers that followed his example in Rome, they shoold not be cast away so many men, neyther so many women euyl married. It chaunceth oft tymes, that when the old men (specially beeyng noble and valyant) are aduertysed of theyr seruants, are rebuked of their parētys, are prayed of their frends, & accused of their enemies to bee dishonest in such a place they aunswer, that they are not in loue, but in iest. When I was very yong no lesse in wisdom, the in age, one night in the Capitoll I met with a neighbour of mine, the which was so old, that hee might haue taken mee for his nephew, to whom I sayd these wordes. Lord Fabricus, are you also in loue: hee aunswered mee. You see þe my age suffereth mee not that I shoold bee a lover if I shoold bee, it is but in sport.

Truly I marvelled to meete him at that hour, and I was ashamed to haue such an answer. In old men of great age, and grauitie, such request can not bee called loue, but grief, not pastime, but losse of time, not mockry, but villany: for of loue in iest, ensueth infamy in deede. I ask you Claude, and Claudine, what a thing is it to see an old man to bee in loue: Trulye it is no other, but as a garland befoze the tauern dozes, wher al men think þe ther is wine, and they sel nought els but vineger. They are egges whytte without, and rotten within, they are golden pilles, the tast wherof are very bitter, and as epty boxes in shops, which haue new wrytings on them, or as a new gate, and with in the house is full of filth and cobwebs: finally the old lover is a knight of Erchetes, which helpeth to lose mony and can deliuer no man from perill. Let this word bee noted, and alwayes in your memory committed, that the old man which is bitious, is but as a leeke which hath the head whyte, & the tayle green. Wee thinketh that you ought to break the wings of time, since that you haue feathers to flye withal. Deceiue not your self nor your frends and neighbours, saying that ther is time for all. For the amendment is in your hands, but time is in the hands of god to dispose. Let vs come now to remedy this great damage, do what you can by the day of youth, and defer it not vntill the night of age: for ill cutteth the knife, when the edge therof is dulled, and ill can hee knaw the bones which is accustomed to eat the flesh. I tel you, and aduertise you that when the old and rotten houses beegynesh to fall, vnder set not them with rotten wood, but with hard timber. I mean, with the byright thoughts of accompts, which wee ought to geue to the gods of our life, and to me of our renoume. For the I say, that if the vine bee gathered of our vertues, we ought to grasse againe the amendment: and if þe thyreds of our gatherings bee drye and withered, through our peruers woorks, wee ought to set them agayn with new mould and good desires. The gods are so gentle to serue, and so good to content, that if for all the seruices wee do them, and for the gifts which they geue vs, wee can not pay them in good woorks: they demaund nomore in payment but good willes. Finally I say, that if thou Claude, and Claudine, haue offred the meale of youth to the world, offer now the blood of age to the gods. I haue wrytten longer then I had thought to do. Salute all my neyghbours specially Drusio the patrician,

and

and noble Romaine widow. I remember that Gobreine your niece did me a pleasure, the day of the feast of the mother Berecinthia, wherfore I sed 2. thousand Sesterces, one thousand to help to mary her: and the other thousand, to help to relieve your pouerty. My wife Faustine is sick, and I send you another. 1000. Sesterces to geene to the bestal birgines, to pray to the gods for her. My wife sendeth to thee Claudine a cofet, by the immortal gods I swear vnto thee, I can not tel what is in it, I beseech the godds, sithens you are aged, to giue you a good death, and to mee & Faustine, they suffer vs to lead a good life. Marcus of mount Celio with his owne hand writeth this.

Princes ought to take heede that they be not noted of auarice, for that the covetous man is both of god and man hated. Cap. xxiij

The great Alexander king of Macedony, and Darius the vnfortunat king of the Persyes, were not onely contrary in warres and conquests, which they made but also in the conditions and inclinations which they had. For Alexander naturally loued to geene and spend: and Darius to the contrary, to heape, locke, & keepe. When the fame of Alexander was spread abroad throughout all the world, to bee a prince of honor, and not couetous, his owne loued him entierly, and straungers desyred to serue him faithfully. The miserable kyng Darius, as hee was noted of great auarice and of small liberality, so his did disobey him, and straungers hated him. Whereof may bee gathered that princes and great lordes by geening, do make them selues rich: & in keeping, they make theym selues poore. Plutarcke in his apothegmes declareth, after king Darius was dead, Alexander had triumphed ouer al the orientall parts, a man of Thebes beinge in the market place of Athenes setting forth the fortune of Alexander, for the sundry countreys which hee had conquered: and describing the euell fortune of Darius, for the great number of men which hee had lost, a philosopher with a loude voice sayd. O man of Thebes thou art greatly deceiued, to think that one prince loseth many seignories: and that the other Prince winneth many realmes. For Alexander the great wanted nought but stones, and couerings of cities: for with his liberality he had already gotten the good willes of the cities. And to the contrary, the vnfortunat Darius did not lose but stones, and the couertures of cities, for with his couetousnes and auarice he had now lost al the hartes of those of Asia. And farther this philosopher sayd vnto him, that princes which will enlarge their estates, and amplify their realmes in their conquests, ought first to winne hearts, & to bee noble, and liberal: and afterwards to send their armies to conquer the forts, and walls, for otherwise listel auayleth it to winne stones if the hartes do rebell. Wherby a man may gather, that that which Alexander wanted, hee wanted by liberality and Goutnes: and that which king Darius lost, he lost for beinge miserable, and couetous. And let vs not meruaill hereat, for the princes & great lordes were overcome with auarice, I doubt whether they euer shal see theym selues conquerors of many realmes. The vice of auarice is so detestable, so euell, so odious, & so perillous, if a man should employ himself to write al the discomfortes therunto belonging, my penne should do nought elles

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elles, then to presume to drye by all the water in y^e sea: for the stomake where auarice entreth, causeth a man to serue vices, & worshippinge Idoles. If a vertuous man woulde prepare him selfe to thinke on the great trauaile, and litell reste that this cursed vice beareth with him, I thinke that none woulde be vicious therein. Though the couetous man had no other trauaile, but alwayes to go to bed wyth daunger, and to rise by with care: He thinketh it is a trouble sufficient for such one when he goeth to bed, thinketh that he should be killed in his bed, or that sleeping his cofers should be rifled: and from that time he riseth, he is alwayes tormented with feare to lose that which he hath wonne, and careful to augmet that litel in to much. The deuine Plato in the first booke of his common welth said these wordes, the men be made riche, because they neuer learned to bee riche: for he which continually, and truelye will become riche, first ought to abhorre couetousnes, before hee beginne to occupie hym selfe to locke by goods. For the man which setteth no bond to his desire shall alwayes haue litte thoughte he see himselfe lord of the worlde. Truly this sentence was worthilye spoken of such a man. The sentēce of y^e Stoynes doth satisfie my mind much, wherof Aristotel in his pollitikes maketh mencion, where he sayth, that vnto great assayes, are alwaies required great riches: & there is no extreame pouerty, but where there hath bene greate aboundaunce. Therof ensueth, that to princes and great lordes which haue much, they wat much, because to men which haue had litel, they can not wat but litel. If we ad more the wordings not to be bitious, they will alwayes haue excuses to excuse thein selues, declaring why they haue bene bitious: the vice of auarice excepted, so whom and with whom they haue no excuse. For if one haue reason be readye to excuse then, there are, 2000. to condemne them. Let vs put example in all the principall vices, and we shall se how this onely of auarice, remaineth condemned, and not excused. If we reason why a prince or great lord is haughty and proude, he will aunswere that he hath great occasion. For the natural disposition of men is, rather to desire to commaūd with trauaile, then to serue with rest. If we reprove any man that is furious, and geuen to anger: he will aunswere vs, that we maruaile not, since we maruaile not of the proude: for the enemy hath no moze auctority to trouble any man, then the other to take reuēge of hym. If we blame him for y^e he is fleshy and bitious, he will aunswere vs, that he can not absteyne from that sinne: for if any man can eschew y^e acts he fighteth continually with vncleane thoughtes. If we say that any man is negligent, he will aunswere vs, that he deserueth not to be blamed: for the bitenes of our nature is suche, that if we do trauaile it, immediatly it is weary and if we rest it, immediatly it reioyce. If we rebuke any man that is a glutton, he will aunswere vs, that without eatinge and drinkeinge we can not lyue in the worlde: for the deuine worde hath not forbidden man to eate with the mouthe, but the vncleane thoughtes which come from the hart. As of these fewe vices we haue declared, so maye we excuse al the residue: but to the vice of couetousnes, none can geue a reasonable excuse. For with money put into y^e cofer, the soule cannot profite, nor y^e bodye reioyce. Boetius in his booke of consolation sayd, y^e money is good, not when we haue it in posse^{ssio}, but when we want it, & in very dede y^e sentence of Boetius is very profound: for when man spendeth mony, he attayneth to that he wil, but hauinge it is hym, it profiteth hym

him nothinge. We may say of riche and couetous men, that if they heape and kepe, they say it is but for deare and dye yeres, and to releue their parents & frendes. We may aunswere them, that they do not heape by to remedye the pooze in suche like necessities, but rather to bringe the common wealth to greater pouertye. For then they sel al thinges deare, and put out theyr money to great vsury: so that this couetous man dooth more harme with that he dooth lend them, then the dy yere dooth with that it hath taken from them. The noble and vertuous men ought not to cease to do wel, for feare of dy yeres: for in the ende if one deare yere come it maketh all dere, and at such a time, and in such a case, he onely may be called happy, which for being free and liberal in almes, shall reioyce that his table should be costlye. Let couetous men beware, that for keaping of much goodes, they giue not to the deuyl their soules: for it may be that befoze the deare yere cometh to sel their corne, their bodies shall be layd in the graue. What good dooth god to the noble men, geuing them liberal hartes: and what ill luck haue couetous men (hauing as they haue) their hartes so hard laced. For if couetous men did tast how sweete and necessary a thing it is to giue: they could kepe little for them selues. Howe sithens the miserable and couetous men haue not the hart to giue to their frendes, too depart to their parentes, to succour the pooze, to lend to their neighbours, nor to susteyne the orphanes, it is to be thought y they wil spend it on them selues. Truly I saye no more, for there are men so miserable, and so hard of that they haue, that they thinke that as euyl spent, whiche amonge them selues they spende: as that which one robbeth from them of their goodes. Howe will the couetous and miserable wretch geue a garmete to a naked man, which dare not make him selfe a cote: Howe wil he geue to eate to the pooze famylar, as a pooze slaue eateth the bread of barme, and selleth the floure of meale: Howe shal the pilgrimes lodge in his house, who, for pure miserie dare not enter: and howe doth he visite the hospitall, and relieue the sicke, that oft times hardeneth his owne helth and life, for that he wil not geue one peny to the physician: howe shal he succour secretly the pooze and needy, which maketh his owne children go barefoote, and naked: howe can he helpe to marie the pooze maydes being orphanes, when he suffereth his owne daughters to waite old in his house: howe wil he geue of his goodes to the pooze captiues, which will not paye his owne men their wages: howe wil he geue to eate to the children of pooze gentlemen, which alwayes grudgeth at that his owne spende: howe should we beleue that he wil apparel a widowe, which wil not giue his owne wiffe a hooe: howe doth he dayly giue almes, which goeth not to the churche on the Sonday because he wil not offer one peny: howe shal the couetous man reioyce the hart, sith for spending of one peny, oft times hee goeth supperles to bed: And finally I saye, that he wil neuer giue vs of his owne proper goodes, which weapen alwayes for the goodes of an other.

The auctor foloweth his matter, and with great reasons discommendeth the
pieces of couetous men.

Cap. xliii.

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Of the thinges wherin the deuine prouidence sheweth, & we do not vnderstand the maner of her gouernment, is to see that she geueth vnderstandinge too a man too knowe the riches, she geueth him force too seeke theim, subtiltye too gather them, vertue too susteyne them, couragetoo defend them, and also longe life to possesse them. And with al this she gyueth him not licence to enioye them, but rather suffereth him, that as withoute reason he hath made him selfe lord of an nother mans, of righte he shoulde bee made slaue of his owne: thereby a man may knowe, of howe greater excellencye vertuous pouertye is, then the outragious couetousnes: for so much as to the pooze, god doth giue contentation of that litell he hath, and from the rich man he taketh contentation of the great deale he possesseth. So that to the couetous man we se troubles encrease hourely: and the gaine cometh vnto him but monethly. Let vs compare the riche and couetous man to the poze potter, and we shall se who shall profite most, eyther the potter with his pottes that he maketh of earthe, or els the couetous with the mony which he hath in the earth. Though I make no aunswere to this, yet aunswere herein hath ben alreadye made, that the one is muche better at ease with the earth, then the other is with the good. For the potter getteth his liuing by selling pottes, and the couetous man loseth his soule by keeping riches. I humblye require & high princes, and also I beseech & great lordes, & further I admonishe the other nobles, and plebeiens, alwayes to haue this worde in memozye. I saye, and affirme that the moze strongly the man keapeth, and locketh his treasures: the moze strongly, and priuely is he kepte: for if he put two keyes to keape his treasure he putteth seuen to his harte not to spende them. Let the noble and valiaunt men beware, & they geue not their myndes to heape by treasures: for if once their hartes be kindled wth couetousnes, for feare of spendinge a halfpenny, they wyll daylye suffer them selues to fall into a thousand miseries. The plebeiens w^{ch} are verye riche may saye, & they haue not heaped by much treasures, suchens they can not behold a hundred, or two hundred ducates. To this I aunswere that the estates considered, tenne ducates do asmuch harne to a treasurer, as to others tenne thousand. For the faulte consisteth not in keaping, or hidig (much or litel) riches: but for so much as in keapinge them, we cease to doe many good workes. To me it is a straunge matter, that nigardlines hath greater force to & couetous, then conscience hath in others. For there are many, which notwithstandinge conscience, doe profite with the goodes of others: and the couetous hauinge moze misery then conscience, cannot yet profite with their owne. With much care and no small dilygence the couetous men doe proude that the myllers doe not robbe the meale, that their beastes make no wasties that the hunters runne not through the corne, that their wine perissh not, that those which owe them any thing, do not go & make them selues bank routes, that wyvetts doe not eate their corne, and that theues robbe not their goods: but in the ende they watche none so wel, as them selues. For al the others (erely, or late) haue alwaies opoztunitie to robbe from them somewhat: but the couetous hath neuer the herte to chaunge a ducate. Men ought to take great pity of a couetous man, who by his owne wil, & not of necessity, weareth his gobone al to toyme, his shoes out, his poyntes without aggles, an euill fauored girdle, his cote rente, his hatte olde, his hose scame rent, his cappe

cappe greasy, and his sherte lowly: finally I say, that dyuers of these mylers sayne that they haue a great summe to pay, and it is for no other thing, but for not wearyng a good garment. What can the couetous doo more, then for keeping a peny in his purse, hee will goe two moneths and not trimme his beard? Sithens it is true that these pynchpenies doo behaue their persons so euill, doo ye thynk they haue their houses any thing the better furnished? I say no, but you shall see their chambers full of cobwebbes, the doozes out of the hingels, the windows riuen, the glasses broken, the plantages lose, the couertures of the house wythout gutters, the stooles broken, the beds woozme eaten, and chimnies ready to fall: so that to herber a friend or kinsman of theirs, they are constrained to lodge him in their neighbors house, or els to lend to borrow all that they want. And passing ouer the garments they wear, and the houses wherin they dwel, let vs see what table they keep: for of their gardeing they eat no fruyt, but that that falleth of the tree, of their vines, but rotten grapes, of their sheepe, the sickest, of their cozne, & wettest, of wine that which hath taken wind, of lard that is yelow, of milk, that is turned: and finally I say, the felicity that glottons haue in eating, the self same haue they in keeping. O unhappye are the glottons, and much more are the couetous: for the tast of one consisteth only in the throte, and the felicity of the other consisteth in that hee may lock vp in his chest. Wee haue now seen how & couetous were symple apparayl, keepe a pooze table, and dwell in a filthy house: and yet they lesse regard those things that touch theyr honor. For if they had their eares as open to heere, as they haue their harts bent at ech hour to gather, and heap vp: they should hear how they are called mylers, bleters, nygards, pinchepenies, oppresseors, cruell, vnthankfull, and vnfortunat. Finally I say, that in the commonwealth they are so hated, that all men had rather lay hands vpon their bodies to kill them, then tongues on their renowm to defame them. The couetous man is of all other most vnlucky. for if wee fall at grief with any, hee shall fynd no one friend that will come to visit him in his house: but hee shall haue a hundred theues whych will robbe him of his goods. For to reuenge a couetous enemy, a man neede desire nought els but that hee liue long: for hee is more tormented in his life with his own couetousnes, then hee can bee otherwise with any penance. If ryche men woold say vnto mee, that they do not reioice to haue fair houses, sithens they may haue them, neither of curious aparel, since they may woe it, nor of deinty meats, sithens they may eat them, and that that which they doo, is not to bee couetous, but for that they are good christians: In so iust a thing, reason woold my pen should cease: but I am sorry, they so lytle esteeme things touching their honor, and much lesse the matters touching their conscience. If & auaricious say hee keepeth goods to doo almes, I doo not beleue it: for daily wee see that if a pooze man ask him almes, hee answereth them immediatly, god help you, for hee hath neither purse nor peny. The couetous bleseth this, that hee neuer geueeth any almes in his house, but fatt meat, and resty baken, rotten cheese, and hoze bread: so that it seemeth rather that they make clean their house, then geue almes to the pooze. If the couetous man woold tel vs, that that which they haue, is to discharge some detts of their predecessors wherewith they are burdened, I say it is a vaine excuse: sithens

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wee see that the willes of their fathers, of their mothers, & of their graund-fathers, bee not as yet performed, neyther will they think to performe them, which seemeth to bee very true. For since the hour that they layd their fathers in the graue, they neuer had any one thought of their dead fathers. Hee which of pure couetousnes and misery, suffreth him self to dye for hunger and cold: I think hee hath small deuotio to geue almes, and much lesse to doo any man good. If the couetous man say vnto vs, that that which hee keepeth, is for no other cause but to buyld a sumptuous chappell, and to leaue of them some memozy, to this I aunswer. That if such one doth it with his own proper swet, and maketh restitution of all the euill that hee hath doon, it shalbee sanctified, & of all good men commended: but if the couetous will that many liue in great pouerty, only to make a rich tomb, god doth not commaund that, neyther doth the church admit it: for sacrifice done to god with the cryes and swet of others, is not acceptable. If the couetous tell vs, that though they heape treasures, it is not but at their death to distribute it to the poore, and to bee brought honestly to the ground: I say that I commend this purpose, so his intent bee accordingly performed: but I am sorry þ couetouse man shoold think hereby to merit, and that hee shoold thus discharge the wickednes of his lyfe, for the distribution of a lytle mony after his death.

I woold think it more sure, that princes and great lords shoold spend their goods, to mary poore maydens, beeing orphans in their lyfe, then to commaund money to bee dealt after their death. For oft tymes the heirs or their executors, the body interred, doo little performe the will of the testator: and much lesse obserue the legacies bequeathed, though it bee to þ better bndooing of the poore orphans. What guerdon and commendacion deserueth hee that insteeply and cruelly dischargeth the legacies of the dead, and of the surplus (if any bee) or with their own, releue the orphans and mary the poore maydens, keeping them from the byces of this world. Suppose that a couetous man chaunceth to traffique at Medine in Spaine, at Lions in Fraunce, at Lisbon in Portingal, at London in England, at Andwarp in Flaunders, at Millain in Lombardy, at Florence in Italy, at Palermo in Scicil, at Prague in Boeme, and at Buda in Hungary: finally with his eyes hee hath seene all Europe, and by trafique hee hath knowledge of all Asia. Admit now that in euery place hee hath gotten goods, and that which hee hath gotten, was not with whole conscience, but according to the companies, so hath the offences been dyuers.

In this case, if at the hour of death, when the couetous man deuydeth hys money beetweene the children, hee might also deuyd his offences, so that hee dispossessing him self of the goods, might therby bee free from the offences, then it were well. But alas it is not so, for the wicked children lyue tryumphing on the earth with the goods: and the miserable father goeth weeping to hell with his sinnes.

Cof a letter which the Emperoꝝ Marcus Aurelius wrote to his frend Clnchatus who beeing a Romayn knight became a marchaunt of Capua, wherein hee toucheth those gentlemen whych take vpon them the trade of marchandise against their vocation. It is deuptyed into.iii. Chapters. Cap.rrb.

MArck the Emperoz, with his brother Annius Verus, fellow in the Empire, wisheth to thee Cincinatus of Capua, health to thy person, and grace against thy euill fortune. From the feast of our mother Berecinthe, I haue seene neither seruauent of thy house, nor read any letter of thy hand, which thing maketh mee suspect greatly, that thy health is in daunger, or that thou mistrustest our friendship: for earnest friendship, requireth dayly communication, or visitation: I pray thee bee not so careless from hence forth, and doo not forget vs in such wise, I mean, that thou wilt come and see vs, or at the least that thou wilt write vnto vs often: for þ letters of faithful friends, though utterly they doo not take from vs the desire of the presence: yet at the least they make vs hope for a meeting. I know that thou maist answer mee, that in the common wealth of Capua thou art so busied, that it is impossible thou shouldst write vnto mee: heere to I answer thee: That in no affaires thou canst bee so occupied, that it bee a lawfull let, not to communicat, or write vnto thy friend. For wee may wel call the tyme which wee liue, to bee wel employed, which is spent in the seruice of god, and in the conuersation of our friends. All the residue that wee wast in talking, traueling, sleeping, eating and resting, wee ought not to write it in the booke of lyfe, but in the register of death. For al bee it that in such semblable woozks the body is refreshed: yet therewith the heart cannot bee comforted. I swore vnto thee therfore (my friend) that it is impossible þ man take any contentation of any worldly thing, where the hart is not at rest: for our comfort is not in the sinnes, or in the bones of the body, but in the liuely power of the soul. It is long sithens that you and I haue knowen togethers, it is long time likewise that I loued thee, and thou mee: and sith wee are so true old friends, it is but reason that with good woozks wee doo reneue our friendship. For falsly they vsurp the name of friendship, which are not couersant one wyth the other, no more then if they were stragers. The man wh speaketh not to mee, wh wyrteth not to mee, wh seeth mee not, wh visiteth mee not, wh geueeth mee not, & to whom I geue not, I would not hee were my enemy: but it litle auaieth mee that hee call mee friend, for perticuler friendship consisteth not in abundance, but that friends doo open their harts, and talk with their persons. Peraduenture thou wilt say, that the great distaunce which is from Rome to that countrey, hath beene occasion to diminish our friendship: for the noble harts are on fier with the presence of that they loue, and haue great paine with the absence of that they desire. I aunswer, that the farther the delicious wines are sent, from the place where they grow: the greater strength they haue. I mean, that heerein true friends are knowen, whē their persons are farthest seuered: for then are their willes most conioined. Tell mee I pray thee Cincinnatus, sithens alway thou hast found mee a diligent friend in thy seruice, why doost thou mistrust my faithfull good will? The greene leaues outwardly doo shew, that þ tree inwardly is not dry. I mean, that the good woozks outwardly do declare þ seruientnes of þ hart inwardly. If thou Cincinnatus presumest to bee a true friend of thy friend, I will thou know this rule of friendship, which is: Where perfect loue is not, there wasteth alway faithfull seruice: & for the contrary hee þ perfectly loueth, assuredly shalbee serued. I haue been, am, & wil bee thyne, therfore thou shalt doo mee great iniury, if thou art not myne.

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The Emperoz proceedeth in his letter and declareth what vertues men ought
to vse, and the vices which they ought to eschew. Cap. xxi.

In times past I beeing yong, and thou old, I did succor thee with money, and thou mee with good counsell: but now the world is otherwise chaunged, in that thy white hairs doo iudge thee to bee old, and thy woorkes doo cause thee to bee yong. Therefore necessity compelleth mee, that wee chage our stile, which is: that I succor thee with good counsell, though thou geue mee no money therfore: for I count thy couetousnes to bee such, that for all good counsel, & counsellers of Rome, I wilt not bouchsafe to geue one quartine of Capua. Now for I good that I wish thee, & for that which I owe to I law offrendship, I will presently geue thee a counsel, wherby thou mayst know what a good mā ought to doo, to bee loued of god, & feared & loued of mē. If I wilt quietly lead thy life in this miserable world, retain this well in memory which I write vnto thee. First I good dedes thou hast receiued of any, those shalt thou remember: & I wrongs thou hast sustained, them shalt thou forget. Secundarely, esteeme much thy own little: & way not the much of an other. Thirdly, the company of the good alwayes couet: & the conuersation of I euill dayly fly. Fourthly, to the great shew thy self graue: & to the small more conuersant. Fifthly, to those which are present, doo alwayes good woorkes: and of those that bee absent, alwayes speak good woords. Sixtly, way little I losse of fortune, & esteeme much things of honoz. The seuenth, to win one thing, neuer aduenture thou many: nor for many things doubtfull, doo not thou aduerture any one thing certain. Finally & lastly, I pray thee & aduertise thee that thou haue no enemy: & that thou keepe but one frend. Hee which among the good wilbee counted for good, none of these things hee ought to want. I know well that thou wilt haue great pleasure to see these my counsels well writen: But I ensure thee I shal haue greater pleasure, to see them in thy dedes well obserued. For by writing to geue good counsel, it is easy: but by woorkes to folow I same, is maruelous hard. My faithfull frendship to thee plightred, & thy great ability considered, caused mee alwayes for thee in Rome to procure honozable offices, & by my suyt thou hast been Edite & tribune, & master of the hozes, wherin thou behauedst thy self w such wisdom, that all I senate therfore yelded mee most hartty thanks, I procuring them for thee, & thou for thy self winning such perpetual renown. One thing of thee I vnderstand, which with good wil I would not haue knowen, & much lesse that any such thing by thee shoold haue been comitted: that is to weet, that thou leauing thy office of the pretorship in the warre by land, hast taken vpon thee traffike of a marchāt by sea: so that those which in Rome knew thee a knight doo see thee now in Capua a marchant. My pen indyting this my letter, for a tyne stood in suspence, for no other cause, but only to see what thing in thee first I might best blame: either I noble office which thou didst forsake, or the vyle & base estate w thou hast chosen. And though thou bee so much bereued of thy senses, yet call to mynd thy auncient predecessors which dyed in the warres, only to leaue their children, and nephews armed knights: and that thou presently seekest to lose that liberty through thy couetousnes, which hee wanne by their valyaunties. I think I am not deceiued, that if thy prede-

cessors

cessors were reuined, as they were ambitious of honoz, so woold they bee
 greedy to eat thee in morsels, sinnes, bones and all. For the children which
 vniuersally take honoz from their fathers, of reason ought to lose their lyues.
 The castels, towne, houses, mountains, woods, beasts, Jewels, and siluer,
 which our predecessors haue left vs, in the end by long cōtinuance doo perishe:
 and that which causeth vs to haue perpetuall memory of them, is the good
 renown of their lyfe. And therfore if this bee true, it is great shame for the
 parents to haue such children, in whom the renown of their predecessors
 dooth end. In the flourishing time of Cicero the oratour, when by his counsell
 the whole common wealth was gouerned, hee beeing then of power, both in
 knowledge and of money: Salust said vnto him in his inuective, that hee was
 of base stock: wherunto hee answered, Great cause haue I too render thāks
 vnto the gods, that I am not as thou art, by whom thy high lineage is ended:
 but my pooze stock by me doth now begin too rise. It is great pity to see, how
 many good, noble, & valiant men are dead: but it is moze greef to see present-
 ly their children bitious, and brutish. So that there remaineth as much me-
 mory of their infamy, as there doth of the others honesty. Thou makst mee a-
 shamed, that thou hast forsaken to conquer the enemies as a romain knight,
 and that thou art become a marchant, as a pooze plebeian. Thou makest mee
 to muse a littel, my freend Cincinnatus that thou wilt harne thy familiars,
 and suffer straungers to liue in peace. Thou seekest to procure death, to
 those which geue vs life: and to deliuer from death those, which take our life
 To rebels thou geuest rest, & to the peace makers thou geuest annoyauce.
 To those which take from vs our own thou wilt geue: and to those which
 geueth vs of theirs thou wilt take. Thou condemnest the innocent, and the
 condemned thou wilt deliuer. A defender of thy countrey thou wilt not bee,
 but a tyrant of thy common welth. To al these things aduentureth hee which
 leaueth weapons, and fauleth to marchandise. With my self oft times I haue
 mused, what occasion should moue thee to forsake chivalry, wherein thou
 hadst such honoz: and to take in hand marchandise, whereof foloweth such
 infamy. I say, that it is as much shame for thee to haue gon from the warres
 as it is honoz for those which are bozn vnto office in the common welth. My
 freend Cincinnatus, my end tendeth not to condemne marchandise nor mar-
 chaunds, nor to speak euill of those which traffick, by the trade of bying and
 selling. For as without the valiant knights, warre cannot bee atchyued: so
 likewise without diligent marchants, the comon wealth cannot bee main-
 tained. I cannot imagin for what other cause thou shouldest forsake & warre,
 & traffique marchandise, vnlesse it were, because thou now being old, & wan-
 test force to assault men openly in the straits: shouldest with moze ease sitting
 in thy chayer robbe secretly in the market place. O pooze Cincinnatus, sithe
 thou byest cheap & sellest deare, promiset much & performest litle: thou byest
 by one measure & sellest by an other, thou watchest that none deceiue thee, &
 playest therein as other marchants accustom. And to conclude I swear, that
 the measure wherewith the gods shall measure thy lyfe, shall bee much iuster
 then that of thy merits. Thou hast taken on thee an office, wherewith, that w
 thy cōpaignions in many days haue robbed, thou in one hour by discreit doost
 get, & afterwards the time shall come, when all the goods w thou hast gotten,

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both by trueth, & fallshod, shalbe lost, not only in an hour which is long: but in a momēt which is but short. Whether wee geue much, wee haue much, wee may doo much, or wee liue much: yet in the end the gods are so iust, that all þe euill wee doo comit shalbee punished, & for all the good wee woozk, wee shalbee rewarded, so that þe gods oftentimes permit, that one alone shal scourge many, and after ward the long time punisheth all.

¶ The Emperoz concludeth his letter and perswadeth his frend Cincinnatus to despise the vanities of the world, and sheweth though a man bee neuer so wyle, yet hee shall haue need of an other mans counsell. Cap. xxvii.

If I knew thy wisdom esteemed the world, & vanities therof, so much as þe world doth possesse thee, and thy days, as by thy white hairs most manifestly doth appeere: I neede not take the payns to perswade thee, nor thou shouldst bee annoied in hearing mee: Notwithstanding thou beeing at the gate of great care, reason would that some should take the clapper to knock therat, with some good counsell: for though the rasel bee sharp, it needeth sometimes to bee whet. I mean though mans vnderstanding bee neuer so cleere: yet from time to time it needeth counsel. Vertuous men oft times do erre, not because they would fail, but for that þe thigs are so euil of digestio, that the vertu they haue, suffiseth not to tell them what thing is necessary for their profit. For the which cause it is necessary, that his will bee bydded, his wit tyed, his oppinion changed, his memozy sharpned, & aboue all, now and then that hee forlake his owne aduise, and cleaue vnto the counsell of an other. Men which couet to make high, sumptuous, fair, and large buildings, haue grete care that the foundation therof be surely layd: for where the foundations are not sure, there the whole buydings are in great daunger. The maners and conditions of this world (that is to weete) the prosperous estates wherupon the children of banity are set, are founded of quick sand: in that sort, that bee they neuer so balpant, prosperous, and mighty, a litle blast of wynd dooth stirre them, a litle heat of prosperity doth open them, a shewe of aduersity doth wet them, and vnwares death striketh them all flatt to the ground. Men seeing they cannot bee perpetuall, doo procure to continue the selues, in raising by proud buydings, and leauing to their children great estates: wherin I count them fooles, no lesse then in things superfluous. For admit the pillers bee of gold, the beams of siluer, and that those which ioyne them bee kings, and those which buyld them are noble, and in that mining they consume a thousand yerres beefore they can haue it out of the ground, or that they can come to the bottoms: I sweere vnto them, that they shall fynd no stedy rock, nor lyuely mountain, wher they may buyld their house sure, nor to cause their memozy to bee perpetuall. The immortall gods haue participated all things to the mortall men, immortality only reserued: and therfore they are called immortall, for so much as they neuer dye, and wee others are called mortall, bycause dayly wee banish away. My frend Cincinnatus, men haue an end, and thou thinkest that gods neuer ought to end. Now greene, now ripe, now rotten, fruit is seuered from this lyfe, from the tree of the miserable flesh, & esteem this as nothing, for so much as death is naturall. But oft times in þe leaf or flouer of youth, þe frost of some disease, or þe peril of some mishap

misshap dooth take vs away: so that whē wee think to bee aliue in þ morning
 wee are dead in the night. It is a tedious & long woork to weene a cloth: yet
 when in many days it is wouen, in one moment it is cut. I mean that it is
 much folly to see a man w what toil hee enricheth him self, & into what perill
 hee putteth him self, to win a state of honoz: & afterwards whē wee think litle
 wee see him perish in his estate, leauing of him no memozy. My friend Cin-
 cinnatus, for the loue that is between vs I desire thee, & by þ immortal gods
 I coniure thee, þ thou geue no credit to the world which hath this condicio,
 to hide much copper vnder litle gold, vnder the colour of one truth, hee telleth
 vs a thousand lyes, & w one short pleasure, hee mingleth ten thousand disple-
 sures. Hee begyleth those to whom hee pretendeth most loue, and procureth
 great damages to them, to whom hee geueth most goods, hee recompenseth
 them greatly which serue him in iest, and to those which truely loue him, hee
 geueth mocks for goods. Finally I say, that when wee sleepe most sure, hee
 waketh vs with greatest perill. Eyrther thou knowest the world with his de-
 cept, or not: if thou knowest him not, why doost thou serue him: if thou doost
 know him, why doost thou follow him? Tell mee I pray thee, wooldst not þ
 take that theef for a foole, which woold buy the rope wherewith hee shoold bee
 hanged, & the murtherer that woold make the swoord, wherewith hee shoold
 bee beheaded: & the robber by the high way, that woold shew the well wherin
 hee shoold bee cast: & the traitor þ shoold offer him self in place for to bee quar-
 tered: the rebel that shoold disclose him self to bee stoned: Then I swere vnto
 thee, þ thou art much moze a foole, w knowest the world, & will folow it, &
 serue it. One thing I wil tel thee, which is such, that þ oughtest neuer to for-
 get it: that is to weete, þ wee haue greater need of faith, not to belue þ va-
 nities w wee see, then to beelue þ great malices, w with our eares wee here.
 I retorn to aduise thee, to read & consider this woord which I haue spoken, for
 it is a sentence of profound mystery. Doost thou think Cincinnatus, that rich
 men haue litle care to get great riches: I let thee weet, that þ goods of thys
 world are of such condicion, that befoze the pooze man dooth lock vp in hys
 chests a. 100. crowns: hee feeleth a thousand greeses & cares in his heart. Our
 predecessozs haue seen it, wee see it presently, & our successozs shal see it: that þ
 money w wee haue gotten, is in a certein nomber, but þ cares & trauails w
 it bringeth are infinit. Wee haue few paynted houses, & few noble estates in
 Rome, þ win a litle time haue not great cares i their harts, cruel enmities w
 their neighbors, much euil wil of their heirs, disordinat importunities of their
 frends, perilous malices of their enemies, & aboue al in þ Senate they haue
 innumerable procs, & oft times to lock a litle good in their chests, they make
 ten thousand blots in their honoz. How many haue I known in Rome, to
 whom it hath chaunced, that all that they haue gotten in Rome to leaue vnto
 their best beeloued child: an other heir (with litle care) of whom they thought
 not, hath enioyed it. Ther can bee nothing moze iust, then that al those which
 haue begyled others with disceits in their life, shoold bee found disceiued in
 their bayn immaginacions after their death. Inuiuous shoold the gods bee,
 if in all the euil that the euill propound to doo, they shoold geue them tyme &
 place conuenient to accomplish the same. But the gods are so iust and wyle;
 that they dissemble wth the euil, to thend they shoold beegin, and folow the
 things

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things according to their own willes and fantasies: and afterwards at the best time, they cut of their lyues, to leaue them in greter torment. The gods shoold bee very cruell, and to them it shoold bee great greefe to suffer, & that which the euill haue gathered, to the preiudice of many good: they shoold enjoy in peace for many yeres. Wee thinketh it is great folly, to know that wee are bozne weeping, and to see that wee dy sighing, and yet for all this that wee dare liue laughing. I woold ask the world and his worldlyngs, sithens that wee enter into the world weeping, and go out of the world sighing, why wee shoold liue laughing: for the rule to measure all parts, ought to bee equall. O Cincinnatus, who hath beegyled thee, to the end that for one bottel of water of the Sea of this world for thy pleasure, thou wilt blister thy hand with the rope of cares, and broose thy body in thanker of troubles: and aboue all to aduenture thyne own honor, for a glasse of water of an other man.

By the faith of a good man I swere vnto thee, that for all the great quantitie of water thou drabwest, for the great deal of money thou hast, thou remainest as much dead for thyself, drinking of that water: as when thou were without water in the cup. Consider now thy yeres, if my counsel thou wilt accept, thou shalt demandaunt death of the gods to rest thee as a vertuous man: and not riches to lyue as a foole. With the teares of my eyes I haue bewayled many in Rome, when I saw them depart out of this world, and thee I haue bewayled, and doo bewaile (my friend Cincinnatus) with drops of blood, to see thee retozn into the world. The credit thou hadst in the senate, the blood of thy predecessors, my frenship, the aucthority of thy parson, the honor of thy parentage, the sleaundler of thy comon wealth, ought to withdraw thee from so great couetousnes. O pooze Cincinnatus, consider the white honored hears which doo fall, ought to bee occupied in the noble armie: sithens thou art noble of blood, valyant in parson, auncient of yeres, and not euil willed in the common wealth. For thou oughtest to consider, that moze woorth is reason, for the path way of men whych are good: then the common opinion, which is the large high way of the euill. For if it bee narrow to go on the one side, ther is no dust toherewith the eyes bee blynded as in the other. I will geeue thee a counsell, and if thou feelest thy self euil, neuer count thou mee for friend. Lust no moze after & greasy fatt of temporall goods, sing thou hast thort lyfe: for wee see dayly many, beefore they come to thy age dye, but wee see few after thy age lyue. After this counsell I will geeue thee an aduise, that thou neuer trust present prosperitie: for then alway thou art in danger of some euill fortune. If thou art mounted into such pricking thorns as a foole: mee thinketh thou oughts to descend as a sage. And in this sort all will say amongst the people, that Cincinnatus is descended, but not fallen. My letter I will conclude, and the conclusion therof see well thou note, that is to weete, that thou and thy trade shalbee cursed, wher you other marchants will liue pooze, to dy rich. Once again I retozn to curse you, for that the couetousnes of an euill man is alwaies accomplished, to the preiudice of many good. My wiffe Faustiue doth salute thee, and shee was not a little troubled when shee knew thou were a marchant, and that thou keepest a shop in Capua. I send thee a horse to ryde vpon, & one of & most richest arras of Tripoli to hang thy house withall, a precious ring, and a pommel of a swoord of Alexandrie: and

and all these things I doo not send thee, for that I know thou hast neede thereof: but rather not to forget the good custom I haue to geue. Pamphile thy aunt, and my neighbor is dead. And I can tell thee, that in Rome dyed not a woman of long time, which of her left such renown: for so much as shee forgot all enmities, shee succored the poore, shee visited the banished, shee entertained friends, and also I heard say that shee alone did lyght all the temples. Prestilla thy cousin hath the health of body, though for the death of her mother her hart is heavy. And without doubt shee had reason: for the only sorowes which the mothers suffer to bring vs forth, though with drops of blood wee should beetwayl them, yet wee cannot recompence them. The gods bee in thy custody, and preserve mee, with my wife Faustine from all euill fortune. Marke of mount Celio with his owne hand

The aucthor perswadeth princes and great Lords to fly couetousnes and avarice, and to become bountifull and liberall, which vertue is ever pertinent to the roiall parson. Cap. xxviii.

Pisistratus the renowned tyrant among the Atheniens, sins his friends could not endure the cruelties that hee committed, eche one returned to his owne house, and utterly forsook him. The which when the tyrant saw, hee layd all his treasure and garments on a heap together, and went to visite his friends, to whom with bitter tears hee spake these wordes. All my apparell and money heere I bring you, with determination, that if you will use my company, wee will go all to my house, and if you will not come into my company, I am determined to dwell in yours. For if you bee weary to follow mee, I haue great desire to serue you: sithens you know that they cannot bee called faithfull friends, where the one cannot bear with the other. Plutarch⁹ in his Apothegmes saith, that this tyrant Pisistratus was very rich, and extream couetous, so that they wrote of him, that the gold & silver which once came into his possession, neuer man saw it after ward, but if hee had necessity to buy any thing, if they would not present it vnto him willingly, hee would haue it by force. When hee was dead, the Atheniens determined to wey him and his treasure: the case was meruelous, that the gold and silver hee had, weyd more then his dead body, 6. tymes. At that tyme in Athens there was a philosopher called Lido, of whom the Atheniens demaunded, what they should doo with the treasure and dead body: mee thinketh (quod thys philosopher) that if those which are lyving, did know any silver or gold which the tyrant tooke from them, it should bee restored again immediatly: and doo not meruell, that I doo not require it to bee put in the common treasure. For god will not permit, that the common wealth bee enriched with the theft of Tyrants: but with the sweat of the inhabitants. If any goods remain which doo not appere from whom they haue bene taken, mee thinketh that they ought to bee distributed among the poore, for nothing can bee more iust, then that which the goods wherewith the tyrant hath enpouerished many, with the self same wee should enrich some.

As touching his buriall, mee thinketh hee ought to be cast out to the foules to be

THE THIRD BOOKE

to bee eaten, and to the dogs to bee gnawen. And let no man thinke this sentence to bee cruell: for wee are bound to doo no more for him at his death, then hee did for him self in his lyfe, who beeing so ouercome with auarice, that hee wouold neuer disburse so much money, as shouold buy him seuen foote of earth, wherin his graue shouold bee made. And I will you know, that the gods haue doon a great good to all Greece, to take lyfe from this tyrant. First it is good, because much goods are disperfed, which hee heretofore lay hid, and serued to no purpose. Secondly, that many tongues shall rest, for the treasures of this tirant, made great want in the common welth, and our tongues the greatest part of the day were occupied, to speak euill of his parson. Wee thinketh this philosopher hath touched two things, which the couetous man dooth in the common wealth, that is to wete, that drawing much gold & siluer to the hid treasure, hee robbeth & marchandise wherewith the people doo liue: The other dominage is, that as hee is hated of all, so hee causeth rancour & malice in the harts of all: for hee maketh the rich to murmur, and the poore to blasphem. One thing I read in the lawes of *h Lombards* woorthie (of truth) to bee noted and knowen, and no lesse to bee folowed, which is: that all those which shouold haue gold, siluer, money, silks, & clothes, euery yere they shouold bee registred in the place of iustice. And this was to the end, not to consent nor permit them to heap much: but that they shouold haue to buy, to sell, and to trafike, wherby *h* goods were occupped among the people. So that hee which did spend the money to the profit of his house, it was taken for good of the common wealth. If christians wouold doo that now adays which the *Lombardes* did, there shouold not bee so many treasures hid, nor so many couetous men in the common wealth: for nothing can bee more brutish, then that one rich man shouold heap vp that, which wouold suffice ten thousand to liue wyth all. Wee can not deny but that the cursed auarice, and disorderly couetise to all states of men is as prejudiciall, as the moth which eateth all garments. Therfore speaking the truth and wyth liberty, ther is no house that it dooth not despyle: for it is more perillous to haue a clod of earth fall into a mans eye, then a beam vppon his foot. *Agessilaus* the renowned king of the *Lacedemonians*, beeing asked of a man of *Thebes* what woord was most odible to bee spoken to a king, and what woord that was that couold honoz him most: hee answered. The prince wyth nothing so much ought to bee annoied, as to say vnto him that hee is rich, and of nothing hee ought so much to reioice, as to bee called poore. For the glozy of *h* good prince consisteth not in that hee hath great treasures: but in that hee hath geuen gr. at recompences. *Chys* woord without doubt, of all the world was one of the most royallest, and woorthiest to bee committed vnto memory. *Alexander*, *Pirthus*, *Nicanor*, *Ptolome*, *Pompeius*, *Iulius Cesar*, *Scipio*, *Hanniball*, *Marcus Portius*, *Augustus*, *Cato*, *Traian*, *Theodose*, *Marcus Aurelius*, all these princes haue beene very valiant and vertuous: but adding heereunto also, the wyrters which haue wyrted *h* deedes that they did in their lyues, haue mencioned also the pouerty which they had at their death. So that they are no lesse exalted, for the riches they haue spent: then for the prowesses they haue done. Admit that men of mean estate bee auaricious, and princes and great lordes also couetous: *h* fault of the one is not equall wyth *h* vice of the other, though in *h* end all are culpable.

For if the poore mā keepe, it is for that hee woold not want, but if the knight
 hoord, it is because he hath to much. And in this case I woold say, that cur-
 sed bee the knight which trauaileth, to þ end that goods abound, and dooth
 not care that betwene two bowes his renown fall to the ground. Sithens
 princes and great lordz will that men doo count them noble, vertuous, & va-
 lyaunt, I woold know what occasion they haue to bee nigards and hard.
 If they say that that which they keepe is to eat, heerein there is no reason: for
 in the end, where the rich eateth least at his table, ther are many that had ra-
 ther haue that which remaineth, then that which they prouide to eat in their
 houses. If they say that that which they keepe is to apparel them, heerein
 also they haue as lytle reason: for the greatnes of lordz consisteth not, in that
 they woold bee sumptuously appareled, but that they prouide that their ser-
 uants go not rent, nor torne. If they say it is to haue in their chambers pre-
 cious iewels, in their halles rich Tapestry, as little woold I admit this an-
 swer: for all those which enter into princes palaces, doo beehold more if those
 that haunt their chambers bee vertuous, then that the tapestries bee ryche.
 If they say that it is to compasse their citie with walles, or to make fortref-
 ses on their frontiers: so lykewise is this aunswer amongst the others very
 cold. For good princes ought not to trauel but to bee well willed, and if in
 their realms they bee welbeeloued, in the world they can haue no walles so
 strong as the hartes of their subiects. If they tell vs that that they keepe is
 to mary their chyldren, as little reason is that: for sithens princes and great
 lordz haue great inheritances, they neede not heap much. For if their chil-
 dren bee good, they shall encrease that shalbee left them: and if by mishap
 they bee euill, they shall aswell lose that that shalbee geuen them. If they
 say vnto vs that that which they heap is for the warres in like maner, that
 is no iust excuse: for if such warre bee not iust, the prince ought not to take it
 in hand, nor the people therunto to condescend: but if it bee iust, the common
 wealth then, & not the prince shal bere the charges therof. For in iust warres
 it is not sufficient that they geue the prince all their goods: but also they
 must them selues in parson hazard their lyues. If they tell vs that that they
 keepe is to geue and dispose for their soules, at their dying day: I say it is
 not only want of wisdoome, but extream folly. For at the hour of death, prin-
 ces ought more to reioyce for that they haue geuen: then for that at that time
 hee geueth. Oh how princes and great lordz are euill counsailed, since they
 suffer them selues to bee slandered for beeing couetous, only to heap a lytle
 cursed treasure. For experience teacheth vs, no man can bee couetous of
 goods, but needs hee must bee prodigal of honoz, and abandon liberty. Plu-
 tarche in the booke which hee made of the fortune of Alexander, sayth that
 Alexander the great had a priuat sernaunt called Perdyca, the which seeing
 that Alexander liberally gaue all that which by great trauel hee attayned, on
 a day hee said vnto him. Tell mee, most noble prince, sithens thou geuest all
 that thou hast to others, what wilt thou haue for thy self? Alexander aunsw-
 red. The glozy remaineth vnto mee, of that I haue wonne & gotten: & I hope
 of that w I wil geue & winne. And further he said vnto him, I wil tel thee
 true Perdyca: If I knew that men thought, that all that which I take were
 for couetousnes, I swore vnto thee by the god Mars that I woold not beat
 down

THE THIRD BOOKE

Down one corner in a towne: and to winne all the world I would not go one
 days iourney. My intention is to take the glozy to my self, and to deuyde þ
 goods amongst others. These woordes so high, were woortly of a balyant
 and vertuous prince, as of Alexander which spake the. If that which I haue
 read in books do not begyle mee, & that which with these eyes I haue seene:
 to become ryche, it is necessary that a man geue: for þ princes and great lordes
 which naturally are geuen to bee liberall, are alwaies fortunat to haue. It
 chaunceth oft tymes, that some man geuing a little, is counted liberall: & an
 other geuing much, is counted a niggard. The which proceedeth of this that
 they know not, that liberality & niggardnes consisteth not in geuing much,
 or lytle: but to know well how to geue. For the rewarde and recompence,
 which out of tyme are distributed, do nother profit them which receiue them,
 neither agree to him which geueth them. A couetous man geueth more at
 one tyme, then a noble and free hart doth in. 20. thus saith the common pro-
 uerb, it is good comynge to a niggards feast. The difference beetweene the
 liberality of the one, and the mysery of thother is, that þ noble and vertuous
 doth geue that hee geueth to many: but the niggard geueth þ hee geueth
 to one onely. Of the which bnauidement princes ought greatly to beware.
 For if in such case one man alone should bee found, which would commed his
 liberality: there are ten thousand which would condemne his couetousnes.
 It happeneth oft tymes to princes and great lordes, that in deed they are free
 to recompence, but in geuing they are very vnfortunat. And the cause is, þ
 they geue it not to vertuous persons and well condicioned, but to those which
 are vnthankfull, and do not acknowledge the benefite receyued. So that in
 geuing to some, they haue not made them their frends: and in not geuing
 to others, they haue made them their enemies. It suffyleth not to princes &
 great lordes, to haue great desire to geue: but to know when, how, or where, &
 to whom they ought to geue. For if they bee accused otherwile to heape
 treasures, they ought also to bee condemned for that they do geue. When a
 man hath lost all that hee hath in play, in whoozs, in bankets, and other sem-
 blable byres, it is but reason they bee ashamed: but when they haue spent it
 like noble, stout and liberal men, they ought not to bee discontented, for the
 wise man ought to take no displeasure for that hee loseth: but for that hee euil
 spendeth: and hee ought to take no pleasure for that hee geueth, but for that
 hee geueth not well. Dion the grecian in the lyfe of þ Emperoz Seuerus saith;
 that one day in the feast of the God Ianus, when hee had geuen dyuers re-
 wards and sundry gifts, as well to his own seruants, as to strangers, and
 that hee was greatly commended of all the Romans, hee said vnto them.
 Do you thinke now (Romains) that I am very glad for the gifts, rewarde,
 and recompenses which I haue bestowed: and that I am very glorious for þ
 praises you haue geuen mee by the god Mars I swore vnto ye, and let the
 god Ianus bee so mercifull vnto vs all this yere, that þ pleasure I haue is not
 so great, for þ I haue geuen: as þ grief is for þ I haue no more to geue.

The auctour foloweth his intencion and perswadeth gentlemen, and those that
 professe armes, not to abase them selues for gaires sake, to take vpon them any
 byls function or office.

Cap. xix.

¶ Plutarcke

Plutarche in his *Apothemes* declareth, that king Ptolomeus the first, was a prince of so good a nature, and so gentle in conuersation, that oft times hee went to supper to the houses of his familiar friends, and many nights hee remayned there to sleap. And truly in this case hee shewed him self to be welbeeloued of his. For speaking according to the trueth a prince on whose life dependeth the hole state of the common wealth, ought to credit himself at the table, and also fetter in the bed. Another thing this Ptolomeus did, whych was, when hee invited his friends to dinner or supper, or other straungers, of soome hee desired to borrow stooles, of others napkins, & of others cups, and so of other things, for hee was a prodygall prince. For all that his seruants in the morning had bought, beefore the night following hee gaue it away. One day al the nobles of his realm of Egypt assembled together, and desired him very earnestly, that hee would be more moderat in geueing: for they said, through his prodygality, the hole realm was impouerished. The king answered. You others of Egypt are marueylously deceiued, to think that the poore and needy prince is troubled. In this case I dare say vnto you, that the poore and needy prince ought to think him self happy, for good princes ought more to seeke to enrich others, then to heape by treasures for them selues. O happy is the common wealth whych deserueth to haue such a prince, and happy is that tongue, whych could pronounce such a sentence. Certainly this prince to all princes gaue good example and counsel, that is to witte, that for the it was more honor, and also more profit, to make others rich: then to be rich them selues. For if they haue much, they shal want no crauers, and if they haue litle, they shal neuer want seruants to serue them. Suetonius Tranquillus in the booke of Celsars sayeth, that Titus the Emperour one night after supper, from the bottom of his hart fetched a heauy sigh, and hee beeing demanded of those which were at his table why hee sighed so sore, hee answered. Wee haue lost at this day, my friends. By the which wordes the emperor ment, that hee counted not that day amongst those of lyfe: wherein hee had geuen no reward nor gyft. Truly this noble prince was valyaunt, and myghty, since hee sighed and had displeasure, not for that which in many days hee had geuen: but because that one day hee had failed to geue any thyng. Pelops of Thebes, was a man in his time, very valiaunt and also rich: & sith hee was fortunat in getting, & liberall in spending, one asked him why he was so prodigal to geue: hee answered. If to thee it seemeth I geue much, to mee it seemeth yet I should geue more: sithens the goods ought to serue mee, & not I to honor them. Therefore I wil that they cal mee the spender of the goods: & not I steward of the house. Plutarche in his *apothemes* saith, I kyng Darius flouting at king Alexander for being poore, set to know where his treasures were for such great armies, to whō Alexander the great answered. Tel king Darius, I keepe in his cofers his treasures of metal: & I haue no other treasures then the harts of my friends. And further tel him, I one man alone can rob al his treasures: but hee & al the world can not take my treasures from mee, which are my friends. I durst say, affirming I Alexander sayd, that hee cannot be called poore, who is rich of friends: neither can hee be called rich, who is poore of friends. For wee saw by experience, Alexander who his friends toke kyng Darius treasures from him: & king Darius with all his treasures, was not pu-

THE THIRDE BOOKE

Maſt inough to take Alexanders friends from him. Thoſe which of their natu-
 ral inclination are ſhamefaſt, & in eſtate noble, they ought aboute all thinge to
 fly þ ſlauder of couetouſnes: for without doubt greater is the honoz which is loſt,
 then þ goods that are gotten. If princes and great lordz of their owne natural
 diſpoſitions bee lyberal, let the follow their nature: but if perchaunce of their
 owne nature they are enclined to couetouſnes, let them enforce their wil. And
 if they wil not doo it, I tel them which are preſent, þ a day ſhal come whẽ they
 ſhal repent: for it is a general rule, that the diſordnat couetouſnes doo raiſe a-
 gainſt them ſelues al venemous tongues. Think that whẽ you watch to take
 mens goods, the others watch in like maner to take your honoz. And if in
 ſuch caſe you hazard your honoz, I doo not think þ your life cã be ſure: for the-
 re is no law that dooth ordein, nor patience that can ſuffer, to ſee my neighbor
 liue in quiet, by the ſweet of my browes. A pooze man eſteemeth aſmuch a cloke,
 as the rich man doth his delicious life. Therefore it is a good conſequent, þ if
 the rich man take the gown from þ pooze: the pooze man ought to take life frõ
 the rich. Phocion amongſt the Greeks was greatly renowmed, & this not ſo
 much for that he was ſage, as for that hee did deſpiſe al worldly riches, vnto
 whom when Alexander þ great (king of Macedony) had ſent him a hundred
 markes of ſiluer, hee ſaid vnto thoſe þ brought it. Why dooth Alexander ſed this
 money vnto mee, rather then to other philoſophers of Grece: they answered
 him. He dooth ſend it vnto thee, for þ thou art the leaſt couetous, & moſt vertu-
 ous. Then answered this philoſopher. Tel Alexander þ though he knoweth
 not what belongeth to a prince, yet I know wel what pertaineth to a philoſo-
 pher. For þ eſtate & office of philoſophers, is to diſpiſe the treaſures of prin-
 ces: & the office of princes is to aſk counſel of philoſophers. And further Phocion
 ſaid, you ſhal ſay alſo to Alexander, þ in that hee hath ſent mee, hee hath not
 ſhewed him ſelf a pitiful friend, but a cruel enemy: for eſteeming mee an honeſt
 man (ſuch as hee thought I was) hee ſhould haue holpen mee to haue been
 ſuch. Theſe wordz were worthy of a wiſe man. It is great pity, to ſee balpat
 & noble men to bee defamed of couetouſnes, & only for to get a ſew goods, hee
 abaſeth him ſelf to vile offices: W appertein rather to mean parſons, then to
 noble men, & valiant knights. Whereof enſueth, þ they liue infamed, & al their
 friends ſlaudered. Declaring further I ſay, þ it ſeemeth great lightnes, that a
 knight ſhould leaue þ honorable ſtate of chivalry, to exerciſe the handycraft of
 husbandry: & þ the horſe ſhould bee changed into oren, the ſperes to mattocks,
 & þ weapons into plowes. Finally, they doo deſire to toyl in the field: & reſuſe to
 fight in the frontiers. Oh how much ſome knights of our time haue degenera-
 ted, frõ þ their fathers haue ben in times paſt: for their predeceſſors did aduãce
 them ſelues of the infidels, W in the fields they ſlew, & their children bzag of
 the corne & ſhepe they haue in their grounds. Our auncient knights were not
 wooont to ſigh, but when they ſaw the ſelues in gret diſtreſ: & their ſucceſſors
 weepe now, for that it rained not in þ month of May. Their fathers did ſtrive,
 which of them could furniſh moſt men, haue moſt weapons, & keepe moſt hoz-
 ſes: but their children now aduies contend, who hath the fineſt witte, who can
 heape by greateſt treaſour & who can keepe moſt ſheep. The auncients ſtry-
 ued who ſhould keepe moſt men: but theſe worldlings at this day ſtrive, who
 can haue greateſt reuenues. Wherefore I ſay, ſynce the one dooth deſyre
aſmuch

as much to haue great rents, as the other dyd delyght to haue many weapons: it is as though fathers should take the sword by the pomell, and the children by the scaberd. All the good arts are peruered, and the art of chualry above all others is despyled: and not wythout cause I called it an art, for the aunient philosophers consumed a great tyme, to wyte the lawes that the knights ought to keepe. And as now by order of the Carthagians seemeth to be moit streight: so in times past the order of knightthod was the streightest. To whom I swere, that if they obserued the order of chualry, as good and gentill knights: there remayned no time vacant for them in life to be vicious, nor wee should accuse them at their death as euil christians. The trew and not fayned knight, ought not to be proud, malicious, furious, a glutton, coward, prodigal, nigard, a lyer, a blasphemor, nor negligent. Finally I say, that all those ought not to bee iudged as knights, which haue golden spurs: vnlesse hee hath there with an honest life. O if it pleased the king of heauen, that princes would now adays examina as straitly those, which haue cure of soules: as the Romans dyd those which had but charge of armies. In old time they neuer doubbed any man knight, vnlesse he were of noble blood, proper of persō, moderat in speach, exercised in the warre, couragious of hart, happy in Armes, and honest in lyfe: finally, of all hee ought to bee beeloued for his vertue, and of none hated for hys vice. The knights in whom these vertues shyned bright in Rome had dyuers lyberties, that is to weete, that they onely myght weare ryngs, ryde on horsback thorough the streets, they myght haue a shylde, hit their gates at dynner, they myght drynk in cuppes of siluer, speake to the senat, and make defyaunces, they might demaund the ensigne, weare weapons, take y charge of imbassage, and ward at the gates of Rome. The auctour hereof, is Blondy in the booke of *De Italia illustrata*. If Plinie receiue by not in an Epylle, and Plutarcke in his pollitiks, Seneca in a tragedy, and Cicero in his paradoxes, there was nothing wherein the auncients were more circumspect, then in electing of their knights. Now it is not so, but that one hauing money to buy a lordshyp, immediatly hee is made knight: and that which is woost, when hee is made a knight, it is not to fight agaynst the enemies in the field, but moze freely to commit vices, and oppresse the poore in the towng. To the end hee may bee a good christian, hee ought to think vpon Iesus crucified: and to bee a good knight, hee ought alwayes to beehold the arms of hys sheld, the which his graundfather, or great graundfather wanne. For they shall see, that they wanne them not beeing vicious in their houses: but in shedding the blood of their enemies in the frontiers.

Of a letter which the emperoz wrote to Mercurius his neighbour a marchaunt of Samia, wherein men may learn the daungers of those which traffyck by sea, and also see the coustousnes of them that trauaile by land.

Cap. xxx.

M Arcus Aurelius Emperour of Rome, borne in mount Celio, wytheth to thee Mercurius his speciall frind, health and consolation in the gods the onely comforters. It seemeth well, that wee are friends, syth wee doo the woorks of charpty. For I vnderstanding here thy mishap, immedi-

I. ii.

atly

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atly sent a messenger to comfort thee: & in hearing my disease, thou sendest a friend of thine to visit me. Wherefore men may perceiue, if thou hadst mee in mind, I did not forget thee. I vnderstand & the messenger & went, & the other that came, met in Capua: the one caried my desire for thee, & the other brought thy letter for mee. And if as diligently thou hadst read mine, as I attentively haue hard thine: thou shouldst thereby plainly know, & my hart was as full of sorrow as thy spirit was full of pain. I was very glad, & great thanks I yeeld thee, for & thou didst send to comfort mee in my feuer tertian: & thy visitacion & comfort came at the same hour, that it left mee. But if & gods did leaue this fact in my hands, even as they thought it good to fix the feuer in my bones: I would not leaue thee without comfort nor geue place to the feuer to retourn again. O how great is our pride, & the misery of mans life. I speak this, because I doo presume to take many realms from other, & yet I haue not the power to pluck & feuer out of my own bones. Tel mee I pray thee (Mercurius) what profit is it to be to desire much, to procure much, to attain much, & to presume much, since our days are so brief, & our persons so frail? It is long time since wee haue been bound together in friendship, & many years haue passed since wee haue knowen the one the other: & & day & thy friendship trusted my faith, immediately my faith was bound, & thy evils should be mine, & my goods thine: for as & Demetrius Platon said, & only is true friendship, where the bodies are .2. & the wills but one. I count & suspicious friendship, where the harts are so diuided, as & wills are seuered: for there are diuers in Rome great friends in word, who dwell but ten houses in sunder, & haue their harts ten thousand miles distant. When thou wentst from Rome, & I came from Samia, thou knowest the agreement we made in Capua, whereof I trust thou wilt not deceiue mee now, but that I am another thou here, & that thou shouldst be another I there: so that my absence with thy presence, & thy presence with mine absence be alway together. By relation of thy messenger, I vnderstoode that thou hadst lost much goods: but as by thy letter I was enformed, & anguish of thy person was much greater. As wee vnderstand here thou didst send a ship laden with merchandise to Grece, & the mariners & factours desiring more to profit by their wisedome, then to accomplish thy couetousnes: did cast the merchandise into the Sea, & only they straued to saue their persons. In deede in so streyght & perillous a case, thou hast no reason to accuse them, nor yet they are bound to satisfy thee: for no man can commit greater folly, then for the goods of others to hazard his own proper life. Pardon mee (Mercury) I pray thee for that I haue spoken, & also for that I will say, which is, that for so much as the mariners & factours were not thy children, nor thy kinsmen, nor thy friends: so that thy merchandise might haue come to the haue safe, thou hadst lytle passed if they had been drowned in & deepe gulf of the sea. Further I say, though I would not say it, & thou much lesse here it, & according to the litle care which you other couetous men haue, of the children & factours of others, and according to the disorderly loue we you haue to your proper goods: where as thou weepest bitterly for the losse of thy goods, though thou hadst seen al the mariners drowned, thou wouldst not haue shed one teare. For Romain merchants weep rather for ten crowns lost, which they can not recouer: then for ten men dying, the which ten crowns would haue saued. Wee thinke it is neither iust, nor honest, & thou doo that which they

they tell mee thou doost, to complain of thy factours, and accuse the maryners: only to recouer of the pooze men by land, & which the fish haue in their possession in the Sea. For as thou knowest, no man is bound to chaunge health, life, nor the renown of their parsons, for the recouery of goods. Alas, what pyty haue I on thee Mercury, in that the ship was loden with thy marchandise: and the woozt of all is, that according to my vnderstanding, & thy feelyng, the Pirats haue not cast such fardels into the sea, as thoughts hath burdened & oppressed thy hart. I neuer saw man of such condicion as thou art, for that thou seest that the ship (vntil such time) as they cast that marchandise ouer & boord could not saile safely: and yet thou doost lode thy self with ryches to goe to thy graue. O greuous and cursed riches, with the which neither in & deepe seas, neither yet in the main land, our parsons are in safegard. Knowing thy property, I woold rather binde my self to seeke thy lead & rinne: the thy hart so wounded. For in the end, thy lead is together in some place in the bottom of the sea: but thy couetousnes is scattered through al the whole earth. If perhaps thou shooldst dye, and the surgions with the shazp raser should open thy stomack, I sweare vnto thee, by the mother Berecinthe, (which is the mother of all the gods of Rome) that they shoold rather fynd thy hart drowned w the lead: then in life with thy body. Now thou canst not bee sick of the feuer tertian as I am, for the heate w in thy body, & the pain in thy head, woold cause thee to haue a double quartain: and of such disease thou canst not bee healed in thy bed, but in the ship, not in land, but in the sea, not with phisitions, but with pirats. For & phisitions woold cary away the money, and the pyrats woold shew thee where thy lead fel. Trouble not thy self so much Mercury, for though thou hast not thy lead with thee in the land, it hath thee with it in the sea, and thou oughtest inough to comfort thy self: for where as beefore thou hadst it in thy cofers, thou hast it presently in thy intrailles. For there thy life is drowned, where thy lead is cast. O Mercury now thou knowest, that the day that thou didst recomend thy goods to the vnknoen rocks, and thy ship to the ragyng seas, and thy outragious auarice to the furtous wynds, how much that thy factours went desyring thy prosyt, and gayn: so much the more thou mightst haue been assured of thy losse. If thou hadst had this consyderacion, and hadst bled this diligence: thy desire had been drowned, and thy goods escaped. For men that dare aduenture their goods on the sea, they ought not to bee heauy for that that is lost: but they ought to reioyce for that that is escaped. Socrates, the auneynt and great Philosopher determynd to teach vs, not by woord, but by woork, in what estimation a man ought to haue & goods of this world: for hee cast in the sea not lead, but gold, not litle, but much, not of another mans, but of his own, not by force, but willingly, not by fortune, but by wise dome. Finally in this woork thy fact hee shewed so great courage, that no couetous man woold haue reioyced, to haue found so much in the land: as thys philosopher did delyght, to haue cast in the sea. That which Soerates dyd was much, but greater ought wee to esteeme that hee sayd, which was: O ye discreyfull goods, I will drown you, rather then you shoold drown mee. Since Socrates feared, and drowned hys own proper goods: why doo not the couetous feare to robbe the goods of other? Thys wyse Philosopher woold not

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trust the fyne gold: and thou doost trust the hard lead. Draw you two lottes, Socrates of Athens, and thou of Samia, See which of you two haue erred or doone well: hee to cary gold from the land to the Sea, or thou by the Sea, to bring gold to the land. I am assured, that the aunient Romayns woulde say that it is hee: but the couetous of this present world woulde say, that it is thou. That which in this case I thynke is, that thou in prayseing yt, doost dispraise thy self: and Socrates in dyspraiseing it, of all is prayled and esteemed.

The Empero; folloiweth his matter & concludeth his letter, greatly reproving his frend Mercurius for that hee tooke thought for the losse of his goods. Hee sheweth him the nature of fortune, and describeth the conditions of the couetous man.
Cap. xxi.

This messenger told mee, that thou art very sad, that thou cryest out in the night, and importunest y gods, wakest thy neighbors, and aboue all, that thou complaineest of fortune which hath bled thee so euill. I am sozr for thy grief: for grief is a frend of solytude, enemy of company, a louer of darknes, straunge in conuersation, & heire of desperacion. I am sozr thou cryest in the night, for it is a signe of folly, a token of smal pacience, the point of no wise man, and a great proof of ignorance: for at the hour when al the world is couered with darknes, thou alone doost discouer thy hart with exclamations. I am sozr that thou art bexed with the gods, saying that they are cruell. For so much as if they haue taken any thing fro thee for thy pryde, they shoulde restore it again vnto thee for thy humility. For as much as wee offed the gods through the offence, so much doo wee appeale them with paciēce. O my frend Mercurius, knowest thou not that the paciēce which the gods haue in dissemblyng our faults is greater, then that which men haue in suffering their chastisements: for wee others vnwisly doo offend them, and they wisely doo punysh vs. I am sozr, that with thy exclamations and complaints thou standest thy neighbors: for as thou knowest, one neighbor, alwayes enuyeth another, in especially the pooze, the ryth. And according to my counsell, thou shouldest dyssemble thy payn, and take all things in good part: for if perhaps thy riches haue caused thy sorow, thy paciēce will moue them to compassion. I am sozr thou complaineest of thy fortune: for fortune (sith shee is knowen of al) dooth not suffer her self to bee defamed of one: and it is better to thynk wryth fortune how thou mayest remedy it, then to thynk with what grief to complayn. For they are diuers men, which to publish their pain are very carefull: but to seeke remedy, are as negligent. O pooze innocent Mercurius, after so long forgetfullnesse, art thou moze aduysed to complayn of fortune agayn: & darest thou desyre fortune, with whom all wee haue peace: Wee vnbind our bowes, and thou wilt charge thy launces: thou knowest not what warre meaneth, and yet thou wilt winne the victoery: all are deceiued, and wilt thou alone go safe: What wilt thou moze I say vnto thee, sence I see thee commyt thy self to fortune: Doost thou know, that it is shee that beatech down the high walles, and defendeth the town byrthes: knowest thou not, that it is shee that peopleth the inhabitable deserts, and dyspeopleth the peopled Cities

ties: Knowest thou not, that it is thee that of enemyes maketh friends, and of friends enemyes: Knowest thou not, that it is thee that conquereth the conquerors: Knowest thou not, that it is thee that of traitors maketh faithfull, and of faithfull suspicious: fynally I wil thou know, that fortune is thee which turneth realms, breaketh armies, abasseth kings, raiseth tyrants, geueth lyfe to the dead, and berteth the lyuing. Dooest thou not remember, that the second king of y Lacedemonians had ouer his gates such woordes.

*The pallace here beehold, where men doo strine, by fruitles toyle, to conqueure what they can.
And fortune cke that princes fancies riue, by his vnbrideled wyl, that alwayes wan.*

Certaynly these woordes were high, and proceeded of a hygh vnderstanding. And if in this case. I may bee beleeued, they ought to bee well noted of wyse men, & not witten beefore the gates, but imprinted within the harts. Better knew hee fortune then thou, since hee tooke him self for one disherited, and not as heire: and when hee lost any thing as thou, hee knew that hee receiued it by loan, and not that it was his owne. Men in this lyfe are not so much deceiued for any thing, as to thynk y the temperall goods shoulde remayn with them durynge lyfe. Now that god dooth suffer it, now that our woofull fortune dooth deserue it, I see no greater myshaps fall vnto any, then vnto them which haue the greatest estates and rythes: so that truly wee may boldly say, that hee alone which is shut in the graue, is in safegard from the vnconstancy of fortune. Thy messenger hath told mee further, that this sommer thou preparedst thy self to Rome, & now that it is winter thou wilt sayle to Alexandria. O thou vnhappy Mercury, tell mee I pray thee how long it is, sythens thou lost thy sensis: for as much as when this lyfe dooth end, thy auarice beeginneth a newe: Thou foundest two cyties very meete for thy traffyk, that is to weete, Rome, which is the scourge of all vertues: and Alexandria which is the chiefeest of all vyces. And if thou louest greatly these two cyties, here I pray thee what marchaundise are solde therein. In Rome, thou shalt lode thy body with vyces: and in Alexandria, thou shalt swell thy hart with cares. By the fayth of a good man I sweare vnto thee, that if perchance thou buyest any thing of that that is there, or sellest ought of that thou bringest from thence: thou shalt haue greater hunger of that thou shalt leaue, then contentacion of that thou shalt bying. Thou doost not remember that wee are in winter, and that thou must passe the sea, in the which if the wy-rats doo not deceiue mee, the surest tranquylty, is a signe of the greatest torment. Thou myghtst tel mee, that thy ships shoulde retourn without frayt, and therefore they shal sayle more surely. To this I aunswere thee, that thou shalt send them more loden with couetousnesse: then they shall retorne loden with silks. O what a good chaunge shoulde it bee, if y auarice of Italy coulde bee chaunged, for the silk of Alexandry. I sweare vnto thee, that in such case thy sylk woold frayght a shipp: and our couetyse woold lode a whole nauy. That couetousnes is great, which the shame of the world dooth not oppresse: neither the feare of death dooth cause to cease. And this I say for thee, that sythens in this daungerous time thou durst sayle, cyther wisdom wanteth,

or els

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or els auarice and couetousnes surmounteth. To satisfy mee, and to excuse thee with those which speak to mee of thee, I can not tell what to say vnto them, but that GOD hath forgotten thee, and the seas doo know thee. I pray thee what goest thou to seeke, since thou leauest the gouernance of thy howse, and saylest in Alexandrie: peraduenture thou goest to the goulph Arpyn, where the maryners cast in thy lead:

Take heede Mercury, and consider well what thou doost, for peraduenture where as thou thinkest to take from the fyth the hard lead, thou mayst leaue vnto them thy soft fleshy. I haue knowen many in Rome, which for to recouer one part of that that they haue lost, haue lost all that which was left vnto them. O my frend Mercury, note, note, note well this last woord, whereby thou shalt know what it is that you couetous men gape for in this life. Thou seekest care for thy selfe, envy for þy neighbours, spurs for straungers, a bayt for theeues, troubles for thy body, damnacion for thy renown, vnquietnes for thy life, annoyance for thy friends, and occasion for thy ennemies. Finally thou searchest maledictions for thy heires: and long suites for thy children: I can not wyte any moze vnto thee, beecause the feuer dooth so vehemently bere mee. I pray thee, pray to the gods of Samia for mee: for medicines littel profiteth, if the gods bee angry with vs. My wyfe Faulstine salueth thee, and shee sayeth that shee is sorry for thy losse: shee sendeth thee a rich iewel for Fabilla thy doughter, and I send thee a comission to thend they shall geue thee a ship in recompence of thy lead. If thou saylest with it, come not by Rhodes, for wee haue taken it from their pirats. The gods bee in thy custody, & geue mee and Faulstine a good life with ours, & a good name among straungers. I doo not wyte vnto thee wth mine own hand, for that my sickness dooth not permit it.

That Princes and noble men ought to consider the mysery of mans nature, and that brute beasts are in some poynts (reason set a part) to be preferred vnto mā.
Cap. xxxij.

MYdas the auncient kyng of Phrigia, was in his gouernment a cruell tyrant, and contented not him self to play the tiraunt in his owne proper countrey, but also mainteined rouerers on the sea, and theeues in the lād to robbe straungers. This king Mydas was wel knowen in þe realms of orient, and in such sort, that a frend of his of Thebes sayd vnto him these woordes. I let thee to weete king Mydas, that all those of thy owne realm doo hate thee, and al the other realms of Asia doo feare thee: and this not for that thou canst doo much, but for the crafts and subtilties which thou v^sest. By reason where of, all straungers, and all thine owne haue made a vow to god, neuer to laugh during the tyme of thy life: nor yet to weepe after thy death. Plutarche in the booke of polittiques sayth, that when this king Mydas was born, the ants brought coyn into his cradel, and into his mouth: and when the nurse would haue taken it from him, he shut his mouth, and would not suffer any parson to take it from him. They beeing all amazed with this straunge sight, demaunded the oracle what this beetokened. Who answered, that the chyld should bee marueilous ryth, and with that exceeding couetous: which the ants
dyd

dyd bectoken in fylling his mouth with corne. And afterwards hee woold not geue them one onely grain and euen so it chaunced, that kyng Mydas was exceeding ryche, and also very couetous: for hee woold neuer geue any thyng, but that which by force was taken from him, or by subtelty robbed. In the schools of Athens at that tyme flourished a philosopher called Sylenus, who in letters and purenes of lyfe, was highly renowned. And as kyng Mydas was knowne of many, to haue great treasures: so this phylosopher Silenus, was no lesse noted for despying them. This phylosopher Silenus tra- uayling by the borders of Phrigia, was taken by the theeues wherby robbed the countrey: and being brought beefore kyng Mydas, the kyng sayd vnto hym. Thou art a phylosopher, and I am a kyng: thou art my prisoner, and I am thy lord: I wyll that immediatly thou tell mee, what raunsonie thou canst geue mee to redeeme thy parson: for I let thee to weete that I am not contented any phylosopher shoold perishe in my countrey, because you o- ther phylosophers say, that you wyll willingly renounce the goods of the woold, syth you can not haue it. The phylosopher Silenus answered hym. Wee thinketh (kyng Mydas) that thou canst better execut tyrāny, then to talk of phylosophy: for wee make no accompt that our bodie be taken, but that our willes be at lyberty. Thy demaund is very symple, to demaund raun- some of mee for my parson, whether thou takest mee for a phylosopher or no. If I bee not a phylosopher, what mooueth thee to feare to keepe mee in thy realme: for sooner shooldst thou make mee a tyrant, then I thee a phy- losopher. If thou takest mee for a phylosopher, why doost thou demaund money of mee: sith thou knowest I am a phylosopher, I am a craftesman, I am a poet, and also a musician. So that the time that thou in heapyng by riches hast consumed: y self same tyme haue I in learning sciences spent. Of a phylosopher to demaund eyther gold or siluer for raunsome of hys par- son, is either a woord in mockery, or els an inuention of tyranny. For sithens I was bozne in the woold, riches neuer came into my hands, nor after them hath my hart lusted. If thou (kyng Mydas) wooldst geue mee audience and in the sayth of a prynce beeleeue mee, I woold tell thee what is the greatest thyng, and next vnto that the second, that the gods may geue in this life: and it may bee, that it shalbee so pleasaunt vnto thee to here, and so profytable for thy lyfe, that thou wilt pluck mee from my enemies, and I may diswade thee from tyrannies. When kyng Mydas hard these woords, hee gaue him ly- cence to say these two things, swearing vnto him to heare him wyth as much payence as was possible. The phylosopher Silenus, hauing lyceuce to speak freely, taking an instrument in his hands, beeganne to play and syng in thys wyse.

*The senate of the gods when they forethought
On earthly wights to still some ryall grace,
The chiefeest gyft the heauenly powers had wrought
Had bene to sow his seede in barayne place.*

*But when by steps of such diuine constraint,
They forced man perforce to fyxe his line,*

*The highest good to help his bootles plaint
Had bene to styph his race off slender twine.*

*For them the tender babes both want to know
The deare delight that lyfe doth after hale
And eke the dread, that griesly death dooth shew.
Er Charons bote, to Stigeas shore dooth sale*

These

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These two thinges the philosopher proued with so high and naturall reasons, that it was a marueylous matter to see with what vehemency Sylenas the philosopher sang them: and with what bitterness Mydas the tyrant wept. Without doubt the sentences were marueylous profound, which the philosopher spake: and great reason had that king to esteeme it so much. For if wee doo prepare our selues to consider whereof wee are, and what wee shall bee, that is to weete, that wee are of earth, and that wee shall retourn to earth: Wee woold not cease to weepe nor sygh.

One of the greatest vanities which I fynd among the chyliden of banity is, that they imploy them selues to consyder the influences of the starres, the nature of the planets, the motion of the heauens, and they wil not consider them selues of which consyderacion they shoold take some profyt.

For man geueing his minde to think on straunge things, commeth to forget his owne proppre. If wee woold consider the corruption whereof wee are made, the fylth whereof wee are ingendred, the infinit trauaile whereunto wee are bozne, the long tediousnes whereunto wee are nourished, the great necessities and suspicions wherein wee liue, and aboue all, the great peryll whereunto wee dye: I sweare, and affirme that in such consyderacion wee fynd a thousand occasions to wysh death, and not one to desire life. The chyliden of banity are occupied many years in the schools to learn rethorick, they exercise them selues in philosophy, they here Aristotell, they learn Homere without booke, they study Cicero, they are occupied in Xenophon, they herken Titus Liuius, they forget not Aulus Gellius and they know Ouide: yet for all this I say, that wee can not say that the man knoweth lytell, which doth know hym self. Eschines the philosopher sayd well, that it is not the least, but the chiefest part of philosophy to know man, and wherefore hee was made: for if man woold deeply consyder what man is, hee shoold fynd nothings in him, which woold moue hym to humble hym self, then to stirre hym to bee proud. If wee doo beholde yt without passion, and if wee doo examini it with reason, I know not what there is in man. A miserable and fraile nature of man, the which taken by it self is littel woorth: and compared with an other thing is much lesse. For man seeth in brute beasts many things which hee doth euy: and the beasts doo see much more in me, wheredo yf they had reason, they woold haue compassion. The excellency of the soule layd asyde, and the hope which wee haue of eternall lyfe, yf man doo compare the captiuyty of men to the lyberty of beasts, with reason wee may see, that the beasts doo liue a peaceable life: and that which men doo lead, is but a long death. If wee prepare our selues to consyder, from the tyme that both man and beast come into this world, vntill such tyme as they both dye, and in how many things the beasts are better then men: with reason wee may say, that nature lyke a pitifull mother hath shewed her self to beasts, & shee doth handle vs as an iniust stepmother. Let vs beginne therefore to declare more particularly the original of the one, and the beginning of the other: & wee shall see how much better the brute beasts are endowed, & how miserable men are disherited.

The auctour folloiweth his purpose, & excellently compareth the mysery of men, with the lyberty of beasts. Cap. xxxij.

We ought deeply to consider, that no wilde nor tame beast is so long
 beefore hee come to his shape, as the myserable man is: who with
 corruption of blood & vile matter, is nine moneths hyd in the womb
 of his mother. Wee see the beast when shee is great (if neede require) doth la-
 bor all exercises of husbandry: so that shee is as ready to labor when shee is
 great, as if shee were empty. The contrary happeneth to women, which whē
 they are bigge with childe, are weary with going, troubled to bee layd, they
 ryde in chariots through y^e market places, they eat lytle, they brooke not that
 they haue eaten, they hate that which is profytable, & loue that which doth the
 harm: fynally a woman with childe is contented with nothing, and shee fret-
 teth and vexeth with her self. Sithens therefore it is true, that wee are noy-
 some and troublesome to our mothers, when they beare vs in their wombs:
 why doo not wee geue them some safe conduct, when they are in their deli-
 uering? O myserable state of man, since the brute beasts are borne wout des-
 troying their mothers: but the miserable men beefore they are borne, are trou-
 blesome and carefull, and in the time of their birth, are both perillous to them-
 selues, and daungerous to their mothers. Which seemeth to bee very many-
 feld: for the preparation that man maketh when hee will dy, y^e self same aughe
 the woman to doo, when shee is ready to bee deliuered. Wee must also con-
 sider, that though a beast hath but two feete, as the birds haue, hee can go,
 moue, and runne, immediately when it cometh forth: but when mā is borne,
 hee can not go, nor moue, & much lesse runne. So that a popingey ought more
 to bee esteemed, which hath no hands: then the man which hath both hands
 and feete. That which they doo to the lytle babe, is not but a prognostication
 of that which hee ought to suffer in the progresse of hys lyfe: that is to weete.
 That as they are not contented to put y^e euil doer in prison, but they lode his
 hands with yrons, & set his feete in the stocks: so in like manner to the miserable
 man, when hee entreth into the charter of his life, immediately they bind both
 his hands & his feete, & lay him in y^e cradel. So that the innocent babe is first
 bound & rolled, beefore hee bee embraced, or haue suck of the mother. Wee must
 note also, y^e the hour wherein the beast is brought forth, though it knowe not
 y^e Sier which begat it, at y^e least it knoweth y^e damme which brought it forth:
 which is apparant, for so much as if the mother haue milk, the yongling forth
 with dooth suck her teats: & if perchaunce she haue no milk, they go after wards
 to hyde the selues vnder her wings: Of y^e miserable man it is not so, but y^e day
 that hee is borne, hee knoweth not the nurse that geueth him suck, neyther
 the father which hath begotten him, the mother which hath borne him, nor yet
 the midwiffe which hath receiued him: moreouer hee can not see with his eyes,
 heare with his eares nor iudge with the tast, and knoweth neither what it is
 to touch, or smel: so that wee see him, to whom y^e sergnoy ouer al brute beasts
 and other things (that are created) pertaineth, to bee borne the most vnable of
 all other creatures. Wee must also consider, that though the beast bee neuer
 so lytle, yet it can seeke for y^e teates of his mother to suck, or to wader in y^e filds
 to feede, or to scrape y^e dughilles to eat, or els it goeth to y^e fountayns & riuers to
 drinke, & y^e he letherneth not by y^e discours of time, or y^e any other beast hath taught
 it, but as soon as it is borne, so sone doth it know what thing is necessary for it.

The

THE THIRDE BOOKE

The myserable man is not bozne wyth so many present commodities, hee can not eat, drynk, nor go, make hym self ready, ask, nor yet complayn, and that which is moze, hee knoweth not scarcely how to suck, for the mothers oft tymes woold geue to their chyliden (if they could) the blood of their hart: and yet they can not cause them to take the mylk of their breasts. A great mysery of mans nature, for so much as the brute beasts as soone as they are come forth of their mothers wombe, can know and seeke: but when yt is offered vnto man, hee can not know it. Wee must note also, that to brute beasts nature hath geuen clothing, wherewith they may keepe them selues from the heat of Sommer, and defend them selues from the cold of winter: which is manifest, for that to lambs and sheepe shee hath geuen wooll, to byrds feathers, to hoggs bristles, to horses heare, to fysh scales, & to snayles shells. Finally I say, there is no beast which hath neede with his hands to make any garment, nor yet to borrow it of another. Of all this the myserable man is depryued, who is bozne all naked, and dyeth all naked, not caryng wyth him one only garment: and if in the tyme of his lyfe hee will vse any garment, hee must demaund of the beasts, both leather and wooll: and therunto hee must also put his whole laboz and industry.

I woold ask princes, and great lords, if when they are bozne, they byrnyng wyth them any apparel: and when they dy, if they cary wyth them any treasure: To this I aunswere no: but they die as they are bozne, as well the ryche as the poore, and the poore as the rich. And admit that in this life fortune doth make difference betweene vs in estates, yet nature in time of our birth, and death, doth make vs all equall. Wee must also think and consider, that for so much as nature hath prouyded the beasts of garments, shee hath also taken from them the care of what they ought to eat: for there is no beast that doth eyther plow, sow, or laboz, but doth content her selfe, and passeth her lyfe eyther with the lytle flies of the ayre, with the corne that shee fyndeth in y^e highways, with the herbes in the feldes, with the ants of the earth, with the grapes of the vyne, or with the fruits which are fallen. Finally I say, that without care all beasts take their rest, as if the next day followyng they shoold haue no neede to eat. What a great benefite shoold god doo to the myserable man, yf hee had taken from hym the trauaile to apparel him self, and the care to search for things to eat. But what shal the poore miserable man do, that beefore hee eateth, hee must till, sow, hee must reap, and thresh the corne, hee must cense it, griend it, paste it, and bake it, and it can not bee prouyded without care of mynd, nor bee doon without the propre sweate of the browes. And yf perchance any man did prouide for him self with the sweate of others, yet shal hee liue with his owne offences. Also in other things the beasts do excell vs: for in the flowers, in the leaues, in the hearbes, in the straws, in the otes, in the bread, in the flesh, or in the fruit wherewith they eat, or in the water which they drynk, they feele no pain, although it bee not sweete: nor take any displeasure, though their meates bee not sauory. Finally, such as nature hath prouided them, without dysgysling or makyng them selues better, they are contented to eat. Man could lose nothing, if in this poynt hee agreed with beasts: but I am very sorry, y^e there are many vicious & proud men, to whom nothing wanteth either to apparail, or eat: but they haue to much to maintein them selues, and here.

here with not contended, they are such drunkardes to tast of diuers wines, and such Epicures to eat of sundry sorts of meates: that oft times they spend moze to dresse them, then they did cost the bying. Now when the beastes are brought forth, they haue knowledge both of that that is profitable, and also of that that is hurtful for them. For wee see this, that the sheepe flyeth the wolf, the catt flyeth the dog, the ratt flyeth the catt, and the chicken the kyte: so that the beasts in opening the eyes, doo immediatly know the friends who they ought to follow, and the enemies whom they ought to fly. To the miserable man, was bitterly denyed this so great privilege. For in the world there hath been many beastly men, who hath not onely attained that, which they ought to know whiles they lyued: but also even as like beasts they passed their daies in this life, so they were infamed at the tyme of their death. O miserable creatures we are, which lyue in this wicked world, for wee know not what is hurtfull for vs, what wee ought to eat, from what wee ought to abstain, nor yet whom wee should hate: wee doo not agree with those whom wee ought to loue, wee know not in whom to put our trust, from whom wee ought to fly, nor what it is wee ought too choose, nor yet what wee ought to forsake. Finally I say, that when wee think oft times to enter into a sure ha-
 uen, within .3. steps after ward wee fall headlong into the deepe sea. Wee ought also to consider, that both to wild and tame beasts, nature hath geuen armes, or weapons to defend them selues, and to assault their enemies, as it appeareth, for that to birds shee hath geuen wings, to the harts swift feete, to the Elephants, tushes, to the serpents scales, to the Eagle talions, to the Faucon a beake, to the Lyons teeth, to the bulles hoznes, and to the bears pawes, Finally I say, that shee hath geuen to the Foxes subtilty to know how to hyde them selues in the earth, and to the fishes lyttle finnes how to swim in the water. Admit that the wretched men haue few enemies, yet in this they are none otherwise privileged then the beasts: for wee see (without teares it cannot bee told) that the beasts which for the service of men were created, with the self same beastes, men are now adays troubled, and offended. And to the end it seeme not wee should talk of pleasure, let every man think with him self, what it is that wee suffer with the beasts of this life: for the Lyons do fear vs, the wolues deuoure our sheepe, the dogges doo bite vs, the cattles scratche vs, the Bear doth tear vs, the serpents payse vs, the Bulles hurt vs, with their hoznes, the birds do ouerfly vs, the ratts doo trouble vs, the spiders do annoy vs, and the woozt of all is, a litel flye sucketh our blood in a day, & the pooze flea doth let vs from slepe in the night. O pooze and miserable mā who for to sustein this wretched life, is enforced to begge al things that hee needeth of the beastes. For the beastes do geue him wool, the beast do draw him water, the beastes do cary him from place to place, & beastes do plough the land, and carieth the corn into their barnes. Finally I saye, that if themā receiue any good, he hath not wherewith to make recompence: & if they doo him any euill, he hath nought but the tong to reuenge. Wee must note also that though a man lode a best with stripes, beate her, driue her by the foule wayes though he taketh her meat from her, yea though her yonglings dye: yet for none of all these things shee is sad, or sorowfull, and much lesse doth weepe, & though shee should weepe, shee cannot, for beastes little esteame their life.

THE THIRD BOOKE.

& much lesse feare death. It is not so of the vnhappy and wretched mā, which
 can not but bewaile the vnthankfullnes of their friends, & death of their chil-
 dren, the want which they haue of necessities, the case of aduersitie which doo
 succede theim, the false winnes which is brought against theym, and a thousand
 calamities whiche doo torment their hartts. Finally I say, that the greatest co-
 fort that men haue in this life, is to make a riuier of water with the teares of
 their eyes. Let vs inquire of princes and great lords, what they can doo whe-
 they are borne, whether they can speak as oratours, if they can conne as pol-
 ites, if they can gouerne them selues as kuiges, if they can fyght as men of
 warre, if they can labor as laborers, if they can woork as the masons, if they
 knew to teach as maisters, these litell chyldren would aunswer, that they are
 not onely ignorant of all that wee demaund of them, but also that they can
 not vnderstand it. Let vs retourne to ask them what is that they know, since
 they know nothing of that wee haue demaunded them: they wil aunswer
 that they can doo none other thing, but weepe at their byrth, and sorrow at
 their death. Though al those (which sayle in this so perillous sea) doo reioyce
 and take pleasure, and seeme too sleap soundly: yet at the last there cometh &
 winde of aduersity, which maketh them al to know their folly. For if I bee not
 deceyued, and if I know any thing of this woorld: those which I haue seene at
 the time of their birth take ship weeping: I doubt whether they will take
 land in & graue laughing. O vnhappy life (I should say rather death) which
 the mortalls take for life, wherein after wards wee must consume a great time,
 to learn all arts, sciences, and offices: and yet notwithstanding, that whereof
 wee are ignorant, is more the than which wee know. Wee forget the grea-
 test part saue only that of weeping, which no man needeth to learn: for wee
 are borne, and lye weeping, and vntill this present wee haue seene none dye
 in ioy. Wee must note also that the beasts doo lye and dye, with the inclina-
 tions where with they were borne: that is to weete, that the wolfe soloweth
 the sheepe, and not the birds: the hounds follow the hares, and not the rattts:
 the sparrow flyeth at the birds, and not at the fyll: the spider eateth the flye,
 and not the herbs. Finally I say, that if wee let the beast search hys meat
 quietly, wee shall not see hym geuen to any other thing.

The contrary of al this happeneth to men, & which though nature hath cre-
 ated feeble, yet Gods intētiō was not they should bee malicious: but I am so-
 ry, since they cannot auoyde debility, that they turne it into malice. The pre-
 sumption which they haue to bee good, they turne to pryde: and the desire they
 haue to bee innocent, they tourne into enuy. The fury which they should take
 against malice, they turne into anger: and the liberality they ought to haue w-
 thee good, they conuerte into avaryce. The necessity they haue to eat, they
 turne into gluttony: and the care they ought to haue of their conscience, they
 turne into neglygence. Finally I say, that the more strength beasts haue,
 the more they serue: and the lesse men are toozth, somuch the more thanks
 haue they of god. The innocency of the brute beast considered, and the malice
 of the malicious man marked: without comparison, the company of the brute
 beast is lesse hurtfull, then the conuersation of euil men.

For in & end, if yee bee conuersant with a beast, yee haue not but to beeware
 of her: but if yee be in cōpany with a mā, there is nothing where in yee ought

to trust him. Wee must note also, that it was neyther seene, or read, that there was any beast that took care for the graue: but the beasts beeing dead, some ore tozne in peeces with Lyons, other dysmembred by the bears, others gnawen with dogs, other remaine in the fyldes, other are eaten of men, and other by the ants. Finally, the intralles of the one, are the graues of others. It is not so of the miserable man, the which consumeth no small treasure to make his tombe, which is the most baynest thing that is in this miserable lyfe for there is no greater vanity, nor lyght nes in man, then to bee esteemed for his goodli and sumptuous sepulture, and lytell to wax a good lyfe. I will sweare, that at this day all the dead doo sweare, that they care lytell if their bodyes bee buried in the deepe Seas, or in the golden tombs, or that the cruel beasts haue eaten them, or that they remaine in the fyldes without a graue: so that their soules may bee among the celestiaall companys. Speaking after the law of a christian, I durst say that it profiteth lytell the body to bee among paynted and carued stones: when the miserable soul is burning, in the fyre flames of hell. O miserable creatures, haue not wee suffyrient where with to seeke in this lyfe, to procure, to traualle, to accomplish, to sygh, and also what to bee wayle, without hauyng such care and angursh, to know where they shalbee buryed: Is there any man so baine, that hee dooth not care that other menn shoold condempn his euill lyfe: so that they prayse his ryche Tomb: To those y are liuing I speak and say of those that are dead: that if a man gaue theym leaue to retorne in to the world, they would bee occupied moze to correct theyr extesse, and offences: then to adourne and repaire their graues and tombs, though they found them fallen down. I cannot tell what to say: moze in this case, but to admonysh men that it is great folly to make any great accompte of the graues.

The Emperoꝝ Marcus Aurelius wryteth this letter to Domitius a cleserin of Capua to comfort him in his exile, beeing banished for a quarell betwixt him and another about the runing of a boze. very comfortable to those that haue been in fauor and now fallen in disgrace. Cap. xxxiiii.

MArke the Romain Emperoꝝ, bozne at mount Celio, to thee Domiti⁹ of Capua, wryteth health, and consolation from Gods the onely comforters. The bitter winter in these parts, haue reised boisterus wyndes, and the wyndes haue caused much rayn, and the much rayn hath caused great moystures: the which engendreth in mee sondry dysleases. Among the which the gowt of my hands is one, and the Siatica in my legge is another. Eschines the philosopher said, that the liberty of the soul and the health of the bodi, cannot bee esteemed to much & much lesse also bee bought for mony. Tell mee I pray thee, what can hee doo or what is hee woorth, y hath neither lyberti, nor health: The deuine Plato in his bookes of his common wealth, reciteth thre things.

The first, that the man which oweth nothing, cannot say that hee is poore. For the day that I ow money to another, another and not my self is lord of myne owne. The second, the man which is no seruant, nor captiue, hath not reason to say that any thing may make hym vnhappy. For fortune in nothing

THE THIRD BOOKE.

Sheweth her selfe so cruel, as to take from vs the liberty of this life.

The third which Plato saied, is that among all temporall goods ther is none more greater, nor greater felicity, then the treasure of health. For the man which is persecuted with sickness, with riches can haue no contentacion. In the time of our old fathers, when Rome was well corrected, they did not only ordeine the things of their common wealth: but also they provided for that which touched the health of euery person. So that they watched to cure the body, and they were circumspect to destroy vices. In the time of Gneus Patroclus and Iulius Albus, they say that the city of Rome was ordinarily vsyted with sickness. Wherefore first they dyd forbidd, that in the moneth of Iuly, and Augustus, there should bee no strewes for women. For the blond of the yong, was corrupted in venereal actes.

The second, that no man should bring any fruit from Salon, nor Campania, to sell during these, 2. moneths in Rome. For the delicate ladies of Rome for extreame heat, and the pooze for their pouerty, dyd not eat in sommer but fruyts: and so the market places were full of fruyts, and the houses full of agues. The third, they did defend that no inhabitaunt should bee so hardy, to walk after the sunn were set. For the yong men, thorough the lightnes they bled in the nights, tooke dyscasses which bered them in the days.

The fourth, they did prohibit that no man should bee so hardy, to sell openly in Rome wyne of Candie, or Spaine. For in the great heat of the sommer, as the sunne is very whot, so the wyne as popson dooth kill yong men.

The fifth, that they should purge the priues, and make cleane the streets and houses. For of the corruption of the aper, is engendred the plague among the people. When Rome was rich, when Rome prospered, all these things were obserued in the common wealth. But since Catilina the Tyrant dyd rebell, since Scilla and Marius dyd slaunders it, since Cesar and Pompeius dyd play the tiraunts, since Octavius Augustus and Marcus Antonius dyd robb it, since Calligula and Nero did defame it, they cared litel whether they entred into Rome, to sell the wyne of Spaine or Candia. For they feared more the knife of the enemies: then the heat of the sommer. Great reason had the auncients to forbidd those things in Rome, for, to say the trouth they are not healthfull. When I was yong in Rome, my head dyd not ake with talking in the nyght, nor I did feele my blood chafed wyth drynkyng wyne. Then I was not troubled to sette in the heat in the sommer, nor I was annoyed to goo bare legged in the wynter.

But now that I am old, there is no heat but offendeth mee, nor cold but perleth mee. For men through much euill rule in their youth, come to greuous dyscasses in theyr age. ¶ If mortall men, after that they bee old could at any tyme woork with the gods, that they should become yong agayne: I swere vnto thee, by the sayth of a good man, that they would bee haue them selues so well, that the world should not agayne deceiue them. Since men haue been vicious in their youth, I doo not meruell though they are full of dyscasses when they are old. For how can hee loue hys health, which hateth vertue? All that which I haue spoken heere beefore is to the end you may know and beleeue that I am sick, and that I
can

cannot write vnto the sollog as I would, and as thou desirest: so that herof it followeth, that I shall bewaile thy payne, and thou shalt bee greened with my gowte. I vnderstood here how at þe feast of the god Ianus, through þe running of a horse, great stryfe is rylen betweene thee and thy neighbour Patrici⁹. And the brute was such, that they haue confiscated thy goods, battered thy house, banished thy childzen, & depriued thee from the Senate for 1. years.

And further, they banished thee out of Capua for euer, & haue put thy fellow in the prison Mamortine: so that by this lytle fury, thou hast cause to lament all the dayes of thy lyfe. All those which come from thens doo tell vs, that thou art so wofull in thy hart, and so chaunged in thy parson: that thou doost not forget thy heauy chaunces, nor receiuest consolation of thy faithfull freends.

Think not that I speak this, that thou shouldest bee offended: for according to the often chaunges which fortune hath shewed in mee, it is long since I knew what sorow meant. For truly the man which is sorowfull, sigheth in the day, watcheth in the night, delyteth not in company, and with only care hee resteth. The light hee hateth, the darkenes hee loueth, with bitter teares he watereth the earth, with heuy sighes hee perceeth the heauens, with infinite sorowes he remembreth that that is past, and forseeth nothing that that to coe is. Hee is displeased with hym that dooth comfort hym, and hee taketh rest to expresse his sorowes. Finally, the vnfortunat man is contented with nothing, and with hym self continually hee doth chafe. Beleeue mee Domiti⁹, that if I haue well touched the condicions of the sorowfull man, it is for no other cause, but for that my euill fortune hath made mee tast them all. And herof it cometh, that I can so wel describe them: for in the end, in things which touche the sorowes of the spiryte, and the troubles of the body, there is great dyfference from hym that hath read them, and from hym that hath felt them. If thou dydst feele it there, as I doo fele it heer, it is sufficient to geue thee and thy freends great dolor, to think that for so small a trifle thou shouldest vndoo thee, and all thy parentage. And speaking with the trowth, I am very sorow to see thee cast away: but much more it greeueth mee, to see thee drowned in so litle a water. When men are noble, and keepe their harts high, they ought to take their enemies agreeable to their estates. I meane, that when a noble man shal aduenture to hazard his person, and his goods, he ought to doo it for a matter of great importaunce. For in the end, more defamed is hee that overcommeth a laborer, then hee which is overcome with a knight. How variable is fortune, and in how short space dooth happen an euill fortune: in that which now I wyll speake, I doo condemne my self, and accuse thee. I complayne to the Gods, I reclaime the dead, and I call the lyuing, to the end they may see, how that before our eyes wee suffer the greifes, and know them not, with the hands wee touch them, and perceue them not, wee goe over them and see them not, they sound in our eares, and wee heare them not, dayly they doo admonish vs, and wee doo not beleeue them: finally wee feele the peryl, where there is no remedy of our greife. For as experyence dooth teach vs, with a lytell blast of wynde the fruit doo fall, with a lytell spark of fyre the house is kyndled, with a lytell rock the shipp is broken, at a lytell stone the foot doth stumble, with a lytell hook they take great fysh, and with a lytell wound dyeth a great person.

THE THIRDE BOOKE.

For all that I haue spoken, I meane, that our lyfe is so frail and fortune so fickle, that in that parte where wee are surest harnessed, wee are soonest wounded. Seneca wytyng to hys mother Albina, who was banished fro Rome, sayd.

Thou Albina art my mother and I thy sonne, thou art aged and I am not yong, I neuer beleeued in fortune, though shee woulde promise to bee in peace with mee. And further hee sayd, al that which is in mee, I count it at the disposition of fortune, as well of riches, as of prosperitie: and: I keep them in such a place, that at any hour in the night when shee listeth, shee may carye them away, & neuer wake mee. So y though shee cary those out of my cosers yet shee should not rob mee of this in my intrails. With out doubt such wooords were merueylous pythy, and berpe decent for such a wise man.

The Emperoz Adryan my Lord, did weare a rynge of gold on his fnyger which hee sayd was of the good Drusius Germanicus, and he troord about the ring in latin letters sayd thus. Illis est grauis fortuna, quibus est repentina. Fortune to them is most cruell, to whom suddenly she assaulteth. Wee see oftentimes by experience, that in the fystula which is stopped, and not in that which is open, the Surgion maketh doubt. In the shallow water, and not in the deepe seas, the Pilot despayreth. The good man of armes is moze afrayd of the secrete ambushment, then in the open battayle. I mean, that the valiant man ought to beware, not of straungers, but of his owne, not of enemyes but of frends, not of the the cruel warre, but of the fayned peace, not of the manifest domage, but of the pryuy perill. O how manye wee haue seene, whome the myshaps of fortune coulde neuer chaunge, and yet afterward hauyng no care she hath made them fall. I ask now, what hope can man haue, which wyll neuer trust to the prosperity of fortune: Since for so lyght a thing, wee haue seene such trouble in Capua, and so great losse of thy person and goods: If we knew fortune, wee woulde not make so great complaynt of her.

For speakinge the trouth, as she is for all, and would contente all, though in the end she mock all, shee geueth and she woth by all her goods, and wee others take them for inherytaunce. That which shee lendeth by, wee take it for perpetuall, that which in lest she geueth by, wee take it in good earnest, & in the end, as she is the mocker of all, so shee goeth mockyng of by, thinkyng that she geueth by another mang, and she taketh our owne proper. I let thee wete, that knowing that of fortune which I know, I fear not the turmoyles of her traueyles neyther dooth her lightnings or thunders astony mee, nor yet wyll I not eueme the pleasantnes, of her goodly fayr flatteryes. I wyll not trust her sweete reioysings, neither wyll I make accompt of her frendshyps, nor I wyll ioyne my selfe w her enemyes, nor I wyll take any pleasure of y shee geueth mee, neither greefe of y shee taketh fro me, nor I wyll haue respect when she telleth mee truth, nor I doo not regard it, though she tel mee a lye.

Finally, I will not laugh for that shee asketh mee, nor I will weepe for y shee sendeth mee. I wyll now tel thee (my friend Domiti⁹) one thing, and hartely I desire thee to keepe it in memozy. Oure lyfe is so doubtfull, and fortune so sodaine y whē shee thretneeth, she stryketh not alwayes, neyther doth shee threaten alwaies when shee stryketh. The man which presumeth to bee sage, and in all things well prouyded, goeth not so fast, y at euery steppe hee is in daunger of falling, nor so softly, that in long tyme hee cannot aryue at his iorneyes end.

For the false fortune gauleth in steed of strikynge, & in steed of gauling striketh:

Therefore since in years I am older then thou, and haue more experience of affairs: if thou hast marked that I haue told thee, thou wilt remember wel that which I will say vnto thee, which is: that that part of thy life is trouble some, which vnto the seemeth to be most sure. Wilt thou that by example I tell thee al that, which by woordes I haue spoken. Behold Hercules of Thebes, who escaped so many daungers, both by sea and by land, and afterwarde came to dy in the armes of a harlotte. Agamemnon the great Captaine of Greekes in the x. years which hee warred agaynst Troy, neuer had any peryll: and afterwards in the nyght, they kyled hym entring into his owne house.

The vniuerfale Alexander the great, in al the conquests of Asia dyd not dye, and afterwards with a lytle poyson, ended hys life in Babilon. Pompeius the great, dyed not in the conquest of his enemyes: and afterwards his frende Ptholomeus slew him. The couraggyus Iulius Cesar, in. lii. battells could not be ouercom: and afterwards in the Senate, they slew him with xlii. woundes.

Hannibal, the terrible captaine of Carthage, slew hym selfe in one moment (which the Romaynes could not dooe, in xlii. years) onely because hee would not com into y^e hands of hys enemyes. Asclapius medius, brother of great Pompeius, in xx. years that he was a rouer on y^e seas, neuer was in any peryll: afterwards drawyng water out of a well, was drowned therein. Tenne Cap raynes, who Scipio had chosen in the conquest of Affrike, iestynge on a brydge, fell into the water, and ther were drowned. The good Bibul^y going triumphing in his chariot at Rome, a tile fel on his head: so that his bayne glozy was the end of his good lyfe. What wilt thou more I saye vnto thee, but that Lucia my sister haupnge a needel on her brest, & her childe betweene her armes: the chylde layeng his hand vppon the needell, and thrust it into her brest, wher by the mother dyed. Gneus Ruffarius: Which was a very wyse man, and also my kinsman, one daye keamyng hys whyte heares, strake a tooth of the comb in his head, wherwith hee gaue him selfe a mortall wounde: so that in shorte space after his lyfe had end, but not his doctrine, nor memory. How thinkest thou Domiti^y: by the immortal gods I swear vnto thee, that as I haue declared to thee this small number, so I could recite thee other infynite. What mishap is this after so many fortunes: what reproch after such glozy: What perill after such surety: what euill luck, after such good successe: What dark night after so clere a day: What so euil entertainment, after so great labour: What sentence so cruel, after so long proces: What inconuenience of death, after so good beginnyng of lyfe: Being in their steade, I can not tel what I would but I had rather choose vnfortunat lyfe & honorable death: then an infamous death, and honorable lyfe. That man which will bee counted for a good man and not noted for a brute beast, ought greatly to trauayle to lyue wel, and much more to dye better. For the euill death maketh men doubt that the lyfe hath not been good, and the good death is the excuse of an euyl lyfe. At the beeginnyng of my letter I wrote vnto thee, how that the govt troubleth mee euil in my hand. I say it were to much to write any leger, & though the letter bee not of myne owne hand, these two days the loue that I bear thee, and the grief that holdeth mee, haue stryued together. My will desireth to write, and my fingers cannot hold the penne. The remedy herof is that
since

THE THIRD BOOKE.

Since I haue no power to doo what I would as thine, thou oughtst to accept what I can as myne. I say no more herein, but as they tel mee thou buildest now a house in Rhodes: wherfore I send thee a thousand sexterces to accomplysh the same. My wife Faustine saluteth thee, who for thy paine is sore dysseased. They tell vs thou hast bene hurt, wherfore she sendeth thee a treight of the balme of Palestyne. Heale thy face therewith, to the end the scarres of that wound doo not appere. If thou findest greene almonds, and new nutts, Faustine desyreth thee that thou wilt send her some. By another man she sendeth a gobone for thee, and a kirtell for thy wyfe. I conclude, and doo beseech thee immortall Gods to geue thee all that I desire for thee, and that they geue mee all that thou wyldest mee. Though by the hands of others I wyte vnto thee, yet with my hart I loue thee.

¶ That pynces and noble men ought to bee aduocates for widows, fathers of orphans, and helpers of all those which are comfortles. Cap. xxxv.

MAcrobis in the third book of the Saturnalles saith, that in the noble cyty of Athens, there was a temple called Misericordia, which the Athenians kept so well watched, and locked, that without leaue and licence of the Senat no man might enter in. There were the Images of pitifull pynces onely, and none entred in there to pray but pitifull men.

The Atheniens abhorred always seuerer and cruel deeds, because they would not bee noted cruell. And therof cometh this maner of saying, that the greatest iniury they could say vnto a man was, that hee had neuer entred into the scoole of the philosophers to learne, nor in to the temple of Misericordia to pray. So that in the one, they noted him for simple: and in the other they accused him for cruell. The historiographers say that the most noble lineage that was at that time, was of a king of Athens, the which was exceeding rich and lyberall in geueing: and aboue all very pitifull in pardoning. Of whom it is wrytten, that after the great treasours which hee had offered in the temples, and the great riches hee had distributed to the poore: hee tooke vpon him to bring vp all the orphans in Athens, and to feede all the widows. How much more did that Statut of the sayd pytyfull king shine in that temple, who nourished the orphans, then the ensignes which are set vp in the Temples of the captaynes, which had robbed the widows. All the auncient pynces, I say those that haue bene noble and balaunt, and that haue not had the name of tirants, though in some things they were noted: yet they always haue been praysed, esteemed, and commended to bee gentle and mercifull: so that they recompensed the fierynes and cruelty which they shew to their enemies, with the mercy & clemency which they bled to the orphans. Plutarch in his politikes sayeth: that the Romayns among them selues ordeyned, that all that which remainned of bankettes & feasts, which were made at mariages and triumphs, should bee geuen to widows, and orphans. And this custome was brought to so good an order that if any rich man would vse his profit of that which remainned, & orphans might iustly haue an action of felony against him as a thing robbed from them, Aristides & philosopher in an oration hee made of excellencie of Rome sayth

sayeth that p^rinces of Persia had this custom, neuer to dyne nor sup, but first p^r trumpets shoold blow at their gates: the w^d were moze loud, then armonious. And it was to this end, that al the widows & orphans shoold cōe thither: for it was a law amongst them, that all p^r which was left at the royal tables, shoold bee for the pooze and indigent persons. Phalaris p^r tyrant writing to a freend of his, said these woords. I haue receued thy brieef letter, w^h p^r rebuke likewise w^h thou gauest mee therein, moze bitter the te dyous. And admit p^r for p^r time it greeued mee, yet after I came to my selfe, I receyued thereby great comfort. For in the end, one louing rebuke of his freend is moze woorth: then a fayned flattery of his enemy. Amongst the things wherof thou accusest me, thou sayst p^r they take mee for a great tyrant, because I disobey the gods, spoyle the temples, kil the priests, pursue the innocents, rob the people: and the woords of al p^r I doo not suffer mee to bee entreated, nor permit p^r any man be conuersant with mee. To that they say I disobey the gods, in very deed they say true. For if I did all that p^r gods would, I shoold doo litle of that men doo ask mee. For as much as they say I robb the temples, therunto also I graunt: for the immortal gods doo demaund rather of vs pure harts, then that wee shoold buyld their temples. For that they say I kil priests, I confes also that it is true. For they are so dissolute, that I think I doo moze seruices to the gods, to put them to death: then they doo in dooing their sacrifices whiles they liue. For that they say I rob the temples, I also confes it: for I defending it as I doo fro enemies, it is but meete and resonable they finde mee and my seruants. So: p^r they say I suffer mee not to bee entreated, it is true. For dayly and houely they ask mee so many vniust, & vnreasonable things, p^r for them and for mee it is better to deny them: then for to graunt them. For that they say that I am not conuersant with any, I confesse it is true. For euer when they come into my pallas, it is not so much to doo mee seruke, as to ask mee some particuler thing for their profit. For that they say I am not pitfull amongst the miserable, & will not heare the wydows, and orphans, in no wise to that I will agree: for I sweare vnto thee, by the immortal gods, that my gates were neuer shutt to widowers, and orphans. Pulio in the life of the Emperoz Claudius sayth, that once a pooze widow came before Claudius the Emperoz with weeping eyes, to desire him of iustice. The good p^rince being moued with compassion, did not onely wepe as shee: but w^h his owⁿ hands dyed her teares. And as there was about p^r emperoz many noble Romains, one amongst them sayd vnto him. For p^r authority & grauitye of Romayn p^rinces, to heare their subiects in iustice, sufficeth onely: though they cry not p^r teares of their faces. This emperoz Claudius answered, Good p^rinces ought not to bee contented, to doo no moze than iust iudges: but in dooing iustice, a mā must knowe p^r they are pitfull. For oftentimes those w^d come before p^rinces, doo retorne moze contented w^h the loue they shew them: then w^h the iustice they minister vnto them. And further hee sayd. For asmuch as you say p^r it is of small aucthority, and also of lesse grauity, that a p^rince doo wepe w^h a widow, and w^h his hands wyppeth her eyes, I answer: thee that I desire rather to bee partaker of the griefes with my subiects, then to giue them occasion to haue they eyes full of teares.

Certeynly these woords are woorthy to bee noted, and no lesse followed.

Admit

THE THIRDE BOOKE.

Admit that clemency in all things deserueth to bee praysed, yet much more ought it to bee commended, when it is executed on weemen. And if generally in all, much more in those which are bords of health, and comfort. For weemen are quickly troubled, and with greater difficulty comforted.

Plutarche, and Quintus Curtius saie, the good intertainment which Alexander the great, shewed vnto the wife and chyldren of kyng Darius (after hee was bitterly banquished) exalted his clemency: in such sorte, that they gaue rather more glozy to Alexander, for the pity and honesty which hee vsed with the chyldren, then for the victozy hee had of the father. And whē the vnhappy king Darius knew the clemency and pity, which the good Alexander vsed to his wyfe, and his chyldren, hee sent vnto him his embassadours, to the end vpon his behalf they shoold thanke hym for what is past, and shoold desire hym that hee would contynue so in tyme to come: saing, that it might chaunce, that the Gods and fortune would mitigat their wrath against him.

Alexander answered to the embassadours these wordes, Pee shall say in my behalf to your king Darius, that hee geue mee no thanks for the good and pitiful woork that I haue doon to his captiue weemen, since hee is certain I did it not for that hee was my frend: and I would not cease to doo it, for what hee is myne enemy. But I haue doon it, for that a gentle Prince is bound to doo in such a case. For I ought to employ my clemency to weemen, which can doo nought but weepe: & my puissaunte power Princes shal feelee. We can doo nought els but wage batayle. Truly these wordes were worthy of such a prince. Many haue enuy at what surname of Alexander, who is great. And hee is caled Alexander what great, because if his hart was great in what enterpryses hee took vpon him, his courage was much more greter in cities & realmes which hee gaue. Many haue enuy at what renoume which they geue Pompeius, because they cal him great, for this excellent Romayne made him self conqueror of 22. realmes, & in times past hath been accompanied with 25. kings. Many haue enuy at the renoume of Scipio the Affrican, who was caled Affricane, because hee overcame and conquered the great and renoumed city of Carthage: the which city in riches was greater then Rome, in armes & power it surmounted all Europe. Many haue enuy at Scipio the Asian, who was called Asian, because hee subdued the proud Asia: the which vntill his tyme was not but as a churchyard of Romains. Many haue great enuie at the immortal name of Charles, who was called Charles the great, because being as hee was (a little king) hee did not only banquish and triumph over many kings, and straunge realmes: but also forsake the royall sea of his owne realme.

I doo not maruaile, that the proud princes haue enuy agaynst the vertuous and valiant princes: but if I were as they, I would haue more enuy at the renoume of Antonius the emperour, then of the name and renoume of all the princes in the world. If other princes haue attayned such proud names, it hath been for that they robbed many countreys, spoyled many temples, committed much tyranny, dissembled wth many tyrants, persecuted diuers innocents, & because they haue take fro diuers good men, not onely their goods but also their liues: for the world hath such an euell property, what to exalt what name of one only, he putteth down, so. Neither in such enterpryses, nor in such titles, w^{ch}

the emperor Anthonius Pius his name, and renobone. But if they call him Anthonius the pitefull, it is because he knew not but to be father of Orphans: and was not prayed, but because hee was aduocate of wydowes. Of this most excellent prince is read, that he himselfe did here, and iudge the cōplaints and processe in Rome of the orphans: And for the pooze, and wydowes, the gates of his pallace were alwayes open: So that the porters which hee kept within his pallace, were not for to let the entre of the pooze: but for to let and keepe back the rich. The historiographers oftentimes say, that this good prince sayd, that the good and vertuous princes, ought alwayes to haue their hartes open for the pooze, and to remedy the wydowes, and neuer to shut the gates agaynst them. The god Apollo sayth, that the prince which will not speedely iudge the causes of the pooze, the gods will neuer permit that hee bee well obeyed of the rich. O high and woorthy woordes, that it pleased not god Apollo, but our lyving god, that they were written in the hartes of princes. For nothing can bee more brutish or dishonest, then that in the pallace of princes and great lordes, the rich and fooles should bee dispatched: and the widowes and orphans friends should haue no audience. Happy, and not once, but a hundred times happy is hee, that will remember the pooze afflicted, and open his hand too comfort them, and dooth not shut his cofers from helping them. vnto him I assure and promise, that at the Grayght day of iudgement, the proces of his life shall bee iudged with mercy and pity.

That the troubles gricfes, and sorowes of widowes are much greater, then those of widowers: where for princes and noble men ought to haue more compassion vpon the weemen: then on men. Cap. xxvi.

It is great pity to see a noble and vertuous man sorowfull, alone and a widower, if especially hee liued cōtented when hee was marryed. For if hee will not marry, hee hath lost his sweete company: and yf hee think to marry an other, let him bee assured hee shall scarcely agree with his second wife. There is much sorow in that house, where the woman that gouerned it is dead: For immediatly his husband forsaketh him self, the children doo lose their obedience, the seruants bee come neglygent, the hand maides bee come wanton, the frends are forgotten, the house decayeth, the goods wast, the apparell is lost: & finally in the widowers house there are many to robbe & few to labor. Heauy & lamentable are the thoughts of a widower: for if hee thinketh to marry, it grieueth him to geue his children a stepmother. If hee can not bee marryed, hee feeleth greater payne, seeing him al day to remayne alone: so that a pooze miserable mā sigheth for his wife hee hath lost, & weepeth for her whom hee desireth to haue. Admit this bee true, there is great difference from a care & sorow of weemen, to a of men. A thing very clere, for so much as the widower lawfully may goe out of his house, hee may goe to his fields, hee may talk with his neighbours, he may bee occupied w his frends, hee may solow his lutes & also hee may bee conuersant, & refresh him selfe in honest places. For commonly men are not so sorowfull in taking a death of their wyues, as a wyues are, in taking the death of their husbands. All this is not spoken in a disfauour of wise and sage men, whom wee see make small dreames, with a teares of their eyes for a death of their wiues: But for many other baine & light men, the

THE THIRD BOOKE.

(the 9. dayes of the funeral pass) a mā dooth see without any shame to go throught the strets, beeholding the ladies and damsellis which are in the widows. Truly the wofull women, which are honest, vse not such lightnesse, for whyles they are widowes, it is not lawfull for them to wander abroad, to goe out of the house, nor speake with straungers, nor practise with her own, nor bee conuersant with her neighbours, nor plead with their creditours, but agreeable to their wofull estate, to hide and withdraw them selues in their houses, and to lock them selues in their chambers: and they think it their duty, to water theyr plāts with teares, and importune the heauens with sighes. O how wofull: o how greivous: o how sorrowfull is the state of widowes: for so much as if a widow go out of her house, they take her for dishonest. If shee wil not come out of the house, shee loseth her goods: If shee laugh a litle they count her light, If she laugh not, they call her an hypocrit. If shee goe to the church, they note her for a gadder. If shee go not to the church, they say shee is vnthankfull to her late husband. If shee go il apparayled they coſt her to bee a niggard. If she go cleanly and handsome they say now shee would haue a new husband. If shee do mainteyne her selfe honestly, they note her to bee presumptuous. If shee keepe company, immediatly they suspect her house. Finally I say, that the poore miserable widows shall find a thousand which iudge their liues, and they haue not one that wil remedy their paynes. Much loseth the woman, who loseth her mother which hath borne her or her sisters which she loueth, or the frides which she knoweth, or the goods which she hath heaped by: but I saye and affirme, that ther is no greater losse in y^e world vnto a woman, then the losse of a good husband. For in other losses there is but one onely losse: but in that of the husband, al are losse together. After that the wiffe doth see her louing husband in the graue, I would ask her what good could remayne with her in her house: Since wee know, that if her husband were good, he was the haue of al her troubles, the remedy of al her necessities, the inuentour of all her pleasours, the true loue of her hart, the true lord of her parson, and the idoll whom shee honored: finally he was the faithfull steward of her house, and the good father of her children and familie. Whether family remayneth or not, whither children remayneth or not, in the one and in the other, trouble and vexation remaineth most assuredly to the poore widow. If perchance shee remayne poore, and haue no goods, let every man imagine what her life can bee. For the poore miserable vnhappy woman, eyther wil aduenture her parson to get, or wil lose her honesty to demaund. An honest woman, a noble & woorthy woman, a delicat woman a sweete woman, a woman of renouine, a woman that ought to maynteyne children, and familie, ought to haue great reason to bee full of anguillhe and sorrow: to see, that if shee wil mainteyne her self wth the needle shee shal not haue sufficiently to find her self bread and water. If shee gaine with her bodie shee loseth her soule. If shee must demaund others, shee is sabbamed. If shee fulfill the testament of her husband, shee must sell her gownes. If shee will not pay his detts, they cause her to be brought beefore the iudge. As women naturally are tender, what hart will suffer theym to suffer such inconueniēces: and what eyes can absteyne to shed infinite teares: If perchance goods doo remaine to the miserable widow, she hath no litle care to keepe the. Shee is at great charges and

expences, to sustain, and maintayn her self in long suit about her lands, much
 trouble to augment them, and in the end, much sorow to depart from them.
 For all her children, and heirs, doo occupie them selues more to think, how
 they might inherit: then in what sort they ought to serue her. When I came
 to this passage, a great while I kept my pen in suspence, to see whether I
 ought to touch this matter or no, that is to weete, that oftentimes the poore
 widows put openly the demaund of their goods: and the iudges doo secretly
 demaund the possession of their parson. So that first they doo iniury to her
 hono^r, beefore they doo minister iustice to her demaunds. Though perchance
 shee hath no child, yet therfore shee remaineth not without any comfort, and
 for that the parents of her husband doo spoyle her of her goods. For in thys
 case their heirs oftentimes are so disordered, that for a worn cloke, or for a
 broken shirt, they trouble and sore bere the poore widow. If perchance the
 miserable widow haue children, I say that in this case shee hath double so-
 row. For if they are pong, shee endureth much payn to bring them bp: so that
 eue^r hour and moment, their mothers lye in great sorows, to think onely of
 the lyfe, and health of their children. If perhaps the children are old, truly
 the griefs whych remain vnto them are no lesse. For so much as the grea-
 test part of them are eyther proud, disobedient, malicious, negligent, adu尔-
 ters, gluttons, blasphemers, false sycers, dull headed, wanting wit, or sickly.
 So that the ioy of the wofull mothers is to bewayle the death of their wel-
 beloved husbands, and to remedy the disorders of their youthfull children. If
 the troubles which remain to the mothers with the sonnes bee great: I say
 that those which they haue with their daughters, bee much more. For if the
 daughter bee quick of witt, & mother thinketh & shee shalbee vndoone. If shee
 bee simple, shee thinketh that every man will deceiue her. If shee bee faier,
 shee hath enough to doo to keepe her. If shee bee deformed: shee cannot
 mary her. If shee bee well manered, shee wil not let her go from her. If shee
 bee euil manered, shee cannot endure her. If shee bee too solitary, shee hath not
 wherewith to remedy her. If shee bee dissolute, shee wil not suffer her to bee
 punished. Finally, if shee put her from her, shee feareth shee shalbee sleaunde-
 red. If shee leaue her in her house, shee is afraid shee shalbee stolen. What
 shal the wofull poore widow doo, seeing her self burdened with daughters, &
 enuironed with sonnes, and neither of them of such sufficient age, that there
 is any tyme to remedy them: nor substance to maintein them? Admit that shee
 mary one of her sonnes, and one daughter, I demaund therfore if the poore
 widow wil leaue her care, and anguish: Cruelly I say no, though shee choose
 rich personages, and wel disposed, shee cannot escape, but the day that shee
 replenisheth her self with daughters in law, the same day shee chargeth her
 hart with sorows, trauels, and cares. O poore widows, deceiue not your
 selues, and doo not immagin that hauing married your sonnes, & daughters,
 from that time forward yee shal liue more ioyful and contented. For that laid
 aside, which their nephews doo demaund them, and that their sonnes in law
 doo rob them: when the poore old woman thinketh to bee most surest, & pong
 man shal make a claym to her goods. What daughter in law is there in this
 world, who faithfully loueth her stepmother? And what sonne in law is there
 in the world, & desireth not to bee heir to his father in law? Suppose a poore

THE THIRD BOOKE

widow to bee fallen sick, the which hath in her house a sonne in law, and that a man ask him vpon his oth, which of these two things hee had rather haue: either to gouern his mother in law, with hope to heal her: or to bury her, with hope to inherite her goods. I sweare that such would sweare, that hee could reioyce more to geue a ducke for the graue: then a penny to the physician, to purge and heal her. Seneca in an epistle saith, that the fathers in law naturally loue their daughters in law; & the sonnes in law are loued of their mothers in law. And for the contrary hee saith, that naturally the sonnes in law doo hate their mothers in law. But I take it not for a generall rule, for there are mothers in law whych deserue to bee woozshipped, and there are sonnes in law which are not woorthy to bee beeloued. Other troobles chance dayly to these poore wydowes, which is, that when one of them hath one only sonne, whom shee hath in the steed of a husband, in steed of a brother, in steed of a sonne, shee shall see him dye: whom sith shee had his lyfe in such great loue, shee cannot though shee would, take his death with patience: So that as they bury the dead body of the innocent chylde, they bury the lyuely hart of the wofull mother. Let vs omit the sorowes whych the mothers haue when their children dye, and let vs ask the mothers what they feele when they are sick: They will answer vs, that alwayes and as often tymes as their children bee sick, the death of their husbands then is renewed, imagining that it wil happen so vnto them, as it hath doon vnto others. And to say the trueth, it is no maruel yf they doo feare. For the byrne is in greater peril, when it is budded, then when the grapes are ripe. Other troubles often tymes encrease to the poore widowes, the which amongst others this is not the least: that is to weete, the lytle regard of the frends of her husband, and the vnthankfulnes of those which haue been brought vp with him. The which since hee was layd in his graue, neuer entred into the gates of his house: but to demandaunce recompence of their old seruices, and to renew and beegin new suits. I would haue declared (or to say better, brieuely touched) the trauels of widowes, to perswade princes that they remedy them, and to admonish iudges to heare them, and to desire all vertuous men to comfort them. For the woork of it self is so godly, that hee deserueth more whych remedyeth þ troubles of one only: then I which wryte their miseries all together.

¶ Of a letter whych the Emperour Marcus Aurelius wrote to a Romaine Lady named Lavinia, comforting her for the death of her husband.

Cap. xxxvii.

Marcus of mount Celio, Emperour of Rome, cheef consull, tribune of the people, high Bishop, appointed against the Daces, witheth health and comfort to thee Lavinia, noble and woorthy Romaine matron, the late wyfe of the good Claudinus. According to that thy person deserueth, to that which vnto thy husband I ought, I think well that thou wilt suspect that I way thee little: for þ vnto thy great sorowes, complaints, & lamentacions are now arriued my negligent consolacions. When I remeber thy merits, I can not fail, & imagin that I wilt remember my good will, wherewith alwayes I haue desired to serue thee: I am assured, yf thy suspition accuse mee, thy vertue and

and wise dome will defend mee. For speaking the trueth, though I am & last to comfort thee: yet I was the first to feele thy sorowes. As ignorance is the cruell scourge of vertues, and spurre to all byces: so it chaunceth oft times, & ouer much knowlege, putteth wise men in doubt, & sleaunderseth & innocent. For as much as wee see by experience, the most presumptuous in wise dome, are those which fall into most perillous byces. Wee fynd the latins much better with the ignorance of byces: then the Greekes with the knowledge of vertues. And the reason hereof is, for that of things which wee are ignorant wee haue no payn to attayn vnto them: and lesse grief also to lose them. My intention to tell thee this was, because I knew that, which I would not haue known, and haue hard that, which I would not haue hard: that is to weete, & the days and troubles of Claudinus thy husband are ended, & now thy sorowes (Lauinia his wife) doo begin. It is now a good whyle, that I haue known of the death of & good Claudinus my friend, & thy husband, though I did dissemble it. And by the god Mars I swore vnto thee, that it was not for that I would not betwyl him, but because I would not discōfort thee. For it were extreme cruelty, that shee who was so comfortlesse, & sorowful, for the absence of so long time: should bee killed with my hand, through & knowledge of the death of her so desired husband. It were to brynke & vnseemly a thing, that shee, of whom I haue receiued so many good woordes: should receiue of mee so euil newes. The auncients of Carthage held for an inuolable law, that if the father did tel & death of his sonne, or & sonne the death of the father, or & woman & death of her husband, or the husband the death of his wife, or any other semblable woeful, & lamentable death: that hee should bee cast into the prison; among them who were condemned to dye. It seemed to those of Carthage, that hee who sayd vnto an other, that his brother, kinsman, or friend, was dead, immediately they should kil him, or hee ought to dye, or at the least hee should neuer bee seene in his presence. If in this case the law of the Carthagians was iust: then I ought to bee excused, though I haue not told thee this heauy newes. For as oft as wee see him, who hath brought vs any euill tydings: our sorowes by his sight is renewed agayn. Since Claudinus thy husband dyed, I haue not had one hower of rest, for to passe the tyme away: for feare lest such woeful & sorowful newes, should come to thy knowlege. But now that I know thou knowest it, I feele double payn. For now I feele his death, my care, and thy want of consolation: & the damage by his death shal folow to the romayn Empire. Thou hast lost a noble Romayn, valiant in blood, moderat in prosperities, patient in aduersities, coragious in dangers, diligent in affaires, wise in counsels, faithfull to his friends, subtil & ware of his enemies, a louer of the common wealthe, & very honest in his person: & aboue all, & whereof I haue most enuy is, that hee neuer offended man in his life, nor hurt any with his tong. Wee fynd seldom times, so many vertues assembled in one man. For saying the trueth, if a man did narrowly examin & byces of many, which presume to bee very vertuous: I were that hee should fynd more to reprove, then to praise. Since & hast lost so good a husband, & I so faithfull a friend: wee are bound, thou to betwyl so great a losse, & I to sigh for so good a companion. And this I doo not desire for Claudine, who now resteth among & gods: but for & others, who remayn in danger of so many euils. For & dead doo rest, as

THE THIRD BOOKE

in the sure haue: & wee others doo saile, as yet in raging sea. O thou heauy hart, how doo I see thee, beetweene the bell & the clappers, that is to weete, that thou wantest the company of good: & art enuironed wth the flock of euil. For the occasion, I doubt often times, whether I may first bewaile the euil which liue: or good w^{ch} are dead, because in the end euill men doo offend vs moze, w^{ch} wee fynd: then dooth the good men which wee lose. It is a great pity, to see the good & vertuous men dye: but I take it to bee moze sorrow, to see the euil & vicious men liue. As the diuine Plato saith, the gods to kill the good w^{ch} serue them, & to geue long life to the euill w^{ch} offend them, is a misery so profound, that dayly wee doo lament it, and yet wee can neuer attayn to the secrets therof. Tell mee I pray thee Lavinia, knowst thou not now, that the gods are so merciful, with whom wee go when wee dye, & that men are so wicked, with whom wee bee whiles wee liue: that as euill were born to dye, so the good dye to lyue: for the good man though hee dye, lyueth: & the euill man though hee liue, dyeth. I swear vnto thee by the mother Berecinthia, and so the god Iupiter doo preserue mee, that I speak not this which I will speak faine dy: which is, that considering the rest that the dead haue with the gods, and seeing the sorowes & troubles wee haue here with the lyuing: I say, and affirm once agayn, that they haue greater compassion of our lyfe, then wee others haue sorow of their death. Though the death of men were as death of beasts, that is to weete, y^e there were no furies, nor deuils, w^{ch} should torment the euil, & that the gods should not reward good: yet wee ought to bee comforted, to see our friends dye, if it were for no other, but to see the deliuered from y^e thraldo of this miserable world. The pleasure y^e the Admirall hath to bee in sure haue, the glozy y^e the captaine hath to see the day of victozy, the rest that the traueles hath to see his iorney ended, the contentation that the woork man hath to see his woork come to perfeccion, all y^e same haue the dead, seeing them selues out of this miserable lyfe. If men were born alway to lyue, it were reason to lament them, when wee see them dye: but since it is troth that they are borne to dye, I woold say, since needes dye wee must, that wee ought not to lament those which dye quickly, but those which lyue long. I am assured, that Claudine thy husband, remembryng that which in this lyfe hee hath passed, and suffered, and seeing the rest that hee hath in the other: though the Gods woold make him emperoz of Rome, hee woold not bee one day out of his graue. For returning to the world, hee should dye agayn: but beeing with the gods, hee hopeth to lyue perpetually. Lady Lavinia, most earnestly I desire thee, so behemently not to perse the heauens with thy so heauy sighes, ne yet to weete the earth, with thy so bitter teares: since thou knowst, that Claudine thy husband is in place, where there is no sorow, but mirth, where ther is no payn, but rest: where hee weepeth not, but laugheth, where hee sigheth not, but singeth, where hee hath no sorowes, but pleasures, where hee feareth not cruell death, but enioyeth perpetuall lyfe. Since therfore this is true, it is but reason the wydow appease her anguish, considering that her husband endureth no payn.

Oftentimes wyth my self I haue thought, what the widowes ought to imagin, when they see them selues in such cares and distresse.

And after my count made, I fynd that they ought not to thynk of the company

company past, nor woofull solitarynes wherin they are presently, and much lesse they ought to think on the pleasures of this world: but rather to remember the rest in the world to come. For the true widow ought to haue her conuersacion among the lyuing, and her desire to bee wyth the dead. If til this present thou hadst paine, and trouble, to look for thy husband to come home: haue thou now ioy, that hee looketh for thee in heauen, wherin I sweare vnto thee, that there thou shalt bee better bled of þe gods, then hee was here of me. For in this world wee know not what glozy meaneth, and there they know not what payns are. Licinius and Posthumius thy vnclcs, told mee that thou art so sorowful, that thou wilt receiue no comfort: but in this case I think not, that thou bewailest so much for Claudinus, that thou alone doost think þe hast lost him. For since wee did reioyce togethers in his lyfe: wee are bound to weep togethers at his death. The heauy and sorowful harts, in this world feelee no greater greef: then to see others reioice at theyr sorowes. And the contrary hereof is, that the woofull and afflicted hart feeleth no greater ioy, nor rest in extreme mishaps of fortune, then to think that others haue sorow and greef of their payn. When I am heauy and comfortles, I greatly ioy to haue my frend by mee: and my hart dooth tell mee, that what I feelee, hee feeleth: So that all which my frend with his eyes dooth beewail, and all that which of my greefes hee feeleth, the more therewith hee burdeneth him self, and the more therof hee dischargeth mee. The Emperoz Octauian Augustus (the histories say) on the riuer of Danuby, found a kynd of people which had thys straunge custom, that with eyes was neuer seene, nor in books at any time euer read, which was: that two frends assembled, and went to the aultars of the temples, and there one frend confederat with an other: so that their harts were married, as man and wife are married touching their bodies, swearing, and promysing there to the gods, neuer to weepe, nor to take sorow, for any mishap that should come to their persons. So that my frend should come to lament, and remedy my troubles, as if they had been his own: & I should lament, and remedy his, as if they had been mine. O glorious world, O age most happy, O people of eternal memory, wherin men are so gentle, & frends so faithfull: that their own trauails they forgot, and the sorowes of strangers they beewayled. O Rome without rome, O tyme euil spent, O lyfe to vs others euil employed, O wretch that alwayes art careles, now adays þe stomach and inrailes are so seuered from the good, and the harts so toynd w the euill: that men forgetting them selues to bee men, beecome more cruell then wyld beasts. I laboz to geue thee lyfe: and thou seekest to procure my death. Thou weepest to see mee laugh: and I laugh to see thee weep. I procure that thou doo not mount: and thou seekest that I might fall. Finally without the profit of any, wee cast our selues away: and wythout gayn, wee doo reioyce to end our lyues. By the faith of a good man I swear vnto thee (Lady Lauinia) that if thy remedy were in my hands, as thy grief is in my hart: I woold not bee sozry for thy sorowes, neither thou so tormēted for the death of thy husband. But alas, though I miserable man haue the hart to feelee thy anguysh: yet I want power to remedy thy sorowes.

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The Empero: proceedeth in his letter, and perswadeth wydowes to put their willes to the will of god, and exhorteth them to lye honestly.

Cap. xxxiii.

Since thy remedy, and my desire cannot bee accomplished, because it is a thing impossible to receiue, and speak with the dead: and not having power, mee think that thou and I should referre it to the gods, who can geue much better then wee can ask. O lady Lavinia, I desire thee earnestly, and as a friend I counsel and admonish thee, and with all my hart I require thee, that thou esteem that for wel doon, which the gods haue doon, that thou conform thy self to the will of h gods, and that thou will nought els, but as h gods will. For they only know they erre not, wherfoze they haue assaulted thy husband with so sodein death: and to thee his wife, haue lent so long lyfe. The gods beeing as they are, so mighty, and so sage, what is hee that can bee iudge of their profound iugements. The gods know right well those which serue them, and those which offend them: those that loue them, and those wh hate them: those that praise them, and those that blaspheme them: those that peeld them thanks, and those which are vnthankfull. And I tel thee further, that oftentimes the gods are serued moze with them which are buried in the graues: then with those which go weeping through the temples. Wilt thou now enter into account wth the gods: thou oughtst to note & consider, that they haue left thee childre to comfort thy self, they haue left thee goods wherewith thou maist auoid pouertie, they haue left thee friends by whom thou shalt bee fauored, they haue left thee parentz of whom thou art beloued, they haue left thee a good name for to bee esteemed, and health wherewith thou mayst liue: finally I say, that small is that which the gods take from vs, in respect of h they leaue vs. After one sort wee ought to bee haue our selues with men, and after an other wee ought to serue the gods. For to men some times it is requisite, to shewe a countenance for to humble them: but to the gods it is necessary, to lye flat on the ground with thy stomack to honoz them. And if the Oracle of Apollo doo not deceiue vs, h gods are sooner wth humility (where with wee woozship them) appeased: then with presumptuous sacrifices (wh^{ch} wee offer vnto them) contented. Since thou art wydow (Lady Lavinia) and art a wise and vertuous woman, beesech the gods to preserue thy children, to defend thy renoum, and not to seuer thy friends from thee, and that thou scatter not thy goods, to preserue thy person in health, and aboue all, to bee in their fauour. Thou canst not winne, nor lose somuch in all thy lyfe: as the gods can geue, or take from thee in one hower. Woold to god the wydow knew, how little shee winneth among men, and how much shee loseth amog the Gods, when shee is not patient in aduersitie: for impatience oftentimes, prouoketh the gods to wrath. Wee see it in mans body by experience, that there are sundrye diseases, which are not cured with woozds spoken: but wth the herbs thereunto applyed. And in other diseases the contrary is scene, which are not cured with costly medicynes: but wth comfortable woozds. The end of this comparison tendeth to this effect, that all the afflicted hartz should

should know, that sometymes the hart is moze comforted with one benefyte
 which they doo: then with a hundred woordes which they speak. And at an
 other tyme, the sorowfull hart is better lychtned, with one woord of his
 frends mouth: then with all the seruice of others in the world. O wretch
 that I am, for as in the one, and in the other I am destitute: So in all I doo
 want. For considering thy greatnes, and waiping my lytle knowledge, I
 see my self very vnable. For that to comfort thee, I want science: and for to
 help thee I neede cythes. But I cease not to haue great sorow, if sorow in
 payment may bee receiued. That wth my person I can doo, neither with
 paper or ynk I wil requite. For the man wth woord only comforteth (in ef-
 fect being able to remedy) declareth him self to haue been a fayned frend in
 tymes past: and sheweth that a man ought not to take him for a faithful frend
 in tyme to come. That which the Romaines with the wydows of Rome haue
 accustomed to doo, I will not presently doo with thee (Lady Lauinia) that is
 to weete: that thy husband being dead, all go to visite the widow, all comfort
 the widow, and all weepe with the widow: and within a few days after, if
 the woofull widow haue neede of any small fauor with the Senat, they with-
 draw them selues together, as if they had neuer known her husband, nor
 seene her. The renown of a Romain widow, is very daynty: for of their
 honesty, or dishonesty, dependeth the good renown of their person, the honor
 of their parents, the credit of their chyldren, and the memory of the dead. For
 this therfore, it is healthfull counsayl, for wyse men to speak few woordes to
 wydows, and to doo infinite good woorks. What auayleth it woofull wydows,
 to haue their coffers fylled with letters and promyses, and their eares stuffed
 wth woordes, and flatteries: If hitherto thou hast taken mee for thy neigh-
 bor, and parent of thy husband, I beseech thee henceforth that thou take
 mee for a husband in loue, for father in counsell, for brother in seruyce, and for
 aduocat in the Senat. And all this so truly shal bee accomplished, that I
 hope thou wilt say: that which in many I haue lost, in Marcus Aurelius alone
 I haue found. I know well (as thou doost in lyke maner) that when the
 harts with sorows are ouerwhelmed, the spirits are troubled, the memory
 is dilled, the flesh dooth tremble, the spirit dooth chaunge, and reason is
 withdrawn. And since that presently sorow and care, in thy house doo re-
 mayn: let the gods forsake mee, if I abandone thee, let them forget mee, if I
 remember thee not. But as Claudine remayned thyne, wholly till the hour
 of death: so Marcus Aurelius will euer moze bee thyne, duryng his lyfe.
 Since I loue thee so intierly, and thou trustest mee so faithfully, and that
 thou with sorows art so replenished, and my hart with care so oppressed: let
 vs admit, that thou Lady Lauinia, hast the auctozity to commaund mee in thy
 affayrs, and I lyce to counsell and aduertise thee of thyngs, touching
 thy honor, and person. For often tymes the wydows haue moze neede of a
 mean remedy, then of a good counsell: I earnestly desyre thee to leaue the
 lamentacion of the Romain widow, that is to weete: to shutt the gates to
 tear their hears, to cutt their garments, to go bare legged, to paynt the by-
 sage, to eat solitarily, to weepe on the graues, to chyd her Chamberlayne,
 to poure out water wth tears, to put Acorns on the graues, and to bitye
 theyr nays wth the teeth: For these thyngs, and such other semblable
 lychtnes,

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lightnes, beehoueth not the grauitie of Romayn Matrons, eyther to see the
 of els to know them . Since there is no extremitie but therunto vice is an-
 nered: I let thee weete (Lad^y Lavinia) if thou bee ignorant thereof, that the
 widows which are so extreme, doo torment them selves, doo trouble their
 friends, doo offend the gods, doo forsake theirs, and in the end they profit not
 the dead: & to the enuious people, they geue occasion to talk. I would think
 and mee seemeth, that the women which are matrons, and widows, ought
 to take vppon them such garment, and estate, the day that the gods take lyfe
 from their husbands: as they entend to wear during their lyfe . What auai-
 leth it that a wydow bee one moneth shutt vp in her house, & that afterwards
 within a yere shee is met in euery place of Rome: what auaieth it, that for
 fewe days shee hyderh her self from her parents, and friends: and afterwards
 shee is found the first at the theaters: what profiteth it, that widows at the
 first doo moorne, and go euil attired: and afterwards they dispute, and cōplain
 of the beauty of the romayn wiues: what forceth it, that widows for a certein
 tyme doo keepe their gates shutt: and afterwards their houses are more fre-
 quented then others: What skilleth it, that a man see the widows weep much
 for their husbands, and afterwards they see them laugh more for their pas-
 tymes: fynally I say, that it lytle auaieth y woman, to seeme to suffer much
 openly for the death of her husband: if secretly shee hath an other husband all
 ready found: for the vertuous, and honest wydow, immediately as shee seeth
 an other man alyue: shee renueth her sorow for her husband that is dead . I
 will shew thee (Lad^y Lavinia) a thing that beeffell in Rome, to the end thou
 think not I talk at pleasure. In the old time, in Rome ther was a noble and
 woorthy Romayn Lady, wife of the noble Marcus Marcellus, whose name
 was Fulvia . And it happened so, that this woman seeing her husband bu-
 ried in the field of Mars, for the great grief shee had, shee scratched her face;
 shee ruffled her hear, shee tore her gown, and fell down to the earth in a
 sound, by the reason wherof two Senators kept her in their arms, to the end
 shee shoold torment her self no more. To whom Cincus Flavius the Censour
 said, Let Fulvia go out of your hands, shee will this day doo all the penance
 of widows. Speaking the trueth, I know not, whether this Romayn spake
 with the Oracle, or that hee were a deuine: but I am assured that al hee spake
 came to passe. For that this Fulvia was the wyfe of so excellent a Romayn,
 as the good Marcus Marcellus was: I would that so vn lucky a chaunce had
 not happened vnto her, which was: that whyles the bones of her husband
 were a burning, shee agreed to bee married to an other: and which was more,
 to one of the Senators that lysted her by the armes, shee gaue her hand,
 as a Romayn to a Romayn, in token of a faithfull marriage. The case was so
 abhominable, that of all men it was dispraised that were present: and gaue
 occasion that they neuer credit wydows afterwards. I doo not speak it (La-
 dy Lavinia) for that I think thou wilt doo so. For by the faith of a good man,
 I swore vnto thee, that my hart neyther suspecteth it, nor yet the auctoritie of
 so graue a Romayn dooth demaund it: for to thee onely y fault shoold remain,
 and to mee the wonder. Hartely I commend vnto thee thy honesty, whych to
 thy self thou oughtest, and the care whych beehoueth so woorthy and noble
 a wydow. For if thou art tormented, wpth the absence of the dead: thou
 oughtest

oughtst to comfort thee, with the reputation of the lyuing. At this present I will say no more to thee, but that thy renowm among the present bee such, and that they speak of thee so in absence: that to the euill, thou geeue the byrdell to bee silent, and to the good, spurres to come and serue thee. For the widow of euill renowm, ought to bee buried quick. Other things to write to thee I haue none. Secrete matters are daungerous to trust, considering that thy hart is not presently disposed to here news. It is reason thou know that I with thy parents and friends haue spoken to the Senat, which haue geuen the office that thy husband had in Constantinople, to thy sonne. And truly thou oughtst no lesse to reioyce of that; whych they haue sayd of thee: then for that they haue geuen him. For they say, though thy husband had neuer been citizen of Rome: yet they ought to haue geuen more then thys; onely for thy honest beehaviour. My wyfe Faulkine saluteth thee, and I will say I neuer saw her weep for any thing in the world so much, as shee hath wept for thy mishap. For shee felt thy losse, which was very great: and my sorow, whych was not lytle. I send thee.iiii. thousand sexterces in money; supposing that thou hast wherewith to occupy them, as well for thy necessities, as to discharge thy debts. For the complaints, demands, and processes, which they minister to the Romayn matrons are greater: then are the goods that their husbands doo leue them. The gods which haue geuen rest to thy husband **C**laudine, geue also comfort to thee his wyfe **L**auinia, **M**arcus of mount Celio, wpth his own hand.

¶ That Princes and noble men ought to despye the world, for that there is nothing in the world but playn deceit. Cap. xxxix.

Plato, Aristotle, Pithagoras, Empedocles, Democrites, Seleucus, Epicurus, Diogenes, Thales, & Methrodorus, had among them so great contention to describe the world, his beginning, and property: that in maintaining every one hys oppinion, they made greater warres with their penmes: then their enemies haue doon wpth their launces. Pithagoras sayd, that that which wee call the world is one thyng, and that which wee call the vniuersall is an other. The philosopher Thales sayd, that there was no more but one world: and to the contrary, Methrodorus the astronomer affirmed, there were infinit worlds. Diogenes sayd, that the world was everlasting. Seleucus sayd, that it was not true: but that it had an end. Aristotle seemed to say that the world was eternall. But Plato sayd cleerely, that the world hath had beginning, and shall also haue endyng. Epicurus sayd, that it was round as a ball. Empidocles sayd, that it was not as a botwl: but as an egge. Chilo the philosopher (in the high mount Olympus) disputed, that the world was as men are: that is to weete, that hee had an intellectible and sensible soule. Socrates in his schoole sayth, & in his doctryn wrote that after .37. thousand yeres, all things should returne as they had been beefore. That is to weete, that hee him self should bee born a new, & should bee nourished, & should read in Athens. And Dennis & tyrat should return to play & tyrat in Siracuse, Iulius Cesar to rule Rome,

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Rome, Hanniball to conquer Italy: and Scipio to make warre against Carthage, Alexander to fight against king Darius, and so forth in all others past. In such and other bayn questions, and speculations, the auncient philosophers consumed many yeres. They in writing many books haue troubled their spirits, consumed long tyme, trauayled many countreys, and suffered innumerable daungers: and in the end they haue set forth few truetys, and many lyes. For the least part of that they knew not, was much greater: then all that which they euer knew. When I took my penne in my hand to write the vanity of the world: my entencion was not, to reprove this materiall world, the which of the fower elements is compounded. That is to wete, of the earth that is cold and dry: of the water that is moyst and cold: of the ayre, that is whot and moyst: of fyre that is dry and whot. So that taking the world in this sort, there is no reason why wee should complayn and lament of it, since that without him wee cannot lyue corporally. When the paynter of the world came into the world, it is not to bee beleeued that hee reproved the water which bare hym, when hee went vppon it: nor the ayre that ceased to blow in the sea, nor the earth that trembled at his death, nor the light which ceased to lyght, nor the stones which brake in sonder, nor the fish which suffered them selues to bee taken, nor the trees which suffered them selues to bee drye, nor the monuments that suffered them selues to bee opened. For the creature knowledged in his creator omnipotency, and the creator founded in the creature due obedience. Oftentimes and of many parsons wee heere say, o woofull world, o miserable world, o subtyl world, o world bristable and vncōstant. And therfore it is reason wee knowe what the world is, whereof the world is, from whence this world is, wherof this world is made, and who is lord of this world: since in it all things are bristable, all things are miserable, all disceitfull, and all things are malicious which can not bee vnderstanded of this materiall world. For in the fyre, in the ayre, in the earth, and in the water, in the lyght, in the planets, in the stones, and in the trees, there are no sorowes, there are no miseries, there are no disceit, nor yet any malyce. The world where in wee are born, where wee lyue, & where wee dye, differeth much from the world, wherof wee doo complayn: for the world agaynst whom wee fight, suffereth vs not to bee in quiet one hour in the day. To declare therfore my entencion, this wicked world is no other thing, but the euill lyfe of the worldlings, where the earth is the desyre, the fire the couetise, the water the inconstancy, the ayre the folly, the stones are the pride, the flowers of the trees the thoughts, the deepe sea the hart. Finally I say, that the forme of this world, is the prosperity: and the moone is the continuall chaunge. The prince of this so euill a world is the deuill, of whom Iesus Christ sayd. The prince of this world shall now bee cast out: and thus the redeemer of the world sayeth. For hee called the worldlings and their worldly lyues the world. For since they bee seruants of sinne, of necessity they must bee subiects of the deuill. The pryde, the auarice, the enuy, the blasphemy, the pleasures, the lechery, the neglygence, the glottony, the yre, the malyce, the vanity, and the folly.

This is the world agaynst which wee fight al our lyfe, and where the good are princes of byces, and the byces are lordes of the vicious.

Let

Let vs compare the trauels which wee suffer of the elements, both those whych wee endure of the byces, and wee shall see, that lyttle is the perill wee haue on the sea, and the land, in respect of that which encrease the of our euill lyfe. Is not hee in moze daunger, that falleth through malpce into pryde: then hee which by chaunce falleth from a high rock? Is not hee who woth enuy is persecuted, in moze daunger: than hee that with a stone is wounded? Are not they in moze perill, that liue among vicious men: than others that liue among brut and cruell beasts? Doo not those which are tormented w the fire of couetousnes suffer greater daunger, then those which lyue vnder the mount Ethna? Finally I say, that they bee in greater perils, whych w hygh immaginations are blynded: then the trees which with the impetu- nat wyndes are shaken. And afterwards this world is our cruell enemy, it is a deceitfull frend, it is that which alwayes keepeth vs in trauell, it is that which taketh from vs our rest, it is that that robbeth vs of our treasoz, it is that which maketh him self to bee feared of the good, & that which is greatly beeloued of the euill. It is that which of the goods of other is prodigall, and of his own very miserable. Hee is the inuenter of all byces, and the scoutge of all vertues. It is hee which entertaine the in flattery and fair speech. This is hee which bringeth men to dissention, that robbeth the renown of those that bee dead, and putteth to sack the good name of those that bee aliuie. Finally I say, that this cursed world is hee, which to all ought to render ac- compt, and of whom none dare ask account. O vanity of vanity, where all walk in vanity, where all think vanity, where all cleue to vanity, where all seemeth vanity: and yet this is lyttle to seeme vanity, but that in dede it is vanity. For as false witnes shoold hee be, that woold say that in this world ther is any thing assured, healthfull, and true: as hee that woold say that in heauen there is any vnconstant, variable, or false thing. Let therfoze bayn princes see, how bayn their thoughts bee, and let vs desire a bayn prince to tell vs how hee hath governed him woth the vanities of the world. For if hee beeleeue not that whych my penne wyrteth, let him beeleeue that whych his parson prooueth. The wordes written in the book of Ecclesiastes are such.

I Danids sonne that swaies the kingly seat
With hungry thirst, haue throwen amid my brest
A rayn desire to proue what pleasures great
In flying life haue stable foot to rest.

To tast the sweet that might suffice my will
With rayned course to shunne the deeper way
Whose streams of high delight, shoold so as still
As might consent my restless thought to stay

For lo, queene follies impr through rayn beclief
So proudly shape their serch of sickle reich
That though desert awailes the waue of grief
To science soppe their climming will doth stretch

And so to draw some nice delighting end
Of fancies toyl that feasted thus my thoughts
I largely wayed my wasted bounds to bend
To swelling realms as wisdoms dyall wrought.

I ryall courts haue reached from the soyl
To serue to lodge my huge attending rayn
Ech pleasant house that might bee beapt with toyl
I reared vp to weeld my wanton rayn.

I caused to plant the long vnused vines
To smoothe my tast with treasure of the grape
I sipped haue the sweet can flaming wyne
Old trust of care by bidd delight to scape.

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Fresh arbors I had closed to the skie
A shadowed space to vse my sickle teete
rich gardenst had dasing still myne eyes
A pleasant plot when dainty food was met.

Hight shaking trees by art I stroue to sett
to fraight desire with fruit of seeking tast
When bryling flame of summers sunne did bett
the blossomed bowes his shooting beames did wast.

From rock y hills I forced to bee brought
Cold saluer springs to bayne my fruitfull ground
Large thronn out pands I labor'd to bee wrought
where rubers huge off swimming fish were found.

Great compass parkes I gloried long to plant
And wylde forests where swarmed beards of dere
thousands off beepe ne cattal could not want
with new encrease to store the wasted yere.

Whole rowis I kept off seruile wights to sarue
Disant of princely courtis with ykefom toyle
whose skilful hand from conning could not swarue
ther sway was most to deck my dayntie soyle

The feared wights of musike enuious art
I rayned vp to please mee with their play
whose sugred tunes so sayled to my hart
As flowing greef, agried to ebbe away.

The tender maides, whose stalk of growing yeres
yet reached not to age his second rayne
whose euyall fumes, were slowe in noyares
But burnt by loue as beauties lot doth gayne

To I enioyed to feede my dulled spirite
with strayned voice of sweete alluring song
but yet to mount the stage of more delighe
I ioyed to see their comly daunces long.

The hills of massy gold that I vpreapt
So huge were by boord of long excessse,
That cluttered clay, with prouder price was kept
In sondry realmes, when richfull need did presse.

In some I say, my bodie ruling guyde
did gaste for nought, but subiect lay to se
My iudge of soundis, wisht nothing to abyde
but was insild so handle more delighe.

The clother of my corpes yet neuer felt
that please him ought, but ay it toucht agayn
my sycher of sauours, as fonght bee smelt
that migh content, his would was neuer vayne.

The greedy sighe of my deuoured brest
Trawailed in thought to conquer no delighe
but yelded straight as wyer to the wress
to office such, as wanton will be bight.

But when the doores of my abused eyen
were hoysed vp with lookes and looker agayn
And that my egre hands, did ay encline
to touch the sweete, that seasond still their payn.

When wanton tast, was fed with eche conceit
That strange deuise brought forth fro flowing wis
when restlesse will was ballast with the waighe,
of princely reach, that did my compassse fir,

I saw by sech, the forvnsable blame
the blasted fruit, the flitting still delighe
The fyckle ioy, the oft abused doome
the slipper stay, the short contented syghs

Of such as set their heauen of lingring lyfe
In pleasures lappe, that laughes at their abuse
whose froward wheele, with frowning turnis ryse
to drowne their blisse, that blindly slept with vse.

For lo, the course of my delighting years
that waxe embraste in armes of fancies past
when wisdoms sonne, through follies clouds aperes
doth blus to here, the count that pleasure cast.

So now I see the masse of huge delighe
with flattering face dooth promise bus decay
whose flitting foot, entysed once to flight
his restles wings, doo seeke to fore away.
Lo thus hee slips, reclaimed with endles payn
Possess a while, ad parting soone agayn.

This sayeth the sage Salomon, talking of the things of the world: the which
as hee spake of the world, so had hee proued it in deepe in his parson. Credis-
ting, as it is reason to such high doctrin, I cannot tell what my pen can write
moze in this case, since hee saith, that after hee had all proued, experimented,
possessed, and tasted, hee found that all that wee procure & haue in this world
is vanity. O princes, and great lords, I beesech yee, and in the name of Iesus
christ I exhort you, w great discretio to enter into this deepe seas: since thys
order

order is so disordered, that it bringeth all disorders, & euill customs. For al those which shall traual by y way, when they shal think to goe most sure in y midst of their iourney, they shal finde them selues to bee lost. None ought to agree with the world, for that hee might liue sure in his house: for day & night, to all worldlings hee hath his gate open, making their entry large & sure. But let vs beeware wee enter not, and much more that wee lode not our selues with his vices, and bee delighted with his pleasures. For since wee doo ware world, and that wee are entered therein, though wee doo repent, by no way wee fynd the sure comming out, but y first wee must wel pay for our lodging. I marnell not though the worldlings at euery moment bee deceiued, sng super- fyciously they beehold y world w their eyes, & loue it profoundly w their hartg. But if they desyre d as profoundly to consider it, as they do baynly follow it, they shoold see very plain that y world did not flatter them w prosperity, but threaten them w aduersity. So y vnder the greatest point of the dye, which is the vi. is hyd y least which is the asr, I woold counsel princes, & great lordes, that they woold not beleeue the world nor his flatteries, and much lesse be- leeue them selues nor their bayn ymaginations. The which for the most part doo think that after they haue traualled and heaped bp great treasure, they shall enioy but their own traual, without the trouble of any man, or that any man doo goe again them. How bayn is such thought, and how oft dooth it chaunge contrary. The world is of such an euill condicion, that if hee let vs rest our first sleepe, as well vs, as that which wee haue gotten, immediatly in the morning, yea oftentimes an hower from thence, hee waketh vs w a new care, & now hee hath prepared for vs some mean, to occupy our selues about some other trouble.

The antour followeth his intencion, and speaketh vehemently against the dy-
ceyts of the world. Cap. xl.

Themperoz Traian sayd one day to his maister (which was Plutarche the great phylosopher) tell mee maister, why there are commonly moe euill then good: and why without comparison there are mo which fol- low vices, than those which embrace vertue: The great Plutarche answered. As our naturall inclinacion is moze geuen to lasciuiousnes and neglygence then to chastity and abstinence: so the men which doo enforce them selues to follow vertue are few, and those which geue slack y reyns to vices are ma- ny. And know thou, if thou knowst it not (most noble Prince) that all thys e- uill proceedeth, that men doo follow men, and that they suffer not reason to follow reason. Feeble, and myserable is our nature, but in the end wee ca not deny, that for all our traualles wee may fynd remedy in it, which seemeth to bee true. For so much as if the sunne dooth annoy vs, wee doo retire to y sha- dow. If wee are greened goyng on foot, wee doo remedy it goyng on horse- back. If the sea bee daungerous, wee saile w hypps. If the cold doo bere vs, wee approach nere the fyr. If thirst dooth trouble vs, wee doo quench it w drink. If rayn dooth wet vs, wee go into houses. If the plague bee in one pla- ce, wee fly into another. If wee haue enemies, wee comfort our selues wth our frends. Finally I say, that there is no sorow, nor traualle, but that a mā hath

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hath found some rest & remedy. This presupposed to bee true (as it is trouth in deede) now I ask all the worldlings, if they haue found any remedy against the troubles & disceits of this world: If I bee not deceiued, & if I vnderstand any thing of this world, the remedy which the world geueth for the troubles, certainly are greater traualles, then the traualles them selues: so that they are salues that doo not heal our wounds, but rather burn our flesh. When the diseases are not very old rooted, nor daungerous, it profiteth more oftentimes to abide a gentle feauer: then to take a sharp purgacion. I mean, that y^e world is such a deceyner, and so double, that hee dooth contrary to that hee punisheth. That is to weete, that if hee doo perswade vs to reuenge an iniury: it is to the end that in reuenging that one, wee should receiue a thousand inconueniencies. And where as wee think it taketh from vs, it encreaseeth infynite. So that this cursed guide, making vs to beleeue it leadeth vs vpon the dry land among our frends: causeth vs to fall into the imbushment of our enemies. Princes and great lords, in the thoughts they haue, and in the wordes that they speak, are greatly esteemed: and afterwards in the wordes which they doo, and in the affaires they traualle, are as litle regarded. The contrary of all this dooth the wicked world, who with al those hee companieth, in his promises hee is very gentle: & afterwards in his deedes, hee is very proud. For speaking the trouth, it costeth vs deare: and wee others doo sell it good chepe. I say much, in saying that wee sell it good chepe: but in manner I should say better, that wee geue it willingly. For few are those in number which cary away wages of the world: and infinite are those, which doo serue it onely for a bayn hope. O princes, and great lords, I counsaile and require you, that you doo not trust the world, neither in word, deede, nor promise, though hee sweare and sweare agayn, that hee will keepe all hee hath promised with you. Suppose that the world dooth hono^r you much, flatter you much, visit you oft, offer you great treasures, and geue you much: yet it is not because hee will geue it yee by lytle & lytle, but that afterwards hee might take it all from yee again in one day. For it is the old custome of the world, that those which aboue all men hee hath set befoze: now at a turn, they are furdest beehinde. What may wee haue in the world and in his flatteries, since wee doo know, that one day wee shall see our selues depriued thereof: and that which is moze, hee vseth such craft and subtilty with the one and the other, that in old men whom reason would should not bee vicious, hee (the moze to torment their parsons) hath kyndled a greater fyre in their harts, so that this malicious world putteth into old ryches, a new couetousnesse: and in the aged, engendzeth cruell auarice, and that in that tyme, when it is out of tyme. Wee ought greatly to consyder, how by the world wee are deceyued: but much moze wee ought to heede, that wee bee not by it dystroyed. For where as wee thynk to bee in open lyberty: hee keepeth vs secret in prysyn. Wee thynk wee are whole, and hee geueth vs sicknesse. Wee thynk wee haue all things: yet wee haue nothing. Wee thynk that for many yeaeres long shall bee our life, when y^e at every corner wee are assaulted of death. Wee think y^e it counteth vs for mē y^e bee wise, when hee keepeth vs bond like vnto fooles. Wee think y^e it encreaseth our good, when y^e in deede it burdenneth our consciences. Finally I say, that by the way where wee thynk to contryue our renowne, and

and life: wee lose without recovery, both lyfe and fame. O filthy world, that when thou doost receiue vs, thou doost cast vs of: when thou doost asseble vs, thou doost seperat vs: when thou seemest to reioice vs, thou makest vs sad: when y^e pleasest vs: how thou displeasest vs: when thou exaltest vs, how thou humblest vs: & when thou doost chastise vs, how thou reioicest. Finally I say, y^e thou hast thy drynks so impoysoned, that wee are without thee, with thee, and hauyng the thee within the house, wee goe out of the doores to seeke hym. Though men bee diuers in gestures: yet much more are they variable in their appetites. And sith y^e world hath experiēce of so many years, it hath appetites prepared for all kynd of people. For the presumptuous hee procureth honours, to the auaricious hee procureth riches, and to those which are gluttons, hee presenteth dyuers meats. The fleshy hee blindeth with women, and the negligent hee letteth rest: and the end why hee dooth all these things, is that after hee hath fed them as fysh, hee casteth vpon them the nettes of all vices. Note princes, and great lordes, note noble men, though a prince doo see him self lord of all the world, hee ought to thynk that of no value is the seignory, onles hee him self bee vertuous. For litle it profitech that hee bee lord of the vicious: which is him self the seruant of all vices. Many say that the world dooth beguile them: and other say that they haue no power against y^e world. To who wee may aunswere. That if at the first temptacions wee woold haue resisted the world: it is impossible y^e so oftentimes it durst assault vs. For of our small resistauce, commeth his so great audacity. I can not tell if I shall dissembles, I shall hold my peace, or whither I shall say that I woold say, since it grieueth my hart so much, onely to think of it. For I feele my eyes redyer to lament it, then my fingers able to write it. It is so, that euery man suffereth him self to bee gouerned so of the world: as if god were not in heauen, & hee had not promised to bee a good christian here in earth. For all that hee will, wee will, that which hee followeth, wee follow, and that which hee chooseth wee choose. And that which is greatest sorow of all, if wee doo refrayn our selues from aduersity, it is not for that of our own nature wee woold cease from it: but because the world will not commaund vs to doo it. Litle is that which I haue spoken, in respect of that I will speak: which is, that the world hath made vs now so ready to his law, that from one howe to another, it chaungeth the whole state of this life. So that to day hee maketh vs hate that, which yesterday wee loued, he maketh vs complayn of that, which wee commended: hee maketh vs to bee offended now with that, which beefore wee did desire: hee maketh vs to haue mortall enemies of those, which beefore were our speciall friends. Finally I say, that the world maketh vs to loue that in our lyfe, which afterwards wee bee waile at the howe of death. If the world did geue vnto his minyons, any perfect and accomplished thing: it were somewhat that for a time a man should remayn in the seruice of his house: But since that in the world all things are graunted not during life, but as lendyng, which ought to bee rendered the day following: I know not what man is so bery a foole, that in the world dooth hope for any perpetuall thyng: For all that hee geueth, hee geueth with such condicion, that they shall render it vnto him when hee shall demaund it: and not at the dyscretion of him that dooth possesse it. Peraduenture y^e world can geue vs perpetuall life: I say certainly

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no. For in the sweetest tyme of all our lyfe, then sodainly wee are assaulted of cruell death. Peradventure the world can geue vs temporall goods in abundaunce: I say certaynly no. For no man at any tyme had so much riches: but that whych hee wanted was moze, then that hee possessed.

Peradventure the world can geue vs perpetual ioy: I say certaynly no.

For emptyng those days whych wee haue to lament, and also the hours whych wee haue to sygh: there remayneth not for vs one moment to laugh. Peradventure hee can geue vs perpetuall health: I say certaynly no. For to men of long lyfe, without comparison the diseases are moze which they suffer: then the yeares are whych they lyue. Peradventure the world can geue vs perpetuall rest: I say certaynly no. For if the days bee few, where in wee see the elements without clouds: fewer are the howers, whych wee feale our harts without cares. Therefore synce that in this myserable world there is no health perpetuall, nor lyfe perpetuall, nor ryches perpetuall, nor ioy perpetuall, I would know what it is that the worldyngs woold of the world, synce they know that it hath no good thing to geue them, but onely by lendyng, or by vsury: If it bee vsury, there is no gayn of money: but rather retourn, with restitution of vices. O children of banyty, O maisters of lyghtnes, synce it is so, that yee now determyne to follow and serue the world: looke not of the world to haue any thyng, but thyngs of the world. In it is nothyng but pryde, enuy, leachery, hate, yre, blasphemy, auarice, and folly. And if yee ask yf hee haue in hys gouernance any vertuous thyng, hee will aunswer you that hee dooth neuer sell such marchaundys in hys shop. Let no man thynk that the world can geue vs that, whych it hath not for it self. And if wee will chaunge any thyng with it, and it with vs: hee is so subtil to sel, & so curious to buy, yf that which hee taketh shal bee of great measure, and that which hee selleth vs, shal want much weight.

Of a letter the Emperoz Marcus Aurelius wrote to hys frend Torquatus to comfort hym in hys banishment, which is notable for all men to learn the vanities of this world. Cap. xli.

Marcus Emperour of Rome companion in the empyre, to hys brother Annius Verus, to thee Torquatus of y city of Gayetta wilseth health to thy parson, & strength against thy euil fortune. I being in the Temple of the bestal virgins, about thre moneths hence, I receiued a letter of thine: the which was in such sort, that neither mine eyes for that tyme could make an end to read it, nor synce I haue had the hart to aunswer it. For in the inconueniencies of our scends, if wee haue no faculty nor might for to remedy it, at the least wee are bound to bee waile it. Thy sorow maketh mee so heauy, thy payn dooth trouble mee so much, I am so carefull of thy anguill, so tormented with thy grief, that if the gods had geuen power to wofull men to depart theire sorowes, as they haue geuen to ryche men to depart their goods: by the faith I owe to god, I sweare, that as I am the greatest of thy frends, I would bee hee which shoold take the most part of thy griefes. I know ryght well, and as well as hee that hath proued it, that as much difference as there is between the bark & the tree, the mary and the bone, the corn & the straw, the

the gold and the drosse, the trueth and the dreames: so much is there to here the traualles of another, and to tast his own. Notwithstanding comfort thy self my frend Torquatus: for where the frends bee trew, the goods and the evils are common beetweene them. Oftentimes with my self I haue marvelled, to what end, or intencion, the immortall Gods haue geuen traualle, and torments to men, synce it is in their power to make vs to lye without them. I see no other thyng, why the myshaps ought patiently to bee suffered: but because in those, wee know who are our faithfull frends. In battaile the valyaunt man is knownen, in tempestuous weather the Pilot is knownen, by the touch ston gold is tryed, and in aduersity the frend is knownen.

For my frend dooth not ynough to make mee mery, but lesse allso hee dooth take part of my sorow. I haue heard say here, and now by thy letter I haue seene, how they haue banished thee from Rome, and confiscated thy goods, and that for pure sorow thou art sick in thy bed: whereof I maruell not that thou art sick, but to bee as thou art alieue. For saying to thee the trueth, where the hart is sore wounded, in short space it hath accustomed to yeeld vpon to the body. I see well that thou complaynest, and thou hast reason to complayn, to see thy self banished from Rome, and thy goods confiscate, to see thy self out of thy countrey, without any parentage: yet therefore thy sorow ought not to bee so extreame, that thou shouldst put thy lyfe in hazard. For hee alone ought to haue lycence, and allso is bound to hate lyfe, whych dooth not remember that hee hath serued the Gods, nor hath doone any profyt to men. If the affaires of the Empire dyd not occupy mee, and the emperypall maiesty dyd not wythdraw mee: I woold immediatly haue come to comfort thy person, where thou shouldst haue seene by experience, wyth what grief I feele thy trouble. And therefore if thou takest mee for thy frend, thou oughtest to beleeue of mee that, which in this case I woold of thee: which is, that as thou hast been the most entyer frend which I had in Rome: so ys this the thing that most I haue felt in this lyfe. Tell mee my frend Torquatus, what is it thou sufferest there, that I doo not lament here: It may bee that sometyme thou laughest, but I allways weepe: sometimes thou comfortest thy self, but I am allways sad. It may bee that thou lightnest thy payn: but I am in sighyng. It may bee that sometymes thou castest from thee sorow: but for mee I cannot receiue consolation. It may bee that thou hopest remedy of long lyfe: but for mee I fynd no remedy more healthfull, then present death. Finally I say, that here I feele all that thou feelest there, and furthermore I suffer all that, which as a frend I ought to suffer here: so that both our paynes are made one most cruell sorow, where wyth my woofull lyfe is tormented. I woold greatly desire to come and see thee, and to help to dysburthen thee of this charge. And since it is impossyble for mee, I send thee this letter, wherein perchaunce thou shalt finde some comfortable woordes. For thou knowest, that if the trew frends cannot doo that which they ought: yet they doo accomplish it, in dooing that they can. If my memozy deceyue mee not, it is well two and thirty yeares since wee two haue knownen togethers in Rome, during the which, fortune hath made here beetweene vs dyuers alteracions, in the whych time I neuer saw thee one day contented. For if thou were sad, nothyng dyd make thee mery, but were as

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a man without tast: and if thou were ioyfull, thou esteemedst it litle, as a man beeyng troubled. Therefore if the trueth bee so (as in deede it is) that in trauayles thou were loden with sorowes, and in prosperities thou were euill content, so that of nothyng in the world thou takest any tast: why is it (my frend Torquatus) that now agayn thou art in dyspaire, as if thou camest new into this world: Thou dydst reioyce thy self xxxii. yeares, with the triumphs and prosperyty of Rome: and thou complainest onely of thzee moneths, that fortune hath been contrary vnto thee. ¶ Torquatus, Torquatus, dost thou know that the wise men (in whom wise dome reigneth) haue moze feare of two vnhappy days in this lyfe: then of two hundredth of prosperous fortune: ¶ How many haue I seene goe out of their prosperities, with the charges of another man, and their owne proper vices: so that the bayn glory and the fayling prosperity endured few days: but the grieve of that they haue lost, and the empties which they haue recouered, endure many yeares. The contrary of all this cometh to infortunat men, which escape out of their tribulations spoiled of byces, empyrned with vertues: persecutours of euill, zelers of good: friends of all, and enemies of none: contented with theirs, and not desyryng others: fynally they are scaped wisely from the snare, and haue gathered the rose, not hurting them selues with the pricks. What wilt thou that I say moze vnto thee, but that the most fortunat are banquished in peace: and the vnfortunat are conquerers in warre: One of the sentences which most haue contented mee, of those which the aunyents haue spoken, is this, of the deuine Plato. That those who are in prosperyty, haue no lesse neede of good counsaile: then the vnhappy haue of remedy. For no lesse doo they trauayle, which goe alway in the playn way: then those which mount on the sharp craggy mountayn. Accordyng to that I haue gathered of thy letter, mee seemeth that when wee hope most rest, greatest trauaile hath succeeded to thee. And hereof I doo not maruell, nor thou oughtst not to bee offended. For as experience teacheth vs, when the trees haue the blossomes, then they are most subiect to the frost. And when glassees are drawen out of the furnace, they breake. The captayns hauing wonne the victoery, doo dye. When they will put the key in the doore, the house dooth fall. The pyrats perissh, withyn the kenning of land. By that I haue spoken I mean, that when wee thynk to haue made peace with fortune, then shee hath a new demaund ready forged. All new chaunges of fortune, causeth all way new payn to the parson: but oftentimes it is cause of moze great fortresse. For the tree beareth not so much fruit, where it fyrst grew, as there where it is agayn planted: and the sauors are moze odiferous, when they are most chafed. I mean, that men of hie thoughts, the moze they are wrapped in y frownings of fortune, the moze baltiant and stout they shew them selues. The man utterly is foolyshe, or hath great want of vnderstandyng, who hopeth at any time to haue perfect rest, immaginyng that the world will geue no assault vppon hym: but that the time shall come, wherein hee shall bee without care and feare. This myserable lyfe is of such condicion, that dayly our yeares doo diminish, and our troubles encrease. ¶ Torquatus, by the immortall gods I doo desire thee, and in the faith of a frend I doo require thee, thou beeing born in the world, noursyshyng thy self in the world, lyuing in the world, beeing conuersant in the world,

world, beeing a chyld of the world, and following the world, what dydst thou hope of the world, but things of the world: Peraduenture thou alone wilt eat the fleash without bones, geue battaile without peryll, trauaile without payn, and sayle by the sea without daunger. I mean, that it is vnpossible for mortall men to lyue in the world, vnlesse they wyll become subject to the sorowes of the world. The world hath allways been the world, and now the world shall bee after vs, and as a world shall handell the worldlings,

The wyse men, and those which of their estates are carefull, are not contented to see, nor superficially to know the things: but rather way them profoundly. I say this, because if thou knewst thy debylty, and knewst fortune, and her chaunge, if thou knewst the men, and their malyses, if thou knewst the world, and his flatteryes: thou shouldest wyne no lytle honor, where as otherwise thou mayst chaunce to get infamy. Wee are now come to so great folly, y wee wyll not serue the Gods, w haue created vs: nor abstain from the world, w persecuteth vs. And the best is, y hee not wylling vs (but rather reiecting vs) wee say y of our own willes wee will loue & serue hym: & yet knowing that those which longest haue serued the world, doo goe out of hys house most bytterly lamentyng. Oftentimes I say to thyng, that accordyng to the multitude of men which follow the world, beeyng allways euyl handled of the world (if the world dyd pray them, as hee dooth annoy them, yf hee dyd comfort them, as hee dooth torment them, yf hee kept them, as hee banysyth them, yf hee exalted them, as hee abuseth them, yf hee receyued them, as hee expelleth them, yf hee dyd contynue them, as hee consumeth them: I thynk that the Gods should not bee honored in heauen, nor the Temples wooshypped in the earth. O Torquatus my frend that which now I wyll say of thee, thou mayst say of mee. That is to weete, how much wee put our confydence in fortune, how lewdly wee passe our days, and how much wee are blinded in the world: yet for all that wee credyt his woord as much, as though hee had neuer mocked any.

¶ Marcus Aurelius goeth on with hys letter and by strong and hygh reasons persuadeth all that lyue in the world, not to trust the world, nor any thing therein. Cap. xij.

TELL mee I pray thee Torquatus, what wyll thou heare more: What wilt thou see more: and what wyll thou know more, to know the world: seeing how vntill this present thou hast bene handled of the world: thou demaundest rest, and hee hath geuen thee trouble. Thou demaundest honor, and hee hath geuen thee infamy. Thou demaundest riches, & hee hath geuen thee pouerty. Thou demaundest ioy, & hee hath geuen thee sorow. Thou demaundest to bee his, & hee hath geuen thee his hand. Thou demaundest life, & hee hath geuen thee death. Therefore if it bee true, that y world hath handled thee in this wise, why doost thou weepe to return again to hys wicked house: O sylthy world, how farre art thou fro iust: & how farre ought they to bee from thee, which desire to bee iust. For naturally thou art a frend of nouelties, & enemy of vertues. One of y lessons which the world readeth to his chyldren is this: y to bee true worldlings, they shouldest not bee very true.

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The which experience plainly sheweth vs, for the man which medleth much wyth the world, leaueth alway suspicion of hym that hee is not trew. The world is an imbassadour of the euill, a scourge of the good, cheefest of byres, a tyrant of the vertuous, a breaker of peace, a friend of warre, a sweete water of vices, the gawle of the vertuous, a defender of lyes, an inuenter of nouelties, a trauailer of the ignoraunt, a hammer for the malicious, a table of gluttons, and a furnace of concupiscence: fynally, it is the perill of Charibde, where the hartes doo perishe: and the daunger of Scilla, where the thoughts doo wast. We suppose that these bee the condicions of the world. The trouth is, yf there bee any worldyng who complaineth to bee euil content wth the world, shall hee therefore chaunge his stile? Truly no, and the reason is, that if perchance one worldyng shoold goe out of the house of the world, there are ten thousand vanities at his gate. I know not what wyse man will lyue in the world with such condicions, since the vices wherewith wee doo reioyce our selues are very few, in respect of the torments which wee suffer. I say not that wee doo heare it by heare say, and read them in booke: but wee see with our own eyes, the one to consume and wast the goods, others by myfortune to fall, and lose their credyt, others to fall and lose their honoz, and others to lose their lyfe, and all these myseries scene, yet neuerthelesse euery man thynketh to bee free by priuiledge, where there is none priuiledged: O my friend Torquatus, of one thing I assure thee, which is, that the men which are borne of women are so euill a generation, and so cruel is the world where in wee liue, and fortune so empoysoned with whom wee frequent: that wee cannot escape without being spurned with his feete, bytten with his teeth, torne wyth his nayles, or impoysoned with hys benym. Peraduenture thou mayst say vnto mee that thou hast seene some in Rome, which haue lyued long tyme, fortune neuer beeyng against hym: To this I aunswere thee, that thou oughtst rather to haue pity vpon hym, then enuy: for it is not for his profyt, but for his great hynderaunce. For the world is so malicious, that when it seemeth to bee most our friend, then it woorketh vs most displeasure. The healthfull men dye rather of a short disease in few dayes: then the dys and feeble men doo, with a disease of many yeares. By this comparison I mean, that since man cannot escape, nor liue without trauaile: it is much better, that by litle and lytle hee tasteth them, then they enter all at one tyme into his house. O how much ought the man to bee hated of the immortal gods, who knoweth not what trauaile meaneth in this world: For hee onely ought to feare fortune, who knoweth not fortunes force. Since the gods woold perishe, and thy myshap hath beene such, that thou hast found more daunger, where thou thoughtst most surety as a man euill fortunèd: it is reason that wee apply vnto thee some new ware, to the end thou lose not thy good renoume. synce thou hast lost thy euill goods,

Tell mee I praye thee (Torquatus) why doost thou complain as a man sick: why cryest thou as a foole: why syghest thou as a man in dyspayre: and why doost thou weepe as a chyld: Thou art come out of the way, And thou complainest to haue lost thy way. Thou sailest by the boiling seas: & thou wonderest that y^e waues doo assault thee. Thou hast ascended y^e deepe,
and

and craggie mountayns : and thow complaynest that thow art weary.

Thow walkest by the thornes : and wilt not that thy gown bee torne.

Dydst thow thinke in the top of the hygh mountayn to lyue most sure? By that I haue spoken, I wyll ask what diligent seruice thow hast doone to the world, that thow wouldest the gods of heauen shoold recompence thee: Wouldest thow of fortune a safe conduct, shee beeing (as shee is) enemy of many, nature beeing not able to geue it, the which is mother of all : O my frend Torquatus, that whych the pytyfull nature cannot promyse thee, dydst thow thinke that fortune (which is the iust stepmother) shoold geue : It is impossible that the Sea shoold alwayes promise vs suerty, and the heauen cleerenesse, the summer dewes, and the wynter frosts. Mark well, mark my frend Torquatus, that all naturall thyngs are subiect to chaunge every ycare: but all the worldlyngs ought to endure to eclipse every moment.

Synce the naturall goods cannot alwayes bee in one mans custody, beeing necessary, it is iust that the goods of fortune perishe, since they are superfluous. Vniust shoold the Gods bee, if that whych is to the damage of so many, they had made perpetuall: and that which is to the profyt of all, they had made mortall. I will no more reduce to thy memory, the prosperitie wch thow hast had in times past: befoze y wee treat how fortune handleth thee at thys present. The deceptfull fortune, when at thy gate shee sold her marchaundysse, knowing that shee sold vnto thee, and thow beeing ignorant of that thow boughtst : shee gaue thee scutefull ground, and after ward made it vnto thee paynfull. Shee hath geuen thee sower for sweete: and the sweete shee hath returned to the sower. Shee hath geuen thee the euill for the good: and where that thow hast sold her good: shee returned vnto thee euill. Finally shee hath beguyled thee in the iust pryse : thow not supposyng that thow hadst receiued any damage. Wee can doo no lesse in this case but to haue compassyon vpon thee: yet though they condemne malicious fortune for selling, they wyll note thee simple in buying. For in the shop of fortune, all marchaundysse are suspitious. O unhappy that wee are, I say those whych meddle with the world: for in his market they see nought but lyes, and wee doo not trust but in the ouerthrowes of our renowne : whych are not payd, but with the cost of our lyfe. And the factours of that faire, geue vs nothyng by weight, or measure: for they are a sort of bacabounds, and the woozst of all is, knowing that they ought to lose wth fortune, all seeke to buy at her shop. Geue thy self to the world, loue the world much, serue the world well, follow the world well, and feele the world well: for in the end of the iourney, the world requyret thee to bee lyke vnto hys inconstancy. I woold enter into count, not wth the world, which in the end is the world: but wth the worldlyngs, which are in loue with the world. For in the end, eyther it is good or euill. If the world bee good for them, whereof doo they complayne? If hee bee euill, why doo they follow hym? They can not (though they woold) deny one of the two errors wherein the worldlyngs fall: that is to weete, that they serue an euill maister, or that they murmur of a good lord. Tell mee my frend Torquatus what dydst thow hope, synce thow madest so long tyme a countenance to the world: two & thyrty ycares thow hast serued the world, and hast beene in hys fauour: Where-

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wherefore it were now hys time that betweene thee and hym were some dys-
cord. For betweene the graundfathers and the nephews, betweene the fa-
ther and the children, betweene the vncles and the nephews, dayly wee see
great strifes: and dost thou think, that betweene thee and fortune, perpe-
tuall peace should bee? She gaue not to Belus kyng of the Assyrians but .lx
years of prosperitie. To the Queene Semiramis fyve onely. To Label kyng of
the Lacedemonians, fyve. To the kyng of Chaldeans, fower. To the great
Alexander, fower. To the great Amilcar kyng of Carthage two. To our Iulius
Cesar, one, and to infinit others shee gaue not one. If the world were payent
hee should bee no world, if the world were constant, hee should bee no world,
if the world were sober, hee should bee no world, if the world were true, hee
should bee no world, if the world were corrigible, hee should bee no world: fy-
nally I say, that for nought els the world is world, but because there is no-
thing in him worthy to bee beloued: and many things in it that deserueth to
bee reproued. If thou were wise, and knewst any thing of the world, in all
the discourse of thole .xxiiij. years, thou hadst not eaten without care, nor hadst
gon without guyles, and hadst not spoken without suspicion, nor slept without
assault, nor trusted any frend. For the warre men doo thynk always, where-
in their enemies may beguile them, wherein they them selues may faile,
and wherein fortune may let them. I know not if it bee that the world of
hym self bee happy, or that the worldlings are fooles. For if one straunger,
one neighbour, or our proper brother dooth enuy vs, wee wyll neuer (though
hee doo require vs) pardon him, and wee cease not to follow the world, though
wee know hee persecuteth vs. So that wee draw our sweords agaynst flies:
and will kill the elephants with needles. There is no greater yll in the world,
then to thynk all things in the world are in extremity. For if wee bee aba-
sed, wee sigh always to mount: and if wee bee high, wee weepe allways for
feare of falling. Such overthrow hath the world, and his snares are so se-
cret: that wee are no soner shipped, but wee see both our hands and feete en-
tangled in vices: by the which our liberty is brought into such extreme and
cruell captivity, that wee bee wayle our mishaps wyth roaring voyce as brute
beasts: but as men wee dare not once utter them. I know not whereof
this cometh, for some I see which willingly fall, and other I see which
woold recouer them selues. I see dyuers that woold bee remedied, and
I see all doo complayne: but in the end I see no man that dooth amend.
These thyngs I haue written vnto thee, for no other thing, but because
from hence forth thou shouldst lyue more circumspectly: for as thou knowst,
I say nothyng, whereof I haue not had long experyence. The colt whych
thou hast sent mee is proued very good, espycally for that hee leapeth ve-
ry well, and for the carper hee is exceedyng ready, and hath a comely grace.
I send thee two thousand sextertres, wherewith thou mayst releue thy necessi-
ties. Syndyng oportunitie, as touchyng thy banishment, I wyll speak to
the senate in thy behalf. I say no more to thee, but that the consolacion of
the gods, and the loue of the gods bee with thee Torquatus. The malice of
the euil, & the yre of þ furies, bee absent from mee Marcus. My wyfe Fauline
saluteth thee. And in her behalf, and myne, recommend vs to thy fayre
doughter in law Solophonia, and thy doughter Amilda. Marke of mount Ce-
lio

his, wth to thee Torquate, with his own hand.

Princes and noble men ought not to beare wth jugglers, lechers, parasites, and common players, nor wth any such kynde of raskals, and loyterers. And of the lawes whych the Romayns made in thys beehall.
Cap. xliij.

Licurgus, Promotheus, Solon, and Numa Pompilius, famous inuenters, and ordeyners of lawes, shewed the subtilty of their wittes, and the zeale which they had to their people, in ordeining many lawes which they taught: not only what they ought to doo: but that which they ought to fly. For the good and expert phisicians doo deserue moze praise to p^{re}serue vs befoze wee are sick: then to heale vs after wee are diseased. Plutarke in his apothegmes neuer ceaseth to exalt the Lacedemonians, saying: that when they did obserue their lawes, they were the most esteemed of al the greekes: and after that they brake them, they were the most vilest subiects, which euer the Romains had. The felicity or infelicity of realms, dooth not consist to haue good or euill lawes: but to haue good or euill princes. For litle profyteth vs the law to be iust, if y^e kyng be wicked. Sextus Cheroneus in the life of Nerua sayth, when the romayns and the Greekes had warres together, & that the ambassadours of these two nations were at controuersy, which of them shoold haue the Rhodiens to be their frends: the Greeke ambassadour said to the Romayn. Yee ought not to make your selues egall. O Romayns, with the Greekes, sing the troth is, that yee came from Rome to Greece to seeke lawes. The romain ambassadour answered him. I graunt thee, that from Rome wee sent to seeke lawes in Greece: but thou wilt not deny, that from Greece you haue brought the vices to Rome. I say vnto thee the trouth, that without comparison, greater damage haue the vices doon vnto vs: then your lawes haue profyted vs. Plutarke in an epistle hee wrote to Traiane, sayd these wordes. Thow writest vnto mee, most noble p^{rin}ce, that thou art occupied in ordeining new lawes: but in my oppinion it had been much better, that thou hadst kept, & caused to be kept the old. For litle profyteth it to haue the bookes full of good lawes, and that the common wealth be full of euill customes. I haue seene very few p^{rin}ces, but to make lawes they had habilitie sufficient: and to keep them, they haue felt in them selues great debility and weaknesse. Hereof wee haue example. For Nero was hee which made the best lawes in Rome: and that afterwarde of lyfe was most corrupt. For the gods oftentimes permit, that by the hands of some euill men, the others shoold be constrained to be good. Plutarke sayeth further. If thow wilt (noble p^{rin}ce) trust thyne own vnderstanding, in my pooze counsayl, in few wordes I woulde recite vnto thee al y^e auncient lawes. I wil send thee very briefe & sweete lawes, not to thend thow shooldst publysh them in Rome: but to the end thou keepe them in thy house. For synce thow hast made lawes for all, I wyl make lawes for thee. The fyrst law is, that thow bechaue thy self in such sort, that thow bee not noted of any notable vice: For yf the p^{rin}ce be vertuous in hys pallace, none dare bee dissolute in hys house.

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The second law is, that equally thou keepe iustice, as well to him which ly-
ueth farre of, as to him which is neere about thee: for it is much better þ thou
depart of thy goods to thy seruants, then that thou shouldst geue that iustice,
which apperteineth to others. The thyrd law is, that thou delygth in wooꝝd
and deede to bee true, and that they take thee not in this default to speak too
much. For pꝛinces which in their wooꝝds are breetapꝛ, and in their pꝛomy-
ses doubtfull, shal bee hated of their frends, and mocked of their enemies.

The fourth law is, that thou bee very gentle of condicȝon, and not forget-
ful of seruices doon. For vnthankful pꝛinces are hated of god, & despised of mē.

The fift law is, that as a pestilence thou chafe from thee flatterers. For such
with their euill lyfe, doo disturb a whole common wealth: and with their flat-
teries, doo darken thy renowe. If thou (most noble pꝛince) wilt obserue the-
se .v. lawes, thou shalt neede to make no moe lawes: for there is no neede of o-
ther law in the common wealth, but to see that the pꝛince bee of good life. This
wrote Plutarche to Traian, and every vertuous man ought to haue them writ-
ten in his hart. I was willing to touch this hystoꝝy onely to shew the pꝛosyt
of this last law, where it sayth, that pꝛinces admit into their conuersation no
flatterers, of whom it is reason wee talke of now: For so much as there are
spuers men, with whom they lose their time, and spend their goods. When
Rome was well ordered, two officers were greatly esteemed to the Romains.
The one was the maisters of fence, which were as men that fought and tur-
ned, and many times in that syght they were slaine. And the cause to inuent
this play, was to þendyng men (not expert in warre) should see the swoꝝds
drawen, sharp speres, shootyng of crossebowes, to geue blots with their
sword, to shed blood, to geue cruell wounds, and to slep men: For in this sort
they lost feare, and in goyng to the warre they recovered courage. The man
which hath once past a fowd in the water though it bee in the night, dare pas
it again. But hee which hath neuer passed it ouer though it bee in the day, dare
not auenture it. I mean, that the Romains were very sage, to shew vnto their
children the daungers, befoze they did put them therein. For this is the diffe-
rence betwene the fearefull hart, and the couragious stomack, in that the
one flyeth from a distaffe, and the other is not afraid of a swoꝝd.

The second office which was esteemed in Rome was, that of the iugglers,
jesters, comedians, and of such others, which inuented playes, and pastimes:
and the romayns deuised these sports, to reioyce the people: and in especially
men of warre, whom they feasted at their goyng forth, and much moze at
their comyng home. For the Romains thinking that they should bee wꝛth
such gloꝝy receyued, went with determination eyther to winne the victoꝝy, or
to dye in battaile. The auncient and true Romains had such care for the com-
mon wealth of their people, that they consented that jesters should jest, iug-
glers should iuggle, and the players of enterludes should play: But this was
not through abundaunce of vanpꝛy, noꝝ for want of grauity, but to take from
the Plebeians occasion of idleness, and to keepe them occupied in other par-
ticuler playes: they woult that all the pleasures should bee taken together.
Not without cause I say, that the pleasures were taken in comen, that is to
weete, that no romayn could play any playes particularly, make any bankets,
represent comedies, noꝝ make any feasts beside those, which they made to re-
ioyce

joyce the whole people, so that in Rome they trauailed seuerally, and reioyced together. I would to god that such and so excellent a romaine custome were obserued in our christian common wealth.

But I am very sozy that indifferently rich, and poore, great and small, doo play comedyes, rounne the bulles, make iust ordein bankets, weare deuises, feast the ladies spend in bankets, and inuent leasts. The which things altogether doo redound to the domage of the common wealth, to the wast of the goods, and to the corruption of the manners: for the particuler pastimes doo encrease new vices to bryede in me. These players did serue in rome to make pastime at the great feasts of their Gods: For since Romayns were great worshippers of their gods, and so careful of their temples, they sought to feast them at the ways they could inuent. Truly this was doon by the deuine sufferance, for their gods beeing laughing stocks (as in deed they were) the liuing god would they should bee serued, honoured, and feasted by iestures, and mocks. Blondus in the third booke de Roma triumphante mencioneth the which I haue haue spoken, and sayth. That the Romayns were no lesse curious to giue laws to the iudglers, and iesters, which went mocking vp and down Rome: then to the captayns which were fighting in the warre. For though they did permit iesters, players and iuglers, to exercise their offices: yet they did commaund them that their liues might bee bryght and iust. Amongst others, such were the laws, which the romayns ordeyned for these iesters, iuglers, players, and tomblers.

The first law was, they commaunded that they should all bee knowen, and examined, to see if they were honest men, wise, and sage. For the more their offices were baine, so much the more they provided, that they were becomen to wise men. The second law commaunded to examine them, to see if they were able, and comly to exercise their offices: and in deed in this tale, as well as in the other, they had reason, as very a foole is hee who for harkneth to a foole not pleasant, as the foole him selfe.

The thirde law was that they did not permit any Romaine iugler to exercise such feats, oneles hee had some other craft. So that if they occupied the holy days to play and thew pastime in the streets, the other days they should worke at home at their houses. The fourth law was, that no iugler nor vice should bee so hardy in his ostentacions to speake any malices: and in deede it was a law very necessary. For often times they are few which doo reioyce at their mockryes: and many which complayne of their malices.

The fift law was that no iugler or iester, should bee so bold to make any pastimes in any particuler houses, but in open places. For otherwise, those which spake them beecame hardy, and those which heard them were vicious.

The Romayns not contented to haue made these lawes, ordeyned that the iuglers for no pastimes shewed, or any other thing spoken should bee so bold as to receyue any mony. And to auoyde their complaynts, and to satisfy theyr paynes, they allowed every one of them a thousand sextertres yerely out of the common treasure. Wee ought greatly to prayse the prouidence of the Romayns, which haue prescribed a kinde of life for the iesters to liue: euē as they did to other men of rome, and to the captayns of war. And in this place

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no lesse than in another graue thing, thei shewed their wisdom. For a gouernour of a comon welth tranalleth more to correct fooles, then to gouern & sage.

¶ How some iesters were punished by the auncients, and of the iesters and loyterers of our tyme. Cap. xliiii.

Iulius Capitolinus in the booke of the maners of the auncients sayth, that in times past, the iesters, and iuglers were greatly esteemed. And wee wil not deny but that they had reason, sing with theim they honoured the gods they tooke their pleasure, thei reioyced their feastes, they were very quick men, nor importunate, nor couetous. The iester hath no grace, onlesse immediately a man putteth his hand to the purse. Wee finde s^{ome} fragments of an oration which Cicero made in the senat, greatly reproving the Senators, and all the people, because they so willingly gaue eare to this iester, who stirred by sedition among the commons, his name was Roscio, who was so greatly esteemed in rome that the Romayns did more willingly heare that which hee sayd in his iests, than that which Cicero spake in good earnest: This iester Roscio and Cicero stryued which of them both were of greater witt. Roscio for presēting a thing with diuers iests, or Cicero pronouncing waity matters in earnest. When I rede in Iulius Capitolinus that which I haue spoken, I will not cease to confesse mine innocency, for that I could not then keepe my self from laughing to see that Roscio, being Prince of folly: did presume to dispute with Cicero, which was father of eloquence. Sith all these things are vnsable in one, so from one day to another wee see them chaunge. The romayns dyd greatly esteeme the pollicy of the common wealth, the discipline of warre, the nurture of children, the exercyse of the pong, and the honesty of the players, and iuglers: the which in time came to bee dissolute, that very oft they were occasion of great slaunder among y^e people. The which by the Romayns seene, and considered, and that the iesters which were wont to shew them pleasures, were cause of discension (and where all they commaunded them to bee resydente in their offices, they were bacabonds, and that vsing them as sages, they liued as loyterers and fooles, not contented with that y^e they gaue them of the common treasure, but they went begging of euery mā) the Senat of rome determined among them selues to banish all the iuglers, and iesters, out of the common wealth. On this execution of these loyterers, sprang dyuers dysentions among the people. For the Princes which were good, cast them out: and those which were euill, called them in. So that one of the tokens which were in Rome to know a vertuous, or vitious prince was to see if hee maintained iesters, iuglers, or bacabonds, among the people. Plutarch in his Apothegmes sayeth, that the Lacedemonians did neuer permit any iugler or iester to bee in the common wealth. And when one did demand a Lacedemonian, by an imbassado^r of Rhodes, what was the occasion to make such a law, since the the iesters, & players, shewed pleasure to the people, and the people lost nought but laughed at their folly: the Lacedemonian answered, Lycurgus saw, hard, felt, or red some great damage the iesters, iuglers or players, might doo in the common welth, since agaynst them hee made this so straight a law. But that which I know is y^e wee Greekes are better, weeping with

with our sages: then are the Romayns laughing at their fooles. Dio in the life of Traian declareth, that there came a iugler to Rome fro Affricke, whose conueyance was so cleue, that it was a wonderfull thing to see what feats hee did, and to heare what words hee spake. And when they prayd the good Emperoz Traian, that it would please him to heare him, hee answered. It is not for the authority of a graue and vertuous prince, that in his presence any such bayne thing should bee shewed. For in such a case, hee should bee no les noted of lightnes, then the other accused of folly. And further hee sayd. Before princes a mā should not be so hardy to speake dishonest woordes, nor shew light representacions. And in such case as much payne deserue they which moue him thereto: as those which doo represent them. For a man ought not to put before princes things which should allure them to vices: but things which should moue them to vertues. Certainly these woordes were worthy of such a personage. Suetonius Tranquillus in the life of Augustus declareth, that in Rome ther was a iester very pleasant & of an excellent witt called Epifanius who one day vpp a holyday to the Emperoz for pleasure & hoping to haue a good reward, wēt to the palace at one time in the attire of a page, & another time in the habite of a Romayn matron: and so truly counterfeted euery thing that it seemed not to bee him, but the self same parson hee represented. The Emperoz Augustus was greatly displeased with that the iester had doon, and commaunded forth with that hee should bee whipt iii. tymes about the theatez. And when hee complayned, that the Emperoz commaunded barabonds to bee whipped once, and hee thirfe, the Emperoz Augustus answered. Once they shall whip thee, for the iniury thou didst to the Romayn matron, whom thou didst represent. The second time they shall whip thee, for the presumption that thou hast to represent it before my parson. The third for the time thou hast made diuers lose, for beeholding and hearing thee. For jesters doo not deserue so much punishment, in the iestes and mockries they doo say: as for the time which they lose, and cause others to lose. Certainly the punishment which was geuen to the iester, was very iust: and exceeding good were the woordes, which Augustus sayd. There was an other in the time of Augustus whose name was Pilas. And when the Emperoz had banished all the iesters, and iuglers fro Rome, this Pilas was so pleasant, & mery to all persons, that by great instance they besought the Emperoz to reuoke his sentence. And his request in deed was so great as if it had been for a Philosopher, they could haue doon no more. For dayn, & light mē, employ rather than they haue, on him who bringeth vnto them some solpe: then on one, which teacheth and correcteth their lyfe. The Emperoz condescended to the request of the people, on such conditiō, that they should geue a mayster and tutoz to Pilas, that should chastise and correct him as a foole. Saleng, since sages tooke fooles to bee their maysters, that the fooles also should haue sages for maisters. The case was that one day hee that had the charge of Pilas, did rebuke him for certain lightnes that hee had doon, or for some dishonesty that hee had sayd: whereat Pilas was exceeding wroth wth him. The which the emperoz vnderstanding, commaunded hee should bee whipt and banished for euer. When Augustus gaue this sentence they say hee sayd these woordes. Rome hath been mighty, and puissant enough, to make her ene-

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myes stoupe: and now thee is not able to banish iesters, and fooles. And that that is woordes of al, they haue presumption to vexe vs, and wee haue not courage to reprove them. The Lacedemonians had great reason and also the Romayns, to reue their common wealth of iesters. For they are idel, vitious, dishonest, malicious, and prejudyciall to the common wealth. These iesters and iuglers are idell, seeing that moze then others, they eat the swette of others. They are vicious, for they can not exercise their offices but in vices, and in treatyng with vicious men. They are dishonest, for they get not to eat by dooing good woordes: but by speaking dishonest woordes. They are malicious, for they haue accustomed whē they loue not a mā, immediately to speak euill of hym. They are vnprofitable for the common wealth, for they mock vs and sel vs baine woordes: and wee pay them good money. The world is come to so great folly, and corruption, that euē as graue and wyse men think it great inconuenience, to bee conuersant with bayne, and fond men: so the Lords of estate think it an honor, to haue in their house, some foolysly iesters, yea better to say (with reuerence of speache) raylyng knaues, which speake not to please and shew pastyme, but to offend the present, and rayl at the absent, as well of the high, as low, and that that is moze yet then this, is that they are not contentyd to haue gyuen this entertainment and welcome to the noble men and Gentlemen that are at their lordes boord: but they must needs haue a cast at my lord hym selfe to chere him with all: which intolerable abuse ought not onely not to bee suffered, but with most sharpe correction punished. But what shall wee say, that for the most part the lordes are so baine and the iesters so presumptuous and arrogant: that the Lords haue moze care to contente them, then they haue to please the lordes. In the house of a lord, a foole at the end of the yere will ask moze, then any other of those which are most auncient, so that the follyes of one are moze acceptable, then the seruyces of all. It is shame to speake it, and no lesse to wyte it, that the Children of vanity are so bayne, that they byrbe a foole or a iester no lesse in these days, to thintent hee may bee a meane for them vnto the Prince: then they did in times past desire Cicero, to make an oration for them befoze the Senat. It is for want of vnderstanding, and through the bility of person oppression of the hart, and dispryse of renowne, to bee desirous by the mean of fooles, too attayne to any thing. For hee can haue no great wysedōe, which putterh his hope in the fauor of a foole. What remaineth for mee to say, when I haue sayd that which I will say: And it is, that if a iester or foole say openly to some lord, God saue your lyfe my good lord. Oh hee is a noble man in deed hee will not stick to geue hym a gowne of silk: and entring into a church, hee would not geue a poore man a halpeny.

What negligence is there of princes: What vanity of Lords: since they forsake the poore and wyse, to enrych the iesters and fooles. They haue enough for the world, and not for Ihesus Christ: they geue to those that ask for his louers sake, and not to those which ask for the health of the soule. Hee ought not to doo so: for the knyght which is a Christian, and not a worldlyng, ought rather to will that the poore doo pray for hym at the hower of death: then that the fooles, and iesters should prayse him in his lyfe.

What

What dooth it profit the soule, or the body, that the iesters doo prayse thee for a cote thou hast geuen them: and that the pooze accuse thee, for the bread thou hast denyed them: Peraduēture it wil profyt thee asmuch, that a foole or a flatterer, goe befoze a Prince apparayled with a new livery of thine: as the pooze men shall doo thee damage befoze God, to whome thou hast denyed a pooze ragged shirt: All gentlemen, and noble parsonages, in the name of our sauour Iesus Christ I admonyshe, exhort, and humbly require, that thei consider well what they spend, and to whom they geue, for the good Princes, ought to haue more respect of the necessities of the pooze: then of the follies of counterfayts. Geue as yee wyl, deuide as ye list, for at the houre of death, as much as yee haue laughed with the fooles, for that ye haue geuen them, so much shall ye weepe with the pooze, for that ye haue denyed them. At the houre of death it shalbee greuous paynes to him that dyeth, to see the fleshy of the orphanes all naked, and to beehold counterfaite fooles laden with their garments. Of one thing I am amased, that indifferently every man may beecome a foole, and no man let him: and the woorst of al is, if once a foole beecome couetous, al the world afterwards cannot make him to be in his right senses. Truly such one which hath no reaso to be a foole, at the least hee hath good occasion: since hee getteth more to eat playeng, then the others doo woorking. What negligence of the princes, and what smal respect of the gouernours of the common wealth is this: that a yong man, whole, stout, strong, and balaunt, should bee suffered to goe from house to house from table to table, and only for babbling bayne wordes, and telling shamefull lyes, hee should bee counted a man of an excellent tong: Another folly there is in this case, that their woordes are not so foolish, as their deedes are wicked. And though they haue a good, or euell grace: yet in the end, they bee counted in the common wealth, as loyterers and fooles. I know not whether in this case is greater, either their folly, or our lyghtnes: for they vse as fooles, in telling vs lyes, and wee pay them good mony. The Romaynes dyd not permit in their common wealthes, old stale iesters: nor wee Christians ought to retayne into our houses, idel loyterers. Ye ought to know that more offendeth hee which sinneth with a defourme woman: then hee which sinneth with a beautifull lady. And hee which is drunk with sower ale offendeth more then hee which is drunk with sweete wyne. And so in like maner greater offence commit they which lose their times with fooles that haue no grace: then with iesters, which haue good witts. For it may bee permitted sometyme, that the sage man for the recreation of his spyrts, doo frequent the company of some pleasant man.

Of a letter which the Emperour wrote to Lambertus his friend, gouernor of Helespont certifying him that hee had banished from Rome all fooles and loytering plaiers and is deuided into 3. chapters, a notable letter for those that keepe counterfet fooles in their howses.

Cap. xlv.

Marcus Aurelius onely Emperour of Rome, lord of Asia, confederate to Europe, frendes of Affricke, and enemy of the warreg, wissheth health to thee Lambert, gouernour of the Ile of Helespont, With the surses

A. iii.

which

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which thou didst send mee, I haue caused my gowne to bee furred, and am
 girded with the girdel which thou didst present mee, and am greatly conten-
 ted with thy hounds. For all is so good, that the body doth reioyce to possesse
 it, and the eyes to beehold it, and also the hart to render thanks for it. Where
 I dyd ask a few things of thee in iest, thou hast sent mee many in earnest,
 wherin not as a seruant, but as a frend thou hast shewed thy selfe. For the
 office of noble and worthy harts, is to offer to their frends, not onli that which
 they demaund: but that also which they think they wil demaund. Truly thou
 hast better measured thy seruices, by thy noblenes: then I thee demaund by
 my couetousnes. For if thou doost remember, I did demaund of thee only .xii.
 skynnes: and thou hast sent mee .xii. dosen. I told thee that I desired .6. hounds
 for to hunt: and thou hast sent me .12. of þ best that can bee foud in the Ile. In
 such sorte, that I haue had honor: and thou hast wonn renowne. For in the
 lre I haue demaunded, they shall see my lytel couetousnes: and in the much
 thou hast sent mee, they shall perceiue thy great lyberalpty. I esteeme highly
 that which thou hast sente mee: and I beseech the gods send thee good luck.
 For thou knowst, wee may render thanks for þ benefites receyued: but wee
 haue not the power to requite the gentlenes shewed. For the man which
 dare receiue of an other any gift, dooth bynd hym selfe to bee his slaue. I can
 not bee thy slaue, for I am thy frend: and thereof thou oughtst to reioyce, more
 then an other. For beeing a seruant, I should serue thee with feare: but bee-
 ing thy frend, I wyl profit thee w frendship. Therfore to declare the cheele
 occasio wherfore I wryte vnto thee at this present, I say, I send thee .3. ships
 loden with iesters & iuglers, loyterers, bacabonds, and fooles: and yet I doo
 not send vnto thee al the bacabonds which are in Rome, for the thy Ile should
 bee peopled with straungers. The office that they had, was that soom of the
 fested and rayled at the table, soome sang sundry malicious songs at mari-
 ages, others told lies and news for their dinners at the gates, other playd co-
 mon plays in the streats, other entertained the roman matrones with foolish
 nouells and tales, others set forth bayne and light bookes of rymes and bal-
 lets: and yet I swore vnto thee by the god Hercules, these loiterers wanted
 no fooles to here them. I let thee wete, my frend Lambert, that these loyter-
 ers are such, and their scolers in number so many that though the maysters
 may bee in .3. ships caried: yet the schollers could not bee in an hundred trans-
 ported. Of one thing I meruell much, and also I affirme, that the Gods bee
 offended, since earthquakes ouerthzew the houses, the great waters cary a-
 way the bridges, the frost freele the vines, the corrupt ayre infecteth the wise
 men: and yet is there no plague that consumeth the fooles. O how unhappy
 art thou Rome, vnto him that shall well beehold thee, and diligently serch
 thee. For in thee wanteth balyant captayns, honest Senatours, iust Césors,
 faithfull officers, and vertuous Princes: and onely there aboundeth fooles,
 iesters, plaiers, dysers, loyterers, and bacabonds. O what seruice thou shouldst
 doo to the gods, and profit to our mother Rome, if for .3. ships of fooles, thou
 didst send vs one back only of wise men: I would not say (but I wyl not
 cease to say) that I haue seene fooles, that I haue heard many folys: but I ne-
 uer saw so great fooles, nor hard such extreme folly, as that of some noble ro-
 mains, and italycns, who think it a great act to keepe a foole in their house.

Iudge him to bee a greater foole, that so desireth to keepe a foole: then the foole hym selfe. For a foole hath a semblaunce of the sage, after that hee accompanieth with a sage: but the sage sheweth him selfe a foole, after hee accompanieth with a foole. Why doo men seeke thinges of mockry: since all that is in the world is mockry: Why seeke wee fooles: Since all that wee say, is nothing but folly: Why doo wee reioyce with those which flatter vs: since there are none, that say one onely trueth: Why doo wee seeke famed fooles: Since that all, or the most parte of vs all, are very fooles: I see dyuers in Rome, the which though they company with honest men, are dissolute, companying with sages they are simple, treating with wise men, they are without consideration, and beeing conuersant with fooles, they thinke to bee sage. If wee keepe company with pittfull, wee shal bee pittfull.

If wee bee conuersant with the cruell, wee shal bee cruell. If wee communicate with lyers, wee shal bee lyers. If wee haunt the true, wee shal be true: and if wee desire the foolish, wee shal bee fooles. For according to the masters and doctrine wee haue: such shal bee the sciences which wee shal learne, & the woorkes which wee shal follow. The famous tirant Dionisius the Siracusan, which was in Scicil, saied vnto the philosopher Diogenes. Tel mee Diogenes, what kinde of me ought wee to haue in our houses, & with what persons ought wee to deuide our goodes: Diogenes answered him. The wise man which will liue in peace with the comon wealth, and that wyl not see his goodes euyl employd, ought not to geue to eat, nor to accompany with any, but with the aged persons which should counsaile them, and with the yong which should serue them, with frends which should fauour them, and with the poore, to the end they should prayse them. Denis the tiraunt greatly commended that, which Diogenes the philosopher told him: but hee could neuer profyt with that counsaile. For as hee shewed him selfe a tirant in robbing: so hee shewed him selfe also vndiscrete in spending. I suppose that that which Diogenes the philosopher spake were true, that is to weete, that wee ought to feede the aged, seruants, frends, and poore: wee see by this answer, it is not lust to geue to eat, epyther to iesters, minstrels, parasites, flatterers, loiterers or fooles. First mee seemeth, that a man ought not to thinke that fooles are capable to geue counsaile, since they haue it not for them selues: for it should bee great folly to vse men as sages, which of their owne will haue made them selues fooles. The second, mee seemeth that it is a vaine thinge to thinke, that the iesters should serue as seruants: for these vnhappy people, to flye trouble onely, haue taken vpon them this office so sclaunderous.

Thirdly it semeth to bee a shamefast thing, and of great inconuenience, that any noble and sage man should determine, to haue any flatterer, or iester for his famyllyar frend: for such ought not, nor cannot bee counted among true frends, since they loue vs not for þe vertue wee possesse, but for the goodes which wee haue. Fourthly mee thinketh it a vayne thinge to thinke, that vnder the colour of pouerty it should bee lust, to geue meat to iesters, or loyterers: for wee cannot say þe such are poore for that they want ryches, but that folly a boundeth in them. Since therefore a man is defamed to haue such iesters, flatterers, and loyterers for frends, and that for beeing seruants they are vnhable, and with out witt to ask them counsaile: mee thinketh it is a great folly

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folly, to spend hys goods on such loyterers. For as their intentions to the gods onely are manifest, and to men secret: so their is nothing wherin the good doo approue and manifest their intentions to bee good, or euyl, more then in the woozdes which they speake, & in the companies which they keepe.

¶ Marcus Aurelius goeth forthward with his letter and declareth how hee found the sepulchres of many learned philosophers in Helespont, whereunto hee sent all these loyterers. Cap. lvi.

I will thou know Lambert, that thy Ile is consecrated with the bones of many excellent men, the which were banished by sundry tyrannous Princes of Rome. The auncients greatly commend that Ile, because there are therein stones caled Amastites, tame deere, faire womē, familiar wolues, swift Dogges of foote, and pleasaunt fountaines.

Yet notwithstanding I will not cease to commend these things which reioyce those that bee presente, and also comfort those that bee to come. For I esteeme more the bones, which the earth doo couer: then the riches, which groweth thereon. If thou hast not lost the sense of smelling, as that Ile doth sauoure vnto mee of sages: so doth Rome stynke of fooles. For, for the time it is lesse payne, to endure the stynke of the beast: then to heare the woozdes of a foole. When the warres of Asia were ended, I returned home by that yle, wherin I visited al the lyving people, and al the graues of the dead philosophers. And for, a trueth, I tel thee Lambert, þat iourney was veri trouble-some vnto mee: for here in my person endured much payne, on the land I suffered dyuers daungers, and on the sea I saw my selfe in sondry perils. In the city of Corinthe (where thou art resident at this present in the middest of the market place, thou shalt finde the graue of the philosopher Panimio, to whom the streight frendship auayled litel, which hee had with Ouide: but the enmity greatly endomaged him which hee had with Augustus the emperoz. Two miles from Theadfonteat the foote of the mountains Arpines thou shalt finde the graue of the famous oratoz Armeno, who was by the cōsul Scilla vn iustly banished. And of troth, as here was much blood lost, because Scilla should not enter into Rome: so there were not few tears shed in Italye, for the banishment of this philosopher. In the gate of Argonata, hard by the water, in the top of a high rock, thou shalt finde the bones of Celliodorus the philosopher, who obserued all the auncient lawes: and was a great enemy of those, which brought in new customes, and statutes.

This good philosopher was banished, in þe prosperitie & fury of þe Marians: not for the evils they found in him, but for the byces hee reproued in them. In the fylde Heliny, there was a great tomb, within the which were the bones of Selleno the philosopher, who was aswel learned in the. vii. lyberall artes: as if hee himselfe had first inuented them.

And hee was banished by þe Emperoz Nero, for because hee perswaded this cruel Emperoz, to bee merciful, & pytful. In þe same fylde Heliny out of the woods towards the west part, þe shalt find the graue of þe philosopher Vultur⁹ a man in Astrology profoundly learned w little auayled him in his banishment

For

For hee was banished by Marcus Antonius, not for that Marcus Antonius would haue banished hym (for hee was not offended by him) but because his loue Cleopatra hated him, as her mortal enemy.

For women of an euill lyfe, reuenge commonly their angry harts, with the death of their especiall friends. Diuers other tombs in that Ile I saw, the names wherof though in wryting I haue them: yet at this present I cannot cal them to memory. Wel, by the faith of an honest mā I swore vnto thee, that thou shalt fynde al true which I haue told thee. Now I tell thee Lambert, that I visiting those graues, their disciples did not beare them greater obedience, when they were aloue: then I dyd reuerence now they are dead. And it is true also, that in all that time my eyes were as much wet with water, as their bones were couered with earth. These philosophers were not banished, for myscheues by their persons committed, nor for sclaunderes they had doon in the common wealths: but because the deedes of our fathers deserued, that they should bee taken from their company, and wee their chyldren were not woorthy, to haue the bones of so famous, and reuolued sages in our custody. I cannot tell, if the enuy I haue to that Ile bee greater, or the ppy I haue of this miserable Rome: for the one is immortall by the graues of the dead, and the other is defamed with the lyfe of the lyuing.

I desire thee hartely as a friend, and doo commaund thee as a sernaunt, that thou keepe þ ppyleges which I geue to that Ile, without breaking any one. For it is very iust, that such cyties propled with such dead, should bee privileged of þ lyuing. By this Centurion, thou shalt know al things which are chaunced among the prisoners.

For if I should wryte al the whole matter vnto thee as it was doon: I assure thee, vnto mee it would bee much paine to wryte it, & to thee great trouble to rede it. It suffyeth presently to say that the day of the great Solempnitie of the mother Berecincthe a sclaunderer arose in Rome by the occasion of these iesters, scoffers, and loyterers: and by the sayth of a good man, I swore vnto thee, that the blood which was shed through the places, surmounted the wine which was drunk at the feast. And think not that which I say to bee lytel that the blood which was shed, surmounted the wine that was drunk.

For as thou now knowest, the Cirezins are come to so great folly: that hee which was on that day most drunk, they sayd that hee had offred vnto the Gods greateſt sacrifices. I am yet a rayd, to remember the cruelties which that day I saw with my owne eyes: but I am much more ashamed of that which they talk of vs in straunge realms. For the noble and woorthy harts, doo not count it so much to receiue a great wound: as to take it of a cowardly man. There is great dyfference betweene the netts, wherewith they take byrdes, and no lesse is there betweene the hooks, wherewith they take fysh. I meane that the knife which cutteth the flesh, dyffereth much from the knife which hurteth the hart. For the hurts of the body, with surgions may bee healed: but the gods onely are the phisicians of the perils of the hart.

I saw Rome which was neuer banquished by balaunt men at that day ouercome by loyterers. Rome which could neuer bee wonn by those of Carthage, is now wonn by iesters, players, & vacabonds. Rome which triumphed of all the realmes, is now banquished of the loyterers, iesters, & idel persons.

I finally

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Finally, wee saw that Rome which in times past gaue lawes to the Barbarous, is now become a slaue of fooles: in this case I haue bene so troubled, that I cannot tell what to say, and lesse what I wyte vnto thee. One thing comforteth mee, that since Rome & her Romayns doo not reioyce them selues but with fooles: that shee and her children bee not punished, but by the hands of fooles. I thinke not that in this case Gods doo any wrong, if Rome which laughed through mockry at the players: doo weepe one day with the loyters in good earnest. Thou mightst demanda mee Lambert, since wee o-ther Princes are bound to maintayne equal iustice wth al: wherfore wee doo dissemble many offences which others haue doon in earnest: and yet wee wyll not pardon those iesters, since al that they haue inuented, was for mirth and pastime: I promise thee, thought their offences were great in deed: yet I doo not banish them so much for the blood they haue shed, as for the good orders which they haue perverted. Once agayne I retourn to say vnto thee, I haue not banished them so much for because they were occasion of murders: as to bee teachers of all lyes. Without comparison, greater is the offence to the gods, and greater is the damage to the common wealth to take away (as these loyters haue doon) the senses of wylse men: then that which the murderers doo, to take life from their enemies. The end of these iesters, scoffers, suglers, idell men, and those kind of rascalles, is alwayes to perswade men & they speak continually in mockries, treat continually in mockries, and to ridde them of their sorowes, and al this is but to deceyue them of their goods. In the which case I say, and so pleased it the gods, that they shoulde content them selues with the goods, without robbing vs of our wylse dom. When Scipio the Affrican had ended the warres of Affricke, hee went through Rome accompanied not with valiaunt captaines: but with the players, iesters, and suglers. The which a philosopher seeing, sayd vnto hym these words. O Scipio, according to the much they haue talked of thee, & the litle I see in thee, it had been better thou hadst dyed in Affricke, then to come to Rome. For thy high actes, in thy absence did astonyshe vs: and thy light nesse in thy presence dooth offend vs. To thee it is great infamy, and to the sacred senat litle honesty, that thou hauing conquered so mighty princes in affricke, shouldest go accompanied with fooles, and madd men in Rome. I let thee weete Scipio, that thy life had not then so much perill among thy enemyes: as thy honour hath at this present among fooles. These wordes were very good, though they were euell receyued, of humayne malice. For by reason of these wordes the pooze aged philosopher was banished (by the friends of Scipio) out of Italy and sent to the Ile of Helesponte,

The Emperoz endeth his letter, & sheweth the cause and tyme why and when these iesters, and suglers were admitted into Rome. Cap. xlvii.

After that these loyters and bacabounds shal lād in thy Ile, thou shalt let them go at liberty & shalt take none of their goods: but shalt aduertise them that they bee not so hardy, to exercise their crafts nor feats. For if they doo the contrary thou mayst make them lose their life in thy Ile, w^{ch} I haue conditionally pardoned here in Rome. One thing I commaund thee

thee, and I beseech thee forget it not, that is to wete: that thou compell them to labour, and that in no means thou suffer them to bee idle.

For Idleness is the mother of al vices in the parson, and the causer of al slaunders which arise in the common wealth. Since wee know not but to labor, and the loyterers know not but to loyter, I would say, that with more reason they might say that wee were not sage: then wee might say that they are fooles. For wrongfully are they called fooles, which by craft eat the sweete of others: Seeing the litle regard wee haue to these loyterers, and considering how much wee presume: by the sayth of a good mā I swear vnto thee Lamberte, that with greater reason they should mock our woordes: then wee others should laugh at their woordes. For they profite more with our goods, then wee doo of their folly. In the, CCli. of the foundation of Rome a sore plague came into Italy. The which beeing ended, they determined to tel not the thousands of menn that were dead: but the small number of those which remained aliue. Rome afterwards beeing so solitary, and Italy so desolate, onely to reioyce the people, and to the end the cities should not remayn inhabited, the first theathers were inuented, and then first were these players received. For vntill that time the Romayns knew no other thing, but to offer sacrifice to their gods in the temples: and to fight against their enemies in the fieldes. A lamentable thing to heare, that this plague lasted only. xxiij. moneths, and the rage and folly of these players, and idel men, hath endured more then, liij. yeres. Would to the immortal gods, that y plague had ended those few which remayn: beefore this cursed generation had brought so abominable customes into Rome. For much better had it been for our mother Rome, that shee had wanted inhabitants, than such raskals should haue come and dwelled therein. I know well (Lambert) y these parsons doo greatly complaine of mee, and that the complaynts which they doo in the beginning, shal not haue an end there: but I care not much for the complaints of the euil W doo serue for no other thing but to reprove y iustices which are ministered vnto them by the good, The princes in that they commaund, and the iudges in that they execute, ought not much to esteeme the complaynts of al those which say they haue wrong: Provided that the cause bee iustified, and that vnder the colour of iustice they doo no wrong in dede. In the flatteries which they tel vs concerning our glozy, and in the slaunders W they speake of vs concerning our reproche, wise men ought well to note the nature of y parson which speaketh it, whether that bee true which hee speaketh, & what moueth him to tell it, For as it is a shame for to bee rebuked of a man which is honest: so it is no small infamy to bee praysed of those which are euill.

Since the time I was borne, I neuer saw any thing lesse profitable in the common wealth, nor more vaine, neyther worse inuentions, nor colder recreations then these are, which these iesters, players, and iuglers doo inuent.

What thing can bee more monstrous, then to see the folly of a foole byrnyng diuers wise men out of their wittes: What greater mockry can ther bee, then that al doo think that the iests of a foole ought to bee reioyced at, with the laughter of the sage: What greater slaunder can there bee, the that in the of fices of the noble and worthy Romayns, the gates should alwayes bee open for fooles: and the wise men should fynde them alwayes shut: What greater cruelty

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cruelty can there bee in Rome, then that the senators and rich men geue moze to a player, for a long which hee singeth in one houre, then they doo to the seruants for seruing them a whole yeare: What greater theif can there bee than this, that the garisons which are in Illiria want: and players, iesters iuglers, flatterers, and loyterers, in Rome haue to much: What greater thae can Rome receyue then this, when it shall bee sayd in time to come, that iuglers, players, parasites, iesters, and flatterers, haue wonne moze with their iugling, playing, iesting and flattering: then diuers captayns with their weapons, and triumphs: Beehold therfore Lambert, what difference ther is betwene captayns, and loyterers. For when the one went thzough Rome, sowing their follyes from gate to gate: the others went from realme to realme consuming their goods, aduenturing their liues, fighting against the barbarous people, and shedding their own proper blood.

And in the hindermost parte of Spaine, when those of Scull had warre with the Gaditanes, it chaunced that euen in the middelt of the time those of Scull wanted mony, and, ii. parasites offred them selues for .ii. yeares to susteyne the warre, with their own proper goods: so that with the riches of two fooles: many wise men were overcome. When the Amazones were ladies of Asia, then they buylt the great temple of the goddesse Diana. And as the histories account, onely with that they tooke away from a player, was buylt this noble temple. If the histories of the Egyptians doo not deceiue mee, king Cadmus, who with a. 100. gates buylt the great city of Thebes, for such a buylding, so high and monstrous a city, all his subiects together gaue him not so much, as two parasites did alone. When the good emperor Augustus renewed the walles of Rome, and made them of hard stone, which beefore that tyme were only of earth and brick, towards such a costly woork, hee had moze of two parasites which were drowned, then of al the city beeside. I beeing in the city of Corinthe, saw an auncient tomb, wher in the Corinthians say there first king was buried. And the historiographers say that this king was a great wostler, other say hee was a parasite, others say hee was a iugler, but how so euer it was, hee was first a iester, and obtained a realme in earnest. Beehold therfore Lambert, how they are neglected of the gods, and fauored of fortune, and in how litle estimation the goods of this life ought to bee esteemed: sins some by counterfayting the fooles, leue of them as great a me-mory of their folly, as the others doo by their wisdom. There is one thing only of these loyterers that pleseth mee, that is to weete, that in presence they make euery man laugh with the follyes they speake: and after that they are gone, al remayne sad for the mony they cary away. Truly it is a iust sentence of the gods, that those which haue take vaine pleasures together, doo weepe after wards for their losses senerally. At this present I will write no moze vnto thee, but that I send thee this letter written in Greeke, to the end thou mayst reade it to all those of that ple. And thou shalt immediatly dispatch the shipp, to the end they cary the prouisions to the men of warre in Illiria. Peace bee with thee Lambert, health and good fortune to mee Marke.

The senat saluteth thee, and doo send thee the prouogation of the gouernēt for the next yere. In the calends of January thou shalt say Gaude felix, my wife Faustine commendeth her to thee, & sendeth thee for thy daughter a riche girdel

girdel. In payment of thy seruyces, I send thee. ii. rich ietwels, ii. hyght horses, and one loden with. 4000. sexterces. Marcus of mount Celio, with his owne hand wyteth vnto thee.

¶ That princes and noble men ought to remember that they are mortal, and must dye, where are sundry notable consolations against the feare of death.

Cap. lxiij.

Cleobolus and Biton were the sonnes of a renowned woman, the whych was Nunne to the goddesse Iuno: and when the day of that solemne feast was celebrated, her children prepared a chariot, wherein their mother should go to the temple. For the Greekes had this custom, the day that the priests went to offer any sacrifices, epyther they were caried on mennes armes, or in chariots. They adourned their temples so well, they esteemed their sacrifices so much, and did so much honoz their priests: that if any priest did set his foote on the ground, that day they did not permit him to offer any sacrifices to the gods. It chaunced as this Nunne went in her chariot, and her children Cleobolus and Biton with her, the beasts which drew the chariot, sodainly fel down dead. x. myles from the temple of the goddesse Iuno. The children seeing the beasts dead, and that þ mother could not goe a foote, and that the chariot was al ready, and that there were no beasts to draw it: they (as louing children) determined to yoke them selues, and draw the chariot as if they had been dome beasts. And as þ mother caried the. ix. moneths in her wombe, so did they draw her in the chariot. x. myles. Now for that they passed through infinit numbers of men, to the great feast of the goddesse Iuno: euery man seeing Cleobolus and Biton yoked in the chariot lyke beasts, were greatly amazed, saying that these two childzē deserued with great rewards to bee recompensed. And truely they sayd iustly, and so they deserued it. For they deserued as much to bee praysed for the example which they shewed to all children to reuerence their parents: as for carying their mother in þ chariot to the temple. So after that the feast was ended, þ mother not knowing how to requite the benefite of her children, with many teares besought the goddesse Iuno, that shee with þ other gods would bee contented, to geue her. ii. children the best thing that the gods could geue to their friends. The goddesse Iuno answered her, that shee was contented to require the other gods, and that they would doo it. And the reward was, that for this noble fact the gods ordeyned, that Cleobolus and Biton should sleepe one day well, and in the morning when they should wake, they should dye. The mother pitifully bewayling the death of her children: and complaining of the gods, the goddesse Iuno sayd vnto her. Thou hast no cause why to complayn, sins wee haue geuen thee that thou hast demaunded: and hast demaunded that which wee haue geuen thee. I am a goddesse, and thou art my seruaunt: and therefore the gods haue geuen to thy children the thing, which they count most deare, which is death. For the greatest reuenge which amongst vs gods wee can take of our enemies, is to let them liue long: and the best thing that wee keepe for our friends, is to make them dye quickly.

The auctoz of this history is called Hiscarchus in his politikes, and Cicero in his

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in his first booke of his Tusculanes. In the Ile of Delphos, where the Oracle of the god Apollo was, there was a sumptuous temple, the which for want of reparacion fell down to the ground as often times it chaunceth to high & sumptuous buyldings, which from tyme to tyme are not repayred. For if the walles, dungeons, castels, and strong houses could speak, as well would they complayne for that they doo not renew them, as the old men doo for that wee doo not cherish them. Triphon, and Agamendo, were two noble personages of Greece and counted for sage and rich men: the which went vnto the temple of Apollo, and buylt it new agayn, as well with the laboz of their persons, as with the great expenses of their goods. When the buylding was atchiued, the god Apollo said vnto them, that hee remembred well their good seruice, wherefore hee would they shoold demaund him any thing in reward of their traual, and with a good will it shoold bee graunted. For the gods vse, for a little seruice, to geue a great reward. Triphon, and Agamendo, answered vnto the god Apollo, that for their good will, for their trauell, and for their expenses, they demaunded no other reward: but that it would please him to geue them the best thing that might bee geuen vnto man, and that vnto them were most profit: saying, that the miserable men haue not the power to eschew the euill, nor wisdom to choose the good. The god Apollo answered, that hee was contented to pay them their seruice which they had doon, and to grant them that which they had demaunded. By reason whereof, Triphon, and Agamendo hauing dyed, sodeinly at the gates of the temple fell down dead. So that the reward of their trauell, was to pluck them out of their misery. The end to declare these two examles is to shew that all mortal men may know, that there is nothing so good in this world as to haue an end of this lyfe: and though to lose it there bee no sauoz, yet at the least ther is profit. For wee would reprove a traueler of great foolishnes, if swea- ring by the way hee would sing: and after at his iorneyes end hee shoold begin to weepe. Is not hee simple, which is sorry for that hee is comen into the haue: is not hee simple, that geueth the battell, and fighteth for that hee hath got the victo-ry? Is not hee stubbern, which is in great distresse, and is angry to bee succored? Therefore, more foolish, simple, and stubbern is hee, which traueleth to dye, and is loth to meet with death. For death is the true refuge, the perfect health, the sure haue, the whole victo-ry, the flesh without bones, fysh without scales, and corne without straw: finally after death wee haue nothing to beewail, and much lesse to desire.

In the tyme of Adrian the emperoz, a philosopher called Secundus (being marueilously learned) made an oration at the funerall of a noble Romayn matrone (a kind woman of the emperozs) who spake exceeding much euill of lyfe, & marueilous much good of death. And when the emperoz demaunded him what death was, the philosopher answered: Death is an eternal sleepe, a dissolucion of the body, a terroz of the rich, a desire of the poore, a thing inheritable, a pilgrimage vncertain, a theef of men, a kynde of sleaping, a shadow of lyfe, a seperacion of the lyving, a company of the dead, a resolution of all, a rest of trauels, and the end of all ydle desires. Finally death is the scourge of all euill, and the cheef reward of the good.

Truely this philosopher spake very well, & hee shoold not doo euill, which profoundly

profoundly woold consider that hee had spoken . Seneca in an epistle declar-
 eth, of a philosopher whose name was Bassus, to whom when they deman-
 ded what euil a man can haue in death, since men feare it so much, hee aun-
 swered. If any damage or feare is in him who dyeth, it is not for the feare of
 death: but for the vyce of him which dieth. Wee may agree to that the philo-
 sopher sayd, that euen as the deaf can not iudge harmony, nor the blynd co-
 lours: so lyke wise they cannot say euill of death, in especially hee which neuer
 tasted it. For of all those which are dead, none returned again to complayn
 of death: and of these few that lyue, all complayn of lyfe. If any of the dead
 returned hyther to speak with the liuing, and as they haue proued it, so they
 woold tel vs. If there were any harm in secret death, it were reason to haue
 some feare of death: But though a man that neuer saw, hard, felt, nor tasted
 death, dooth speak euil of death, shoold wee therfore feare death? Those
 ought to haue doon some euil in their life, whych doo feare and speak euil of
 death. For in the last hour, in the streight iudgement, the good shal bee kno-
 wen, and the euill discovered. There is no prince nor knight, rich nor poore,
 whole nor sick, lucky nor vnlucky, whych I see with their vocacions to bee
 contented, saue only the dead: which in their graues are in peace and rest, and
 are neyther couetous, prouid, negligent, bayn, ambitious, nor dissolute. So
 that the state of the dead ought to bee best, since wee see none therin to bee e-
 uil contented. And since therfore those which are poore, doo seeke where-
 with to enrich them selues, those which are sad, doo seeke wherby to reioice;
 and those which are sick, doo seeke to bee healed, why is it, that those which
 haue such feare of death, doo seeke some remedy against that feare? In this case
 I woold say, that hee which will not feare to dye, let him vse him self well to
 liue. For the guiltles taketh away feare from death. The deuine Plato deman-
 ded Socrates how hee beehaued him self in life, and how hee woold beehaue
 him self in death, hee answered. I let thee weete, that in youth I haue tra-
 ueled to liue wel, and in age I haue studied to dye well: and sith my life hath
 been honest, I hope my death shal bee ioyful. And though I haue had sorow
 to lyue, I am sure I shal haue no payn to dye. Cruely these woords were
 woorty of such a man. Men of stout harts suffer maruelously, when they
 of their trauel is not rewarded, when they are faithfull, and their reward an-
 swereth nothing to their true service: when for their good seruices, their
 frends beecome vnthankfull to them, when they are woorty honoz, and that
 they preferre them to honozable robe and office. For the noble and valiant
 harts, doo not esteeme to lose the reward of their labor: but think much vn-
 kindnes, when a man dooth not acknowledge their trauel. Oh happy are they
 that dye: for without inconuenience and without payn every man is, in hys
 graue. For in this tribunall, iustice to all is so equally obserued: that in the
 same place where wee haue deserued life, in the same place wee merited death.
 There was neuer nor neuer shal bee iudge so iust, nor in iustice so vpryght,
 that geueth reward by weight, & payn by measure: but sometimes they cha-
 stice the innocent, and absolue the gilty, they ber the faultlesse, and dissemble
 with the culpable. For litle auayleth it the plaintiff to haue good iustice: if con-
 science want to the iudge that shoold minister. Cruely it is not so in death,
 but all ought to count them selues happy. For hee w^{ch} shal haue good iustice,

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Malbee sure on his part to haue the sentence. When great Cato was censured
 in Rome, a famous Romayn dyed, who shewed at his death a merueylous
 courage: and when the Romayns praised him for that hee had so great vertu,
 and for the wordes hee had spoken, Cato the Censour laughed at that they
 sayd, for that they praised him. And hee being demaunded the cause of his
 laughter, answered. Ye maruell at that I laugh, and I laugh at that you
 maruel. For the perils and trauels considered wherein wee liue, and the safe-
 ty wherein wee dye. I say, it is no more needful to haue vertue & strength
 to liue, then courage to dye. The authoz hereof is Plutarch in his Apotheg-
 mes. Wee cannot say but that Cato the Censour spake as a wise man, since
 dayly wee see, shamefast and vertuous persons suffer hunger, cold, thirst, tra-
 uel, pouerty, incomuenience, sorowes, enmities, and mishaps: of the which things
 wee were better to see the end in one day, then to suffer them euery hour.
 For it is lesse euill to suffer an honest death: then to endure a miserable lyfe.
 How small consideration haue men to think, that they ought to dye but once.
 Since the trueth is, that the day when wee are bozn, and comen in to the
 world is the beeginning of our death: and the last day is when wee doo cease
 to liue. If death bee no other but an ending of lyfe, then reason perswadeth
 vs to think, that our infancy dyeth, our chyldhod dyeth, our manhod dyeth, &
 our age shall dye: whereof wee may consequently conclude, that wee dye eu-
 ery yere, euery day, euery hour, and euery moment. So that thinking to lead
 a sure lyfe, wee tast a new death. I know not why men fear so much to dye,
 since that from the time of their birth, they seeke none other thing but death.
 For time neuer wanted to any man to dye, neither I know any man that e-
 uer failed of this way. Seneca in an epistle declareth that as a Romain wo-
 man lamented the death of a child of hers, a philosopher said vnto her: Wo-
 man why bee waylest thou thy child? she answered I wepe because hee
 hath liued. xxb. yeres, & I would hee should haue liued till fifty. For amongst
 vs mothers, wee loue our chyldren so hartely, that wee neuer cease to bee-
 hold them, nor yet end to bee wayl them. Then the Philosopher said. Tell
 mee I pray thee woman, why doost thou not complayn of the gods, because
 they created not thy sorme many yeres before hee was bozn: as well as thou
 complaynest that they haue not let him liue. l. yeres? Thou weepest, that hee
 is dead so soone: and thou doost not lament that hee is bozne so late. I tel thee
 true woman, that as thou doost not lament for the one, no more thou oughtst
 to bee sorry for the other. For wythout the determination of the gods, wee can
 not shorten death: and much lesse lengthen life. So Plinie sayd in an epistle,
 that the cheefest lawe which the gods haue geuen to humayn nature was,
 that none should haue perpetuall life. For with disordinat desire to liue long,
 wee should neuer reioice to goe out of this payn. Two philosophers dispu-
 tyng before the great Emperoz Theodose, the one sayd that it was good to
 procure death: and the other lyke wise sayd, it was a necessary thing to hate
 lyfe. The good Theodose takyng hym by the hand said. All wee mortalles
 are so extream in hatynge, and louynge: that vnder the colour to loue, and hate
 lyfe, wee lead an euyll lyfe. For wee suffer so many trauels for to preferus
 it, that sometymes it were much better to lose it. And further hee sayd,
 dyuers bayn men are come into so great follies, that for fear of death,

they

they procure to hasten death. And hauing consideration to this, mee seemeth that wee ought not greatly to loue lyfe, nor with desperation to seeke death. For the strong and valiaunt men, ought not to hate lyfe so long as it lasteth: nor to bee displeased with death, when hee commeth. All commended that whych Theodose spake, as Paulus Diaconus sayth in his lyfe. Let euery man speak what hee will, and let the philosophers counsell what they list, in my pooer iudgement, hee alone shal receiue death without payn: who long before is prepared to receiue the same. For sodayn death is not only bitter to hym which tasteth it: but also it feareth him that hateth it. Lactantius sayd, that in such sort man ought to liue, as if from hence an hour after hee should dye. For those men which will haue death before their eies, it is impossible that they geue place to vain thoughts. In my oppinion, and also by the aduise of Apuleius, it is as much folly to fly from that which wee cannot auoyd: as to desire that wee cannot attain. And this is spoken for those, that would flye the byage of death which is necessary: and desire to come agayn which is impossible. Those that trauell by long ways, if they want any thing, they borrow it of their company. If they haue forgotten ought, they returne to seeke it at their lodging, or els they write vnto their friends a letter. But I am sorry that if wee once dye, they will not let vs return agayn, wee cannot speak, and they will not agree wee shall write: but such as they shal finde vs, so shall wee bee iudged. And that which is most fearfull of all, the execution and sentence is geue in one day. Let princes and great lordes beeleeue mee in this. Let them not leaue that vndoone till after their death: which they may doo during their lyfe. And let them not trust in that they commaund: but in that whyles they liue they doo. Let them not trust in the woordes of an other: but in their owne good deedes. For in the end, one sigh shalbee more woorth, then all the friends of the world. I counsel, pray, and exhort all wise and vertuous men, and also my self with them, that in such sort wee liue, that at the hour of death, wee may say wee liue. For wee cannot say that wee lyue, whē wee liue not well. For all that tyme which without profit wee shall liue, shall bee counted vnto vs for nothing.

¶ Of the death of Marcus Aurelius the Empero, and how there are few friends which dare say the truth to sick men. Cap. xlii.

The good Empero Marcus Aurelius now being aged, not only for the great yerres hee had: but also for the great trauels hee had in the warres endured: It chaunced, that in the. xlii. yere of his Empire, and. lxxii. yerres from the day of his birth, and of the foundation of Rome. b. hundreth xlii. being in the warre of Pannony (which at this tyme is called Hungary) beseeiging a famous citie called Vindobona, sodaynly a disease of the palsey tooke him, which was such, that hee lost his life, and Rome her Prince, the best of lyfe that euer was bozne therein. Among the heathen princes some had more force then hee, other possessed more ryches then hee, others were as aduenturous as hee, and some haue knowe as much as hee: but none hath been of so excellent and vertuous a lyfe, nor so modest as hee. For his life being examined to the uttermost, there are many princely vertues to followe, &

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few viçes to reþroue. The occasion of his death was, that going one nyght about his camp, suddenly the disease of the palsey tooke him in his arme: so that from thence forward hee could not put on his gown, nor draw his sword, and much lesse carry a staffe. The good emperour beeing so laden with yeres, and no lesse with cares, the sharp winter appochoing more and more, great aboundance of water and snow fell about the tents: so that an other disease fell vpon him, called Litargie, the which thing much abated his courage, and in his hoast caused great sorow. For hee was so beeloued of all, as if they had been his own children. After that hee had proued all medicins and remedies that could bee found, and all other things, which vnto so great and mighty princes were accustomed to bee doon, hee perceiued in the end, that all remedy was past. And the reason hereof was, because his sickness was exceeding belement, & he him self very aged, & a yet vnhollosom, & aboue al, because sorowes & cares oppressed his hart. Without doubt, greater is the disease that proceedeth of sorow, then that which proceedeth of the feuer quartain. And thereof ensueth, that more easely is hee cured, w^h of corrupt humors is full: then hee w^h with profound thoughts is oppressed. The emperour then beeing sick in his chamber, & in such sort that hee could not exercise þ^e feats of arms: as his men ranne out of their camp to scirmidge, & the Hungarions in lyke maner to defend, the fight on both parts was so cruell, through the great effusion of blood, that neither the hungarion had cause to reioyce, nor yet þ^e romayn to bee inery. Understanding the euil order of his, & specially that, v. of his captains were slain in the conflict, & that hee for his disease could not bee there in person: such sorowes perled his hart, that although hee desired forthwith to haue dyed, yet hee remained two dayes & thre nights, without that hee would see light, or speak vnto any man of his. So that þ^e heat was much, the rest was small, the sighs were continuall, and the thirst very great: the meat lytle, and the sleepe lesse, and aboue all his face wrynkled, and his lips very black. Sometimes hee cast vp his eyes, and another tyme hee wrong his hands: alwayes hee was silent, and continually hee sighed. His tong was swollen, that hee could not spit: and his eyes very hollo wth weeping. So that it was a great pity, to see his death: and no lesse compassion, to see the confusion of his pallace, and the hinderance of the warre. Many valiant captains, many noble Romayns, many faithfull seruants, and many old friends, at all these heauines were present. But none of them durst speak to the Emperour Marke, partly for that they tooke him to bee so sage, that they knew not what counsell to geue him: and partly for that they were so sorowfull, that they could not refrayn their heauy tears. For the louing and true friends, in their lyfe ought to bee beeloued: and at their death to bee beetoailed. Great compassion ought men to haue of those which dye, not for that wee see them dye: but because there are none that telleth them what they ought to doo. Princes and great lords are in greater perill when they dye: then the Plebeyans. For the counsaylour dare not tell vnto his Lord at the hour of death, that which hee knoweth: and much lesse hee will tell him how hee ought to dye, and what things hee ought to discharge whiles hee is aliue. Many goe to visit the sick, that I would to god they went some other where. And the cause heereof is, that they see the sick mans eyes hollo wth the

the flesh dyed, the arms without flesh, & colour enflamed, the ague continuall, the payn great, the tong swollen, nature consumed, and besyde all this, the house destroyed: and yet they say vnto the sick man, bee of good cheere, I warrant you, you shall liue. As yong men naturally desire to liue, and as death to all old men is dreadfull: so though they see them selues in that dyestresse, yet they refuse no medicine, as though there were great hope of lyfe. And thereof ensueth oftentimes, that the miserable creatures depart the world, without confessing vnto god, and making restitutions vnto men.

¶ If those which doo this, knew what euil they doo. For to take away my goods to trouble my person, to blemish my good name, to sclaunder my parentage, and to reprooue my lyfe, these woozks are of cruell enemyes: but to bee occasion to lose my soul, it is the woozke of the deuill of hell. Certainly hee is a deuyll, whych deceiueth the sick with flatteries: and that in steede to heale hym to dye well, putteth him in vayne hope of long lyfe.

¶ Heerein hee that sayth it, winneth litle: and hee that beleeueth it, aduertureth much. To mortall man it is moze meete, to geue counsels to reforme their consciences with the truth: then to hazard their houses with lyes. With our frends wee are shamelesse in their life, and also bashfull at their death. The which ought not to bee so. For if our fathers were not dead, and that wee did not dayly see these that are present dye: mee thinketh it were a shame and also a fear, to say to the sick that hee alone should dye. But since thou knowest as well as hee, and hee knoweth as well as thou, that all doo trauell in this perillous iurney: what shame hast thou to say vnto thy frend, that hee is now at the last point? If the dead should now reuiue, how woold they complayne of their frends? And thys for no other cause, but for that they woold not geue them good counsell at their death. For if the sick man bee my frend, and that I see peraduenture hee will dye: why shall not I counsell him to prepare him self to dye? Certainly oftentimes wee see by experience, that those which are prepared, and are ready for to dye, doo escape: and those which think to liue doo perill. What should they doo which goe to visite the sick: perswade them that they make their testaments, that they confesse their sinnes, that they discharge their conscience, that they receiue the Communion, and that they doo reconcile them selues to their enemyes.

Certainly, all these things charge not the launce of death, nor cut not the threed of lyfe. I neuer saw blyndnes so blynd, nor ignorance so ignorant, as to bee ashamed to counsell the sick, that they are bound to doo when they are whole. As wee haue sayd heere aboue, Princes and great Lords, are those aboue all other that liue and dye most abusedly. And the cause is, that as their seruants haue no harts to perswade them when they are merry: so haue they no audacity to tell them trueth, when they are in perill. For such seruants care litle, so that their maisters bequeath them any thing in theyr willes, whether they dye well, or lyue euill.

¶ What misery, and pity is it, to see a Prince, a Lord, a gentleman, and a ryche person dye, if they haue no saythfull frend about them, to help them to passe that payn? And not wythout a cause I say, that hee ought to bee a saythfull frend. For many in our lyfe doo gape after our goods, and few at our deaths are sozry for our offences. The wyse and sage men,
before

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before nature compelleth them to dye, of their owne will ought to dye. That is to weete, that beefore they see them selues in the pangues of death, they haue their consciences ready prepared. For if wee count him a foole, whych will passe the sea without a shippe: truly wee will not count him wise, whych taketh his death without any preparacion beefore. What loseth a wise man to haue his will well ordained: in what aduenture of honoꝝ is any man beefore death, to reconcile him self to his enemies: and to those whom hee hath boꝝn hate and malyce? What loseth hee of his credit, who in his lyfe tyme receiveth that, whych at his death they will commaund him to render: where in may a man shew him self to bee moze wise, then when willingly hee hath discharged that, whych afterwards by proces they will take from him? Whow many pꝛinces, & great lordes are there, whych only not for spending one day about their testament, haue caused their children, and heirs, all the days of their life to bee in trauerse in the law: So that they supposing to haue left their children welthy: haue not left them, but for atturneys and counsellers of the law. The true and vnfaigned Christian, ought euery morning so to dispose his goods, and correct his lyfe: as if hee should dye the same night. And at night in like maner hee ought so to commit him self to god, as if hee hoped for no lyfe vntill morning. For to say the truth, to sustein life, there are infinit trauels: but to meete death, there is but one way. If they will credit my wordes, I woold counsell no man in such estate to liue: that for any thing in the world, hee should vndoo him self. The rich and the pooze, the great and the small, the gentlemen and the plebeians, all say and sweare, that of death they are exceeding fearfull. To whom I say and affirm, that hee alone feareth death, in whom wee see amendment of lyfe. Pꝛinces and great lordes, ought also to bee perfect beefore they bee perfect, to end beefore they end, to dye beefore they dye, and to bee mortified beefore they bee mortified. If they doo this with them selues, they shall as easely leaue their lyfe: as if they charged from one house to an other. For the most part of men delight to talk wth leisure, to drinke with leisure, to eat with leisure, & to sleep wth leisure: but they dye in haste. Not without cause I say they dye in haste, since wee see the receiue the sacrament of þ^e supper of þ^e lord in haste, make their willes by force, & with speed to confesse and receiue. So that they take it, and demaund it so late, and so without reason: that often times they haue lost their senses, and are ready to geue vp the spirit, when they bring it vnto them.

What auaieth the shipmaister, after the ship is sunk: what doo weapons auayl, after the battell is lost: What auaieth pleasures after men are dead: By that I haue spoken, I will demaund, what it auaieth the sick, beeing heuy with sleep, and bereft of their senses, to call confessoꝝ, to whom they confesse their sinnes: Euill shal hee bee confessed, whych hath no vnderstanding to repent him self. What auayleth it to call the confessor, to vnderstand the secret of his conscience: when the sick man hath lost his speech: Let vs not deceiue our selues, saying in our age, wee will amend heereafter: & make restitution at our death. For in myne oppinion, it is not the poynt of wyle men, noꝝ of good christians, to desire so much tyme to offend: and they wil neuer espy any to amend. Woold to god, that the third part of tyme which men occupy in sinne, were employed about the meditations of death: and þ^e cares
which

which they haue to accomplishe their fleshly lusts, were spent in beewapling their filthy sinnes. I am very sorie at my hart, that they so wickedly passe their life, in byces and pleasures as if there were no God, to whom they should render account for their offences. All worldlings willingly doo sinne, vpon hope only in age to amend, and at death to repent: but I woold demaund him, that in this hope sinned, what certaintie hee hath in age of amendment, and what assurance hee hath to haue long warning beefore hee dye. Since we see by experience, there are mo in number which dye yong, then old: it is no reason wee should commit so many sinnes in one day, that wee should haue cause to lament afterwards all the rest of our lyfe. And afterwards to beewail the sinnes of our long life, we desire no more but one space of an hour. Considering the omnipotency of the diuine mercy it sufficeth, ye and I say, that the space of an hour is to much, to repent vs of our wicked lyfe: but yet I woold counsell all, since the sinner for to repent taketh but one hour, that that bee not the last hour. For the sighs and repentaunce, which proceed from the bottom of the hart, penetrate high heauens: but those which come of necessity, dooth not perse the feeling of the house. I allow and commend, that those that visit the sick, doo counsell them to examin their consciences, to receiue the communion, to pray vnto god, to forgetue their enemies, and to recommend them selues to the deuout prayers of the people, and to repent their sinnes, synally I say, that it is very good to doo all this: but yet I say it is better, to haue doon it beefore. For the diligent and carefull Pirate, preparerth for the tempest, when the sea is calm. Hee that deeply woold consider, how little the goods of this lyfe are to bee esteemed: let him goe to see a rich man when hee dyeth, and what hee dooth in his bed. And hee shall fynd that the wife demaundeth of the pooze husband her dower, the daughter the third part, the other the fift, the child the preheminence of age, the sonne in law his marriage, the phisition his duty, the slaue his liberty, the seruants their wages, the creditors their debts, and the woorst of all is, that none of those should ought to enherit his goods, wil geue him one glasse of water. Those that shall here or read this, ought to consider, that that which they haue seene doon at the death of their neighbors: the same shall come to them, when they shall bee sick at the point of death. For so soone as the rych shutteth his eyes, forthwith there is great strife beetweene the children for his goods. And this strife is not to vnburthen his soule: but whych of them shall inherit most of his possessions. In this case, I will not my penne trauel any further, since both rich and pooze, dayly see the experience hereof. And in things very manifest, it sufficeth only for wyse men to bee put in memory, without wasting any more tyme to perswade them. Now the Emperoz Marcus Aurelius had a secretary very wise, and vertuous, through whose hands the affairs of the Empire passed. And when this secretary saw his lord, and maister, so sick, and almost at the hour of death, and that none of his parents nor frends durst speak vnto him: hee plainly determined to doo his duty, wherein hee shewed very well the profound knowledge hee had in wisdom, and the great good will hee bare to his lord. This secretary was called Panutius, the vertues and lyfe of whom, Sextus Cheronensis in the lyfe of Marcus Aurelius declareth.

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Of the comfortable wordes, which the Secretary Panutius spake to the Emperour Marcus Aurelius at the hour of his death. Cap. I.

O My lord, and maister, my tong cannot keepe silence, myne eyes cannot reſtrayn from bitter tears, nor my hart leaue from fetching ſighes, ne yet reason can vſe his dūty. For my blood boyleth, my ſinnewes are dyled, my pores bee open, my hart dooth ſaunt, and my ſpirit is troubled. And the occaſion of all this is, to ſee that the wholeſom counſels which thou geeueſt to others: either thou canſt not, or wil not take for thy ſelf. I ſee thee dye my lord, and I dye for that I cannot remedy thee. For if the gods woold haue graunted mee my request, for the lengthning of thy lyfe one day: I woold geue willingly my whole life. Whether the ſorrow bee true, or fained, it nederth not I declare vnto thee with wordes, ſince thou mayſt manifeſtly diſcern it by my countenance. For my eyes with tears are wet, and my hart with ſighs is very heauy. I feele much the want of thy company. I feele much the damage which (of thy death) to the whole common wealth ſhal enſue. I feele much thy ſorrow which in thy pallace ſhal remaine, I feele much for that Rome this day is vndoorn: but that which aboue al things dooth moſt torment my hart, is to haue ſeen thee liue as wiſe, and now to ſee thee dye as ſimple. Tell mee I pray thee, my lord, why doo men learn the Greeke tong, trauele to vnderſtand the hebrewe, ſweat in the latin, chaunge ſo many maiſters, turn ſo many bookes, and in ſtudy conſume ſo much money and ſo many yerres: if it were not to know how to paſſe lyfe with honoz, and take death with pacience? The end why men ought to ſtudy, is to learn to liue well. For there is no truer ſcience in man, then to know how to order his life well. What profiteth it mee to know much, if thereby I take no profit: what profiteth mee to know ſtraunge languages, if I refrain not my tong from other mens matters: what profiteth it to ſtudy many books, if I ſtudy not but to begyle my friends: what profiteth it to know the influence of ſtarres, and the courſe of the elements: if I cannot keepe my ſelf from byces: ſynally I ſay, that it lytle auayleth to bee a maiſter of the ſage: if ſecretly hee bee reported to bee a folower of fooles. The cheef of all philoſophy conſiſteth to ſerue god, and not to offend men. I aſk thee, moſt noble prince, what auaieth it the Pilot to know the art of ſayling: and after in a tempeſt by neglygence to periſh: What auayleth it the balyaunt captayn, to talk much of warre: and afterwards hee knoweth not how to geue the battayl: What auaieth it the guyde, to tell the neereſt way: and afterwards in the miſt to loſe him ſelf. All this w^{ch} I haue ſpoken, is ſayd for thee my Lord. For what auayleth it that thou beeing in health, ſhouldſt ſigh for death: ſince now when hee dooth approach, thou weepeſt becauſe thou wooldſt not leaue life: One of the things where in the wiſe man ſheweth his wiſedom, is to know how to loue, and how to hate. For it is great lightnes (I ſhould rather ſay folly) to day to loue him, whom yeſterday wee hated: and to morow to ſclaunder him whom this day wee honozed. What Prince ſo hygh, or what Plebeyan ſo baſe hath there been, or in the world ſhall euer bee, the which hath ſo lytle (as thou) regarded lyfe: and ſo hyghly commended death: What thyngs haue I wyrtten (being thy Secretary) with my own hand, to dyuers prouinces of the

of the world: where thou speakest so much good of death, that sometymes þe madeſt mee to hate lyfe: What was it to ſee that letter which thou wroteſt to the noble Romaine Claudineſ wydow, comfortyng her of the death of her husband, which dyed in þe warres: Wherein ſhee aunſwered: That ſhee thought her trouble comfort, to deſerue that thou ſhouldeſt write her ſuch a letter.

What a pitifull and ſauoyr letter haſt thou writtē to Antigonus, on the death of thy child Veriſſimus thy ſonne ſo much deſired: Whoſe death thou tookeſt ſo, that thou exceedeſt the limits of philoſophy: but in þe end, with thy princely vertues, thou didſt qualify thy woſull ſorowes. What ſentences ſo profound, what woordes ſo wel couched didſt thou write in that booke entytuled The remedy of the ſorowfull. the which thou didſt ſend from the warre of Asia, to the Senators of Rome: and that was to comfort them after a ſore plague. And how much profit hath thy doctryn doon ſince: with what new kinde of conſolation haſt thou comforted Helius Fabatus the Senſour, when his ſonne was drowned in the ryuer: where I doo remember, that whē wee entred into his houſe, wee found him weeping: and when wee went from thence, wee left him laughing. I doo remember, that when thou wentſt to viſit Gneus Ruſticus in his laſt diſeaſe, thou ſpakeſt vnto him ſo effectuoſly, that by the behemency of thy woordes, thou madeſt the tears to run down his cheeks. And I demaunding him the occaſions of his lamentacions, hee ſaid: The emperoz my lord hath told mee ſo much evils that I haue wonne, and of ſo much good that I haue loſt, that if I weepe, I weepe not for lyfe which is ſhort, but for death which is long. The man whom aboue all thou haſt loved, was Torquatus, whom thou didſt obey as thy father, and ſeruedſt as thy maſter. This thy faithfull friend beeing ready to dy, and deſpying yet to liue, thou ſendeſt to offer ſacrifices to the gods, not for that they ſhould graunt him lyfe: but that they ſhould haſten his death. Herewith I beeing aſtoniſhed, thy nobleneſſe to ſatifyſy my ignorance, ſaid vnto mee in ſecret theſe woordes.

Maruel not Panutius, to ſee mee offer ſacrifyces to haſten my friends death: and not to prolong his life. For there is nothing that the faithfull friend ought ſo much to deſyre to his true friend: as to ſee him ridde from the troubles of this earth, and to enioy the pleasures of heauen. Why thinkeſt thou moſt noble prince, that I reduce all theſe things to thy memory, but for to demaund thee how it is poſſible, that I which haue hard thee ſpeak ſo well of death, doo preſently ſee thee ſo vntoillig to leaue life: ſince the gods commaund it, thy age willet it, thy diſeaſe dooth cauſe it, thy feeble nature dooth permit it, the ſinfull Rome dooth deſerue it, and the fickle fortune agreeth, that for our great miſery thou ſhouldeſt dye. Why therfore ſigheſt thou ſo much for to dye: The trauels whych of neceſſity muſt needes come, wyth ſtout hart ought to bee receiued. The cowardly hart falleth befoze hee is beaten down: but the ſtout and balyaunt ſtomack in greateſt perill, recouereth moſt ſtrength. Thou art one man, and not two, thou oughtſt one death to the gods, and not two: why wilt thou therfore beeyng but one, pay for two: and for one only lyfe, take two deaths:

I mean that befoze thou endeſt lyfe, thou dyeſt for pure ſorow. After that thou haſt ſayled, and in the ſayling thou haſt paſſed ſuch perill, when the gods doo render thee in the ſafe haven, once agayn thou wilt run in to þe raging ſea,

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sea, wher thou scapest the victory of lyfe, and thou dyest with the ambusher-
 inens of death. *Lxii.* peres hast thou fought in the field, and neuer turned thy
 back: and fearest thou now beeing enclosed in the graue: hast thou not passed
 the pykes, and bypers, wherein thou hast been enclosed: and now thou trem-
 blest, beeing in the sure way? Thou knowest what dommage it is long to
 liue, and now thou douteest of the profit of death which ensueth. It is now
 many peres, since death and thou haue been at defiaunce, as mortall ene-
 mies: and now to lay thy hands on thy weapons, thou flyest and turnest thy
 back. *Lxiii.* peres are past, since thou were bent agaynst fortune: and now
 thou closest thy eyes, when thou oughtst ouer her to triumph. By that I
 haue told thee I mean, that since wee doo not see thee take death willingly
 at this present: wee doo suspect that thy lyfe hath not in tymes past been ve-
 ry good. For the man which hath no desire to appeere befoze the gods: it is
 a token hee is loden with byces. What meanest thou, most noble prince,
 why weepest thou as an infant, and complainest as a man in dispaire? If
 thou weepest because thou diest, I answer thee, that thou laughedst as
 much when thou liuedst. For of too much laughing in this life, proceedeth much
 weeping at the death. Who hath alwayes for his heritage, appropriated the
 places beeing in the common wealth? The vnconstancy of the mynd, who
 shalbee so hardy to make steddye? I mean that all are dead, all dye, and all shal
 dye: and among all wilt thou alone lyue? Wilt thou obtayn of the gods, that
 which maketh them gods? That is to weete, that they make thee immortall,
 as them selues? Wilt thou alone haue by priuiledge, that which the gods
 haue by nature? My youth demaundeth thy age what thing is best, or to say
 better, which is lesse euill: to dye well, or to lyue euill. I doubt that any man
 may attayn to the means to lyue well, according to the continuall & variable
 troubles whych dayly wee haue accustomed to cary beet weene our hands,
 alwayes suffering hunger, cold, thirst, care, displeasures, temptacions, persecu-
 cions, euil fortunes, ouerthrowes, and diseases.

Thys cannot bee called lyfe, but a long death: and with reason wee will
 call this lyfe death, since a thousand tymes wee hate lyfe. If an auncient
 man did make a shew of his lyfe; from tyme hee is come out of the intrailles
 of his mother, vntill the tyme hee entreth into the bowels of the earth, and
 that the body woold declare all the sorowes that hee hath passed, and the hart
 discover all the ouerthrowes of fortune, which hee hath suffered: I immagin
 the gods woold maruell, and men woold wonder at the body whych hath
 endured so much, and the hart whych hath so greatly dissembled.

I take the Greekes to bee more wise, whych weepe when their children
 bee bozne, and laugh when the aged dye: then the Romayns whych syng
 when the children are bozne, and weepe when the old men dye. Wee haue
 much reason to laugh, when the old men dye, since they dye to laugh: and
 with greater reason wee ought to weepe, when the children are bozne, since
 they are bozne to weepe.

¶ Pannatius the secretary continueth his exhortatio admonishing al men willing-
 ly to accept death, and utterly to forsake the world and all his vanities.

Cap. II.

Synce

Sins lyfe is now condempned for euill, there remaineth nought els, but to approue death to bee good. And if it pleased the immortall gods, that as I oftentimes haue hard the disputacions of this matter: so now that thou couldst therewith profit. But I am sorie that to the sage, and wise man, counsaile sometimes (or for the most part) wanteth. None ought to cleue so much to his own opinion, but sometimes hee should folow the counsaile of the thyrd parson. For the man which in all things will follow his own aduise, ought wel to bee assured, that in al, or the most part, hee shall erre. O my lord Mark, sith thou art sage, liuely of spirit, of great experience and auncient, didst not thou think, that as thou hadst buried many, so like wise some should burie thee? What imaginacions were thine to think, that seeing the end of their days, others should not see the end of thy yeares? Since thou diest ryche, honourably accompanied, old, and aboue all, seeing thou diest in the seruice of the common wealth, why fearest thou to enter into thy graue? Thou hast alwayes beene a friend, as much to know things past: as those which were hid and kept secret. Sins thou hast proued what honours, and dishonours doo deserue, ryches and pouerty, prosperity and aduersity, toy and sorow, loue and feare, vices & pleasures: mee seemeth that nothing remayneth to know, but that it is necessarye to know what death is. And also I sweare vnto thee (most noble lord) yf thou shalt learn more in one hour, what death is: then in a hundred yeares what life meaneth. Since thou art good, and presumest to bee good, and hast lyued as good, is it not better that thou dye, & goe with so many good: then that thou scape, and liue amongst so many euill? That thou feelest death, I maruell nothing at all, for thou art a man: but I doo marvail that thou dissemblest it not, since thou art discrete. Many things doo the sage men feelee, which inwardly doo oppresse their hart: but outwardly they dissimble them, for the more honoz. If all the poyson which in the sorowfull hart is wrapped, were in small peeces in the feeble flesh scattered: then the walles woold not suffice to rubbe, neither the nayles to scratch vs. What other thing is death, but a trap or doore where with to shut the shop, wherein all the miseries of this wofull lyfe are vendible? What wrong or prejudice doo the gods vnto vs, why they cal vs bee-foze them: but from an old decayed house, to chaunge vs to a new builded palace? And what other thing is the graue, but a strong fort, wherein wee shut our selues from the assaults of lyfe, & broyles of fortune? Cruelly, wee ought to bee more desirous of that wee fynd in death, then of that wee leaue in lyfe. If Helia Fabricia thy wife doo greue thee, for that thou leauest her yong, doo not care. For shee presently hath litle care of the perill, wherein thy lyfe dependeth. And in the end, when shee shall know of thy death, shee will bee nothing greued. Trouble not thy self for that shee is left widow. For yong women (as shee is) which are married with old men (as thou) when their husbands dye: they haue their eyes on that they can robbe, and their harts on them whom they desire to mary. And speaking with due respect, when with their eyes they outwardly seeme most for to bee waille: then with their harts inwardly doo they most reioyce. Deceyue not thy self in thinking that the emperesse thy wife is yong, and that shee shall fynd none other Emperoz with whom agayne shee may mary. For such, and the like, will chaunge the cloth of gold, for gownes of bynnes. I mean, that they woold rather the yong they heard in the

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field: then the old emperour in his royall pallace. If thou takest sorrow for the
 philozen whom thou leavest, I know not why thou shouldst do so: for truly if
 it greue thee now, for that thou dyest: they are more displeased, for that thou
 lyvest. The sonne that desireth not the death of his father, may bee counted the
 onely Phenix of this world, for if y father bee poore, he wyllyeth him dead for y
 hee is not maintained, & if hee bee rich, hee desireth his death to enherit y soo-
 ner. Sing therefore it is true (as in deede it is) it seemeth not wise dome that
 they sing, & thou weepe. If it greue thee to leave these goodly pallaces, & these
 sumptuous buildings, deceiue not thy self therein. For by y god Iupiter I sweare
 vnto thee, that since that death dooth finish thee, at y end of .xlii. yeares: tyme
 shal consume these sumptuous buildings in lesse then xl. If it greue thee to for-
 sake the company of thy frends, & neighbors, for them also take as litle thought,
 sing for thee they wil not take any at all. For amongst the other compassions y
 they ought to haue of the dead, this is true, that scarcely they are buried, but of
 their frends & neighbors they are forgotten. If thou takest great thought for
 that thou wilt not dye, as the other emperours of Rome are dead: mee seemeth
 that thou oughtst also to cast this sorrow from thee. For thou knowst ryght
 well, that Rome hath accustomed to bee so vnthankful to those w serue her: y
 the great Scipio also, woold not bee buried therein. If it greue thee to dye, to
 leaue so great a signory, as to leaue the empire: I can not think that such ba-
 nity bee in thy head. For temperat, & reposed men, when they escape from
 semblable offices, do not think that they lose honoz: but y they bee free, of a tro-
 ble some charge. Therefore if none of al these things moue thee to desire lyfe,
 what should let thee y through thy gates enter not death: it greueth men to
 dye for one of these two things, eyther for the loue of those they leaue beehynd
 them, or for the feare of that they hope. Sing therefore there is nothing in this
 lyfe worthy of loue, nor any thing in death why wee should feare: why doo me
 feare to dye? According to y heauy sighs y fetchest, y bitter tears thou sheddest,
 & according also to the great payn thou shewest, for my part I think: that the
 thing in thy thought most forgotten was, y the gods should commaund thee to
 pay this debt. For admit y al think y their life shal end, yet no man thinketh y
 death wil come so soone. For that men think neuer to dye, they neuer beeginne
 their faults to amende: so that both life & fault haue end in the graue togethers.
 Knowst not thou (most noble prince) that after the long night, cometh y moist
 morning: Dost thou not know y after the moyst morning, there cometh y
 cleere sunne: Knowst not thou, y after the cleere sunne, cometh the cloudy ele-
 ment: Dost thou not know, y after the dark myst, there cometh extream
 heat: And that after the heat, cometh the horrible thunders: & after the thun-
 ders, the soden lightnings: & that after the peridous lightnings, cometh the
 terrible hayle: Finally I say, that after the tempestuous & trouble some time,
 commonly cometh cleare & faire weather. The order that tyme hath, to ma-
 ke him self cruel, & gentill: the self same ought men to haue, to liue & dye. For
 after the infancy, cometh chyldhod, after chyldhod cometh youth, after youth
 cometh age, & after age, cometh y fearfull death: finally after y fearfull death,
 cometh y sure life. Oftentimes I haue read, & of thee not seldome hard, y the
 gods onely w had no beginning, shal haue also no endyng. Therefore mee
 thinketh (most noble prince) that sage men ought not to desire to lyue long:

for men which desire to liue much, eyther it is for that they haue not felt the trauailes past, beecaue they haue been fooles: or for that they desire more time, to geue them selues to bices. Thou mightst not complayn of that, sins they haue not cut thee in the flower of the herb, nor taken thee greene from y tree, nor cut in thee in the spring tide, and much lesse eat the eager, beefore thou were ripe. By that I haue spoken, I mean, if death had called thee when thy lyfe was sweetest: though thou hadst not had reason to haue complayned, yet thou mightst haue desired to haue altered it. For it is a great grief, to say vnto a yong man that hee must dye, and forsake the world. What is this (my lord) now that the wall is decayed ready to fall, the flower is withered, the grape dooth rotte, the teeth are loose, the gown is woyn, the launce is blunt the knife is dull, and doost thou desire to return into the world, as if thou hadst neuer knowen the world? These lxii. yeares thou hast liued in y prison of thys body, & wilt thou, now y prion fetters haue rot thy legges, desire yet to length thy days, in this so woeful prison? They y will not be contented to lyue lx. yeares & spue in this death, or to dye in this lyfe: will not desire to dye in lx. thousand yeares. The Emperour Augustus octavian sayd. That after men had lyued. l. yeares, eyther of their owne will they ought to dye: or els by force they shoold cause them selues to bee killed. For at that time, all those which haue had any humain felicity, are at the best. Those w liue aboue that age, passe their days in greenous tozments. As in the death of chyldzen, in y losse of goods, & impossibility of sone in law, in mainteining procelles, in discharging debts, in sighing for that is past, in betwailing y that is present, in dissembling iniuries, in hearing woeful newes, & in other infinit trauails. So y it were much better, to haue their eies shut in the graue: then their harts & bodies aliuie, to suffer so much in this miserable life. Hee whom the gods take from this miserable life at y end of 50. yeares, is quited from al these miseries of life. For after that time hee is not weak, but crooked, he goeth not, but rouleth, hee stumbleth not but falleth. O my lord Mark, knowest thou not, y by the same way wherby goeth death, death cometh? Knowst not thou in like maner, that it is 52. yeares that life hath fled from death: and that there is an other time as much, that death goeth seeking thy life: and death going from Illiria where hee left a great plague, and thou departing from thy pallyce ye. ii. now haue met in Hungary: knowst not thou, that where thou leapedst out of thy mothers intrails to gouern the land, immediatly death leaped out of his graue to seeke thy life? Thou hast alwaygs presumed, not onely to bee honozed: but also to bee honozable, if it bee so, synce thou honozedst the Ambassadours of Princes which did send them the more for their profyt, then for thy seruice, why doost thou not honoz thy messenger, whom the gods send more for thy profyt, then for their seruices? Doost thou not remember well, when Vulcane my sonne in law poysoned mee, more for the couetousnes of my goods, then any desire hee had of my life: thou lord diddest come to comfort mee in my chamber, and toldst mee that the gods were cruell to slea the yong: and were pytiful to take the old from this world. And thou saydst further these woordes. Comfort thee Panutius: For if thou were born to dye, now thou diest to liue. Sins therefore (noble prince) that I tell thee that which thou toldst mee, and counsaile thee the same which thou counsayledst mee: I render to thee that which thou hast geueen mee. Finally, of these

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these vines I haue gathered these clusters of grapes.

The answer of the emperor Marcus to Panutius his secretary, wherein hee declareth that hee tooke no thought to forsake the world: but all his sorrow was to leaue beehynd hym an vnhappy chyld to enheryt the Empire.

Cap. li.

Panutius blessed bee the milk thou hast sucked in Dacia, the bread which thou hast eaten in Rome, the learning which thou hast learned in Greece & the bringing by which thou hast had in my pallace. For thou hast serued as a good seruant in life: and gettest mee counsayl as a trusty friend at death. I commaund Commodus my sonne to recompence thy seruice, and I beseech the immortal gods, that they acquite thy good counsayls. And not wythout good cause I charge my sonne with y^e one, and require the gods of the other. For the payment of many seruices, one man alone may doo: but to pay one good counsayl, it is requysit to haue all the gods. The greatest good that a friend can doo to his friend, is in great & wayghty affayres, to geue him good and holtsome counsayl. And not without cause I say holtsome. For commonly it chaunceth, that those which think with their counsayl to remedy vs: do put vs oftentimes in greatest perils. All the trauayles of lyfe are hard: but that of death ys the most hard and terrible. All are great, but this is the greatest. All are perillous, but this is most perillous. All in death haue end except the trauayl of death, whereof wee know no end. That which I say now, no man perfectly can know: but onely hee which seeth him self, as I see my self now at the point of death. Certainly Panutius, thou hast spoken vnto mee as a wise man: but for that thou knowest not my grief, thou couldst not cure my disease, for my soze is not there, where thou hast layd the playster. The fistula is not there where thou hast cut y^e flesh. The opilation is not there, where thou hast layd the oymments. There were not the right bayns, where thou dydst let mee blood. Thou hast not yet touched the wound, which is the cause of all my grief. I mean that thou oughtst to haue entred further with mee, to haue knowen my grief better. The sighes which the hart fetcheth (I say those which come from the hart) let not every man thynk which heareth the, that he can immediately vnderstand them. For as men can not remedy the anguishes of the spirit: so the gods likewise woold not that they shoold know the secrets of the hart. Without fear or shame many dare say, that they know the thought of others, wherein they shew them selues to bee moze fooles, then wise. For since there are many things in mee, wherein I my self doubt: how can a straunger haue any certayn knowledg therein? How accusest mee Panutius, that I feare death greatly, the which I deny: but to feare it as mā, I doo confesse. For to deny that I feare not death, shoold bee to deny that I am not of flesh. Wee see by experience, that the elephants doo feare the Lyon, the Beare the Elephant, the woolf the Beare, the lamb the woolf, the ratte the catte, the catte the dogge, and the dogge the man: fynally the one and the other doo feare for no other thyng, but for feare that one killeth not the other. Then since brute beasts refuse death, the which though they dye, feare not to fyght with the furies, nor hope not to rest with the gods: so much the moze ought wee to feare death, which dye in doubt, whither the furies will feare

teare vs in pieces with their torments, or the gods will receyue vs into their houses with ioy. Thinkest thou Panutius, that I doo not see well that my bane is gathered, and that it is not hyd vnto mee, that my pallace falleth in decay? I know well, that I haue not but the kernal of the raison, and the skinne: and that I haue not but one sygh of all my lyfe, vntill this time. There was great difference betweene mee and thee: and now there is great difference betwixt mee and my self. For about the ensigne, thou doost place the army. In the ryuers, thou callest thy nettes, within the parks, thou hunttest the bulles. In the shadow thou takest cold. By this I mean, that thou talkest so much of death: beecause that thou art sure of thy life. O myserable man that I am, for in short space, of all that in this lyfe I haue possessed: with mee I shall cary nothing, but onely my wynding sheete. Alas now shall I enter into the field, not where of the fierce beasts I shalbee assaulted: but of the hungry woozms deuoured. Alas I see my self in that dystresse, from whence my frail flesh cannot escape. And yf any hope remain, it is in thee o death. When I am sick, I woold not that hee that is whole shood comfort mee. When I am sorowfull, I woold not that hee which is mery shood cōfort mee. When I am banished I woold not that he which is in prosperity shood comfort mee. When I am at the hour of death, I woold not that hee shood comfort mee, which is not in some suspicion of lyfe. But I woold that the poore shood comfort mee in my pouerty, the sorowfull in my sorows, the banished in my banishment, and hee which is in as great daunger of his life, as I am now at the poynt of death. For there is no counsaile so healthfull, nor true: as that of the man which is in sorow, when hee counsaileth an other, whych is like wise tormented him self. If thou consyderest well this sentence, thou shalt fynd that I haue spoken a thyng very profound, wherein notwithstanding my tongue is appeased. For in my oppinion euill shall hee be comforted, which is weeping with him, that continually laugheth. I say this to the end thou know, that I know it: and that thou perceiue that I perceyue it. And beecause thou shalt not lyue deceyued, as to my frend I wil disclose the secret: and thou shalt see, that small is the sorow which I haue, in respect of the great, which I haue cause to haue. For if reason had not stryued with sensuality, the sighs had ended my lyfe, and in a pond of teares, they had made my graue. The things which in mee thou hast seene, which are to abhorre meat, to banish sleepe, to loue care, to bee annoyed with company, to take rest in sighs, & to take pleasure in tears: may easely declare vnto thee, what torment is in the sea of my hart, when such tremblings doo appeare in y earth of my body. Let vs now come to the purpose, and wee shall see, why my body is without consolation, and my hart so ouertome with sorowes: for my feelyng, greatly exceedeth my complaynyng, beecause the body is so delycat, that in scratchyng it, it complayneth: and the hart is so stout and balaunt, that though it bee hurt, yet it dyssembleth. O Panutius, I let thee weete, that the occasion why I take death so greuously, is beecause I leaue my sonne Commodus in this life: who lyueth in this age most perillous for hym, and no lesse daungerous for the Empire. By the flowers are the fruits knowen, by the grapes the vines are knowen, and by the face men are knowen: by the colt the horse is iudged, and by the infant, youth is knowen.

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This I say by the Prince my sonne, for that hee hath beene euill in my life, I doo ymagyn that hee will bee woorse after my death. Since thou (as well as I) knowest the euill condicions of my sonne, why doost thou maruell at the thoughts and sorowes of the father? My sonne Commodus in years is yong, and in vnderstanding ponger. Hee hath an euill inclination, and yet hee wd not enforce him self against the same, hee gouerneth him self by hys owne sense, and in matters of wisdom hee knoweth lytel: of that hee should bee ignorant, hee knoweth too much: and that which is woorst of all, hee ys of no man esteemed. Hee knoweth nothing of things past, nor occupyeth hym about any thing present. Finally, for that which with myne eyes I haue seene, I say, and that which with in my hart I haue suspected I iudge: that shortly the person of my sonne shall bee in hazard, and the memory of hys father perishe. How unkyndly haue the Gods vsed them selues toward vs, to commaund vs to leaue our honoz in the hands of our children: for it should suffice, that wee should leaue them our goods: and that to our friends we should commyt our honoz. But yet I am sorry, for that they consume the goods in vices: and lose the honoz, for to bee vicious. The gods beeing pitiful as they are, since they geue vs the authoryty to deuyde our goods: why doo they not geue vs leaue, to make our wills of the honoz? My sonnes name beeing Commodus, in the Romayne tongue, is as much to say, as profyt: but as hee is, wee will bee content to bee without the lytle profyt, which hee may doo to some, so that wee may bee excused of the great damage, which hee is lykely to doo to all. For I suppose hee wyll bee the scourge of men, and the wrath of Gods. Hee entreteth now into the pathway of youth, alone without a guide. And for that hee hath to passe, by the hygh and daungerous places: I feare lest hee bee lost, in the wood of vices. For the children of Princes, and great Lords, for so much as they are brought vp in lyberty, & wantonnes, doo easily fall into vices, and voluptuousnes: and are most stubborn to bee wythdrawen from their folly. Panutius, geue attentie eare to that I say vnto thee. Seekest thou not, that Commodus my sonne is at lyberty, is rysh, is yong, and is alone? By the fayth of a good man, I sweare vnto thee, that the least of these wynds woold ouerthrow, not onely a yong tender ash: but also a mighty strong oke. Ryches, youth, pride, and lyberty, are fouler plagues which poison the prince, replenysh the common wealth with filth, kill the lyuing, and defame the dead. Let the old men beeleeue mee, and the yong men mark well what I say, that where y gods haue geuen many gyfts: it is necessary they haue many vertues to susteyn them. The gentle, the peaceable, the couenterfart, the simple, and the fearful, doo not trouble the common wealth: but those who nature hath geuen most gyfts. For as experience teacheth vs, with the fairest weomen the stews are furnyshed, the most proper personages are vnshamefast, the most stout and balaunt are murderers, the most subtyll are cheaters, and men of clearest vnderstanding, oft times beecome most fooles. I say and say again, I affirm, and affirm agayn, I sweare, and sweare agayn, that if two men which are adozned with naturall gyfts, doo want requysit vertues: such haue a knife in their hands, wherewith they doo strike and wound them selues, a spher on their shoulders wherewith they burn them selues, a rope at their necks to hang them selues, a dagger at their brest wherewith they

they kill them selues, a thorn in their foote wherewith they prick them selues, and stones wherewith they stumble: so that stumbling they fall, and falling they fynd them selues with death whom they hate, and without lyfe which so much they loued. Note well Panutius, note, that the man which from his infancy hath alwayes the feare of the gods befoze his eyes, and the shame of men, sayeth trouth to all, and lyueth in preiudice to none: and to such a tree, though euil fortune doo cleaue, the flower of his youth doo wither, the leaues of their fauours drye, they gather the fruits of hys trauailes, they cut the bough of hys offices, they bow the highest of his branches downwards, yet in the end, though of the winds hee bee beaten, hee shall neuer bee overcome, O happy are those fathers, to whom the Gods haue geuen quick children, wyle, faire, able, lyght, and balaunt: but all these gifts are but means to make them vicious. And in such case, if the fathers woold bee gouerned by my counsayl, I woold rather desire that members shoold want in them: then that vyces shoold abound. Of the most fairest chyldren which are bozn in the Empire, my sonne Commodus the Prince is one. But I woold to the immortal gods, that in face hee resemble y blackest of Ethiopie: in manners, the greatest philosopher of Greece. For the glozy of the father is not, nor ought not to bee, in that his childe is faire of complexion, and handsome of person: but that in his lyfe hee bee very vpryght. Wee will not call hym a pytyfull father, but a great enemy, who exalteth soozth his childe, for that hee is faire: and dooth not correct hym, though hee bee vicious. I durst say, that the father which hath a chyld endued with many goodly gyfts, and that hee dooth employ them all to vices: such a chyld ought not to bee bozn in y world, and if perchance he were bozn, hee ought immediately to bee buried.

¶ The Emperour Marcus Aurelius concludeth his matter, and sheweth that suryong prynces for being vicious, haue vndoone them selues, and impoueryshed their Realmes. Cap. liij.

What great pyty is it, to see how the father buyeth his chyld of y gods with sighs, how the mother deliuer them to payn, how they both nourish them with trauailes, how they watch to susteyn them, how they labour to remedy them, and after wards they haue so rebelled, and bee so vicious that the myserable fathers oftentimes doo dye not for age, but for the greuous wherewith their children torment the. I doo remember, y the prince Commodus my sonne being yong, & I aged (as I am) w great payns wee kept him fro vices: but I fear, y after my deth hee will hate vertues. I remeber many yong prynces, w of his age haue enherited the pyre of Rome, who haue bene of so toyched a life: that they haue deserved to lose both honoz, and life. I remember Demis the famous tyraunt of Scicil, of whom is sayed, that as great reward hee gaue to those that inuented vices: as our mother Rome dyd to those w conquered realmes. Such woozsh could not bee but of a Tyrant, to take them for most famyliar, which are most vicious. I remember fower yong prynces, which gonerned the empire, but not with such balauntnes, as the great Alexander: that is to wete, Alexander, Antiochus, Siluius, and Ptholomeus, to whom for their banyty and lightnes, as they called Alexander the great, Emperour

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Emperour in Grece: so likewise doo they call these yong men, tiraunts in Asia. Verry happy was Alexander in life, & they vnhappy after his death. For all that which with glorious triumphs hee warne, with vile bites they lost. So that Alexander deuided between them sower the world, and afterwards it came into the hands of mo then sower hundreth. I doo remember, that kyng Antigonus litle exteemed that, which cost his lord Alexander much. Hee was so lyght in the behauior of his person, and so defamed in the affaires of the common wealth: that for mockry and contempt, in the steede of a crowne of gold, hee bare a garland, in the steede of a scepter, hee caried nettels in hys hand, & of this sort and maner hee sat to iudge among his counsaillours, and vsed to talk with straungers. This yong prince dooth offend mee much, for y lightnes hee committed: but much more I marueyl at the gravity of the sages of Grece. Who suffred him. It is but meete hee bee partaker of the payn, which condescended to the fault. I doo remember Calligulus the sowerth Emperour of Rome, who was so yong and foolyshe, that I doubt of these two thynges, which was greatest in his time. That is to wete, the dysobedience which the people beare to their lord: or the hate which the lord beare to hys people. For that vnhappy creature was so dysordered in his maners, that if all the Romayns had not watched to take life from him: hee wouold haue watched to take life from them. This Caligula ware a bzooyne of gold in his cap, where in were wrytten these woordes. *Vtinam omnis populus vnam precife ceruicem haberet, vt vno ictu omnes necarem*. Whych is to say: wouold to god all the people had but one neck, to the end I might kyll them all at a stroke. I remember the Emperour Tiberius, thadoptive sonne of the good Cesar Augustus, whych was called Augustus, because hee greatly augmented the empire. But the good Emperour did not so much augment the state of hys common wealth, during hys lyfe: as Tiberius dyd dymynish it, after hys death. The hate and mallice which the Romayn people bare to Tiberius in hys lyfe, was manifestly dyscouered after the tyme of hys death. For the day that Tiberius dyed (or better to say, when they kyled him) the Romayn people made great processions, and the Senators offred great presents to the Temples, and the priests gaue great sacrifices to their Gods: and all to yend their Gods shouold not receyue the soule of thys tiraunt amongst them, but that they wouold send it to bee kept among the furies of hell. I remember Patrocles (second kyng of Corinthe) inherited the realme at two & twenty years of his age, who was so dysordered of hys flesh, so vndiscreete in hys doings, so couetous of goods, and such a coward of hys person, that where hys father had possessed the realme forty yeares, the sonne dyd not possesse it thyrty moneths. I remember Tarquine the proud, who though among eyght knyghts of Rome was the last, and comlyest of gesture, valyaunt in armes, noblest of blood, and in geenyng most lyberall: yet hee employed all hys gyfts and graces which the Gods had geuen hym, euill. For hee employed hys beuty to ryot, and hys forces to tyranny. For through the treason, and byllany, whych hee commytted with the Romayn Lucretia, hee dyd not onely lose the realme, and flying saued hys lyfe: but also for euer was banyshed, and all hys lynage like wisse, I remember the cruell emperoz Nero, who lyued, enherited, and

and dyed yong: and not without a cause I say, that hee lyued, and dyed yong: for in him was graffed the stock of the noble and worthy Cefars: and in him was renewed, the memory of those Tyrants. To whom thinkest thou Panutius, this tiraunt woold haue geueu lyfe, since hee with his own hands gaue his mother her death: Tel mee I pray thee, who thinkest thou hath made that cursed hart, who slew hys mother, out of whose womb hee came: opened her breasts, which gaue hym suck: shed the blood, whereof hee was bozne: toze the armes in wh hee was carped: & saw the intrails, wherein hee was fo:med: The day y the emperour Nero slew his mother, an orator said in y senat.

Iure interficienda erat Agrippina que tale portentum peperit in populo romano. Which is to say, iustly deserued Agrippina to bee put to death, which brought forth so straunge a monster amongst the Romayn people.

Thou oughtst not therefore to marueil (Panutius) at the newelties whych thou hast seene in mee: for in these three days that I haue beene troubled in my mynd, and altered in my vnderstandyng, all these things are offred vnto mee, and from the botom of my hart I haue digested them. For the carefull men are not blynded, but with their own ymaginacions. All these euil conditions which these Princes had scattered amongst them (of whom I haue spoken) doo meete together in my sonne Commodus.

For if they were yong, hee is yong. If they were ryche, hee is ryche. If they were free, hee is free. If they were bold, hee is bold. If they were wilde, hee is wilde. If they were euill, certaynly I doo not think that hee is good. For wee see many yong princes, which haue been well brought vp, and well taught: yet when they haue inherited, and come to their lands, they beecome immediatly vitious, and dissolute. What hope haue wee of those, which from their infancy are dissolute and euill enclined: of good wyne, I haue made oft times strong vinegar: but of pure vinegar, I haue neuer seene good wine. This childe keepeth mee, betweene the sayles of feare, & the anker of hope: hoppyng hee shal bee good, since I haue taught him wel, & fearing hee shal bee euill, because his mother Faustine hath nozished him euill. And that which ys the woozst, y the yong childe of his own nature is inclined to al euill. I am moued to say this much, for that I see his naturall inclination increase: and that which was taught him dimynish, for the which occasyon, I doubt that after my death, my sonne shal return to that, wherein his mother hath nozished him: & not to that, wherein I haue taught him. Oh how happy had I been, if neuer I had had childe, for not to be bound to leaue him thempire: for I wooldt hose then, among the children of the good fathers: & woold not bee bound to such a one, to whom the gods haue geueu mee. One thing I ask thee Panutius, whom wooldst thou cal most fortunat: Vespasian, who was naturall father of Domitius, or Nerua, the adopted father of the good Traiane: both those two (Vespasian, & Nerua) were good princes, but of children, Domitian was y head of al mischief: & Traiane was the mirrour of al goodnes. So y Vespasian in that hee had children, was vnhappy: & Nerua in that hee had none, was most fortunat. One thing I wil tel thee Panutius, the which by thee considered thou wilt litle esteeme life, and shalt lose the feare of death. I haue lyued lxx. years, wherein I haue read much, hard much, sene, desired, attained, possessed, suffered & I haue much reioyced my self. And in the end of al this, I see my self now to dye,

and

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and I must want my pleasures, and my self also. Of all that I haue had, possessed, attained, & whereof I haue enioyed, I haue only two things: to weere, payn for that I haue offended the gods, and sorrow for the time which I haue wasted in vices. There is great difference betweene the ryche and the poore in death, and more in lyfe. For the poore dyeth to rest, but yf the rich dye it is to their great payn. So that the gods take from the one, that which hee had: & putteth the other in possession, of that hee desired. Great care hath the hart to seeke the goods, and they passe great troubles to heape by them together, and great diligence must bee had in keeping them, and also much topt to encrease them: but without comparison, it is greater grief to depart from them. What payn intollerable and grief it is to the wise man, seeing hym self at the point of death, to leaue the sweet of his family, the maiesty of his empire, the honoz of his present, the loue of his frends, the payment of his debts, the deserts of his seruants, and the memory of hys predecessours, in the power of so euill a chyld, the which neither deserueth it, nor yet wil deserue it. In the table of our auntyent lawes, were wryten these wordes. Wee ordeyn and commaund, that the father which shall bee good according to the oppinion of all, may dysheryt his sonne, who according to the opinion of all is euill. The lawe sayd further. The chyld which hath dysobeyed hys father, robbed any holy Temple, iniured any wyddow, fled from any battaile, and committed any treason to a straunger, that hee shoold bee banished from Rome, and dysinheritid from his fathers goods. Cruelly the lawe was good, though by our offences it bee forgotten. If my breath fayled mee not as it dooth fayle mee (for of trouth I am greatly payned) I woold declare vnto thee how many Parthes, Medians, Egyptians, Assirians, Caldeans, Indians, Hebrues, Greekes, and Romans, haue left their children poore being able to haue left them ryche, for no other cause, but for that they were vicious. And to the contrary, other beeyng poore, haue left them ryche, for that they were vertuous. By the immortall Gods I sweare vnto thee, that when they came from the warre of Parthia, & triumphed in Rome, & confirmed the Empire to my sonne, if then the senat had not withstoode mee, I had left Commodus my sonne poore wyth hys vices: and woold haue made helre of all my realmes, some vertuous man. I let thee to weete Panutius, that syue thyngs oppresse my hart sore, to the which I woold rather see remedy my self, then to commaund other to remedy it. The first, for that in my lyfe time I can not determyn the proces, that the vertuous wyddow, Drusia hath with the senat. Because since shee is poore, and deformed, there is no man that will geue her iustice. The second, because I dye not in Rome. And this for none other cause, then that with the sound of the trumpet shoold bee proclaymed, that all those which haue any quarell, or debt against mee, and my family, shoold come thither to bee payd, or satisfied of their debts, and demaunds. The thyrde, that as I made fower tyrants to bee put to execucion, which commytted tyranny in Asia and Italy: so it grieued mee that I haue not also punished certayn Pyrats, which roured on the seas. The fowerth, for that I haue not caused the Temple to bee synished which I byd begynne for all the gods. For I might haue sayd vnto them after my death, that since for all them I haue made one house: it were not much that any of them shoold receiue one into his, which passe thys lyfe in the fauor
of

of gods, and without the hatred of men. For dying after this sort, men shall susteyn our honours: and the gods shall prouide for our soules.

The fyfth, for that I leaue in life for my onely heire, Commodus the pryncce, yet not so much for the destruction which shall come to my house: as for the great damage which shall succede in the common wealth. For the true princes ought to take the damages of their persons lyght, and the damages of the common wealth for the most greuous. O Papurius, let therefore thys bee the last woord which I will say vnto thee, that is to werte, that the greatest good that the Gods may geene to the man that is not couetous, but vertuous, is to geene hym good renoune in lyfe: and afterwards a good heire at our death. Finally I say, that if I haue any thing to doo with the gods, I requyre, and beseech them, that if they should bee offended, Rome shaundered, my renoune defamed, and my house demynished, for that my sonne bee of an euill lyfe: that they wyll take from hym lyfe, beefore they geene mee death.

Of the woords which the Emperour Marcus Aurelius spake vnto his sonne Commodus at the holwer of death, necessary for all yong gentlemen to vnderstand.
Cap. liij.

Since the dyscase of Marcus Aurelius was so extrem, that in euery holwer of his lyfe hee was assaulted with death: after hee had talked a long tyme with Panurius his secretary, hee commaunded his sonne Commodus to be wakened, who as a yong man slept soundly in his bed. And beeing come beefore his presence, al those which were there, were moued immediately with compassion, to see the eyes of the father all swollen with weeping: and the eyes of the chyld, closed with ouermuch sleepe. They could not waken the chyld, hee was so careles: and they could not cause the good father sleape, hee tooke so great thought. All those which were there, seeing how the father desired the good lyfe of the sonne, and how lytel the sonne wayed the death of his father: had compassion of the old man, and bare hate to the wicked chyld. Then the good Emperour casting his eyes on high, and directing his woords to his sone sayd, When thou were a chyld, I told thy maisters how they ought to bring thee vp: & after that thou dydst ware greater, I told thy gouernors how they should counsaile thee: And now will I tel thee, how thou with thine in which are few, and they with thee, beeing one, ought to gouern and maintayn the common wealth. If thou esteeme much that which I will say vnto thee my sonne: know thou, that I will esteeme it much moze that thou wilt beleeue mee. For moze easely doo wee old men, suffer your iniuries: then yee other yong, doo receyue our counsailes. Wysedome wanteth to you for to beleeue vs, yet yee want not boldnesse to dishonour vs. And that which is woost, the aged (in Rome) were wont to haue a chape of wysedome, and sagenes: but now adays the yong men count it a shame and folly. The world at this day ys so changed, from that it was wont to bee in tymes past: that all haue the audacity to geene counsaile, and few haue the wysedome to receyue it, so that they are a thousand, which sell counsailes: & there is not one, y buyeth wysedom. I beleeue wel my sone, y according to my fatal destinies, & thy euill manners,
lytle

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litle that I auaille which I shal tel thee. For since thou wooldst not credyt these
 woordes, which I spake vnto thee in my life: I am sure that thou wilt litle re-
 gard them after my death. But I doo this more to satisfy my desyre, and to ac-
 complish that which I owe vnto the common wealth: than for that I hope for
 any amendment of thy lyfe. For there is no grief that so much hurteth a per-
 son, as when hee him self is cause of his own payn. If any man dooth me an
 iniury, if I lay my hands vppon him, or speak iniurious woordes vnto him, my
 hart is forthwith satisfied: but if I doo iniury to my self, I am hee who wrong-
 geth, & am wronged, for that I haue none on whom I may reuenge my wrong,
 and I bere & chase with my self. If thou my sonne bee euill, after that thou hast
 enherited the empire: my mother Rome wil complain of gods, which haue
 geueen thee so many euil inclinations. Shee wil complayn of Faustine thy mo-
 ther which hath brought thee by so wantonly, shee wil complayn of thee who
 hast no will to resist vice: but shee shall haue no cause to complayn of the old
 man thy father, who hath not geueen thee good counsailes. For if thou hadst
 beleeued that, which I told thee: men woold reioyce to haue thee for their
 lord, and the gods to vse thee as their minister. I cannot tel my sonne if I bee
 deceiued, but I see thee so depriued of vnderstanding, so vncertaine in thy
 woordes, so dissolute in thy maners, so vniust in iustice, in that thou desirest so
 hardy, & in thy duty so negligent: that if thou chaunge & alter not thy maners,
 men wil hate thee, and the gods wil forsake thee. If thou knewst my sonne
 what thyng it is to haue men for enemies, and to bee forsaken of the gods, by
 the faith of a good man I sweare vnto thee, that thou wooldst not onely hate
 the seignory of Rome, but with thy hands also thou wooldst destroy thy selfe.
 For men which haue not the gods mercifull, and the men frendly, doo eat the
 bread of grief, and drinke the tears of sorow. I am sure thy sorow is not so great
 to see that the nyght dooth end my life: as is the pleasure which thou hast, to
 see that in short space thou shalt bee emperor of Rome. And I doo not mar-
 uell hereat. For where sensuality reigneth, reason is banished & constrained
 to fly. Many loue diuers things, because of trouth they know them not: the
 which if they did know, without doubt they woold hate them. Though men
 loue in mockry, the gods & men hate vs in earnest. In all things wee are so
 doubtfull, and in all our woorkes so dysordered, that at some tyme our vnder-
 standing is dull, and loseth the edge: & an other tyme, it is more sharp then it
 is necessary. Thereby I mean, that the good wee wil not here, and much lesse
 wee wil learn it, but of the euil wee know, more then beehoueth vs, or neces-
 sity requireth. I will counsaile thee my sonne by woordes, that which in xxiij.
 yeares I haue learned by sence and experience. And since thou art as yet so
 yong, it is reason that thou beleue him which is aged. For since wee prynces
 are the mirrour of all, euery man dooth beehold vs, & wee other doo not beehold
 our selues. This day, or to morow, thou shalt inherite the Romain empire,
 & think that inheriting the same, thou shalt bee lord of the world. Yet if thou
 knewst how many cares and perilles, commaunding bringeth with it, I sweare
 vnto thee, that thou wooldst rather chose to obey all, then to commaund one.
 Thou thinkest my sonne, that I leaue thee a great lord, for to leaue thee the
 empire, which is not so. For all they haue neede but of thee, and thou alone
 hast neede of all. Thou thinkest that I leaue thee much treasure, leauing thee
 the

the great reuenewes of the empire, the which also is as litle. For though a prince haue treasures in abundance, yet if hee want friends, hee hath great want of treasures. Thou thinkest also my sonne, that I leaue thee that thou bee obeyed of all, and that none dare gaine say thee.

Truly it ought not to bee so. For it is moze meete for the prince (which desireth to preserve his lyfe, and augment his honor) to bee conformable to the will of all: then to desire that all should bee agreeable to him. For thou my sonne, that knowest not what truth is, lies wil not greene thee. For as much as thou knowest not what rest is, the broyles and motions of the people shall not vex thee. For that thou knowest not what friends meane, thou shalt esteeme it litle to haue enemies. For if thou were patient, reposed, true, & a loving man: thou wouldest not only refuse the empire of Rome, but also thou wouldest curse the father which wouldest leaue thee such inheritance. I will thou know if thou knowest it not, that in leauing thee the empire, I leaue thee not riches, but pouerty: not rest, but trauaile: not peace, but warr: not friends, but enemies: not pleasures but displeasures: finally in place I leaue thee, where alwayes thou shalt haue somewhat to bee ware. And though thou wouldest, thou shalt not laugh. I aduertise, admonish, and also exhort thee my sonne, to think that all that which I leaue thee, is vanity, lightnes, and folly, and a disguised mockry. And if thou beleeuest it is in mockry, from henceforth I know thou art deceyued. I haue liued longer then thou, I haue read moze than thou, and with great payne haue gone further than thou. And sing that with all these aduertisements, in the end I find my selfe mocked: hopest thou to liue surely, and escape without fraud or guyle? When thou shalt think to haue the empire in rest, then shall there arise a prouince in Affrica, or in Asia, the losse of the which should come to a great inconuenience: and for to recouer it, great charges would ensue. When thou thinkest to recouer friends; then shall straunge enemyes invade thee. So that in flattering, and reioysing our friends, wee can not keepe theym: and in flying, and reiecting theym, wee can not defend our selues. When thou shalt think to bee in greatest ioy, then shall some care oppresse thy hart. For princes which haue, and possesse much the netes which geue them pleasure, are very seldome: but the thinges which annoy them, come hourly. When thou shalt think to haue liberty, to doo what thou wilt: then shalt thou bee most restrayned.

For the good and well ordered princes, ought not to go whither their wanton desires moueth theym: but where it is most lawfull, and decent for the honour of their estates. When thou shalt think that none dare reprove thee, for that thou art emperour, then oughtst thou most to bee ware. For if they dare not threaten euell princes with wordes, they haue the hardines to sell them by treason. If they dare not punish them, they dare murmur at them: and these which can not bee their frendes, doo procure to bee their enemies: finally, if they lay not hands on their persons, they let their tong runne at large to prate of their renoune. When thou shalt thinke to haue satisfied thy seruants, then wyll they demanda recompence for their seruices. For it is an old custome among courtiers, to spend freely, and couet greedily. Therefore if thou doost credit these thinges, I know not who is so foolish, that for his enuerytaunce desireth such sorow. For admit that any man come to the em-

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pire, without comparison the rest is more woorth, which þe empire taketh from him: then the pleasures which it geueth him: If the empire of Rome were as well corrected and ordred, as in old time it was accustomed to bee: though it were great payne to gouerne it, yet it were more honor to keepe it, but it is so rooted in vices, and so many tirats are entred therein, that I woold tak the more wise to iudge it a mockry, then those which embrace it as an honor. If thou knewest what Rome is woorth, what Rome hath, what Rome may, and what Rome is, I sweare vnto thee, that thou wooldst not labor much to be lord therof. For though Rome w walles bee strongly compalled: yet of vertuous Citezens it is greatly bnprouided. If the inhabitants bee great, the vices are without number. Finally I say, that þe stones which are in the buyldings, in one day may bee counted: but the evils which are therein, in a. 1000. yeres can not bee declared. By the faith of a good man I sweare vnto thee, my sonne, that when I began to reygne, in 3. yeres I repaired the decayed walles that were of Rome fallen: and one onely streete to liue wel, in 11. yers I could not refourme. The deuine Plato said very well: That much more ought the great ctyes to glorify, to haue vertuous citezens: then to haue proud & sumptuous buildings. Bee ware, bee ware my sonne, that the inconstancy of youth, and the liberty which þe hast to possesse, and gouerne the empire, cause thee not to bndoo thy selfe. For hee is not counted free, who in liberty is bozne: but hee that dyeth in liberty. O of how many I haue red, hard, & also seene which are bozne slaues, and after wards haue dyed free: and this for that they were vertuous. And how many I haue seene die slaues, being bozne free onely for being vicious: so that there liberty remayneth, where noblenes is resident. Princes which haue great realmes, of necessity shall haue occasions to punish many excesses: wherfore it is requisite, that they bee courageous. And beleeue mee my sonne, þe they ought not to take corrage vpon them, because they bee mighty, and puissaunt: but because they are vertuous. For to punish these excesses of others, þe good life is more requisite: then is the great auctority of the empire. A vertuous prince ought to leaue no vice bnpunished, for the good, to solow good, & the euil for feare of his correction, dare not commit any offence in the commo wealth. Hee that lyueth like a wise man, is hardy to geue punishment: but hee that liueth in feare, dare not almost speak. For the man which dare bee so hardy to punish an other, for the self same fault for the which hee deserueth to bee punished: of the gods hee is iustly hated, & of men despised. Let princes take it for an assured thing, that they shal neuer haue the loue of the people, the liberty of the commo wealth, the order of their house, the contentation of their frends, the subiection of their enemies, and þe obedience of their people: but with many tears shed on the earth, and with many prowesses doone of his person. To a vertuous prince, all doo render: & against the vicious prince, all the earth doth rebell. If thou wilt bee vertuous heare what thing vertu is. Vertu is a castle which neuer is taken, a river which is not passed ouer, a sea which is not sailed, a fire that neuer is quenched, a treasure that neuer is wasted, an army þe neuer is ouerthrowen, a chaunge which neuer wearieth, a spy which alwaies returneth, a signe which begileth no man, a way very streight, a frend that succoureth al necessaries, a surgion that immediately healeth, & a renoune which neuer perissheth. If thou knewest, my sonne

sonne, what thing it is to bee good, thou wouldest bee the best of the world. For the moze vicious a man is, so much the moze hee is entangled in vices: & hoto much moze a man is vertuous, so much moze to vertues hee cleaueth. If thou wilt bee vertuous, thou shalt doo seruice to the gods, thou shalt geue good re notone to thy predecessors, & for thy selfe thou shalt prepare a perpetual me- mozy. Thou shalt doo pleasures to Graungers, & get þ fauor of thine owne people. Finally, þ good will honor thee with loue: & the euil wilt serue thee w feare. In the histories of the warres of the Charentines, I found þ renow- med Pittus (king of Epitores) did weare in a ring these woords written. It is too litle punishment for a vicious man, to take his life from him: & it is too smal a reward for a vertuous man, to geue him the seignory of the whole earth. Truly these woords were woorthy of such a man. What thing can bee bee- gon of a vertuous man, wherof wee hope not to see the end, & come to good prooffe? I am deceyued, if I haue not seene in my days many me, which were base bozne, bristit for sciences, void of vices in þ comon wealth, pooze of goods & vnknown of birth, w with all these base condicions haue learned so many vertues, that it seemed great rashnes to begin them: & afterwards for bee- ing vertuous only, they haue found the effects such as they thought it. By the immortal gods I swear vnto thee, & so the god Iupiter take mee into his holy house & confirme thee my sonne in mine: if I haue not knowen a gardner & a potter in Rome, which for beeing vertuous, were occasion to cast fine rich se- natours out of the senate. And þ cause to make the one to gayne, & the other to loose, was that to þ one they would not pay þ pots, and to þ other his appels for at that time moze was hee punished, w tooke an apple from a pooze man, then hee w bet down a rich mans house. All this I haue told thee my sonne, because vice abaseth the hardy prince: & vertue geueth courage to the bally full. From, if, things I haue always kept my selfe. That is to weete, not to strue against open iustice, noz to contend with a vertuous person.

The Emperoz Marcus Aurelius folloiweth his purpose, & among other holsonie counsailes exhorteþ his sonne to keepe wise and sage men about him, for to geue him counsaile in al his affayres. Cap. lv.

Hitherto I haue spoken to thee in generally, but now I will speake vnto the particularly, & by the immortal gods I conure thee, that thou bee very attentue to that I will say: for talking to thee as an aged father tis reason thou heare mee as an obedient chyld. If thou wilt enioy long life, obserue well my doctrine: for the gods will not condescend to thy hart's desires, oneles thou receyuest my holsonie counsailes. The disobedience & vn- faithfulness, w chyldzen haue to their fathers, is al their vndoing. For oftentimes the gods doo pardon the offences, that are doon vnto them: & doo not pardon the disobediences w the chyldzen beare to their fathers. I doo not re quire thee my sonne: that thou geue mee mony, sing thou art pooze. I doo not demaund that thou trauaile, sing thou art tender. I doo not demaund þ reuengement of mine enemies, since I haue none. I doo not demaund that thou serue mee, sing I dye. I doo not demaund the empire, sing I leaue it vnto thee. Onely I doo demaund, that thou gouerne thy selfe well in the com- mon wealth: and that the memory of my house bee not lost through thee. If thou eSeeme much that I leaue vnto thee so many realmes, I think it better

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to leaue thee many good counsailes, wherewith thou maist preserue thy selue, susteyne thy parson, & maintayne thine honour. For if thou hast presumption not to profit with my counsaile, but to trust to thine owne mind: beefore my flesh bee eaten with wormes, thou shalt bee ouertoe with thy enemies. My sonne, I haue been yong, light, bold, vnshamefast, proude enuious, couetous, an aduoulterer, furious, a glutton, slouthful, & ambitious, & for that I haue fallen into so great excesses, therfore I geue thee such good aduise. For the man in his youth hath been very wooldy, from him in age proceedeth ripe counsaile. That I vntill this time I haue counsailed thee & that which to my death I will counsaile the. I desire that onis at the least thou proue it: And if it doo thee harme, leaue it, & if it doo thee good, vse it. For there is no medecine so bitter, that the sick dooth refuse to take: if ther by hee think hee may bee healed. I pray thee, I exhort thee, & I aduise thee my sonne, that thy youth beeleue mine age, thy ignorancy beeleue my knowledge, thy sleepe beeleue my watch, the dimness of thy eyes, beeleue the cleatnes of my sight, thy imaginaciō beeleue my vertue, & thy suspition beeleue my experiēce. For otherwise, one day thou shalt see thy selfe in soe distresse, where small time thou shalt haue to repent, & none to find remedy. Thou maist say vnto mee (my sonne) that sing I haue beene yong, I let thee to bee yong: & that when thou shalt bee aged, thou wilt amēd: I answer thee, that if thou wilt liue as yong: yet at the least gouerne thy selfe as old. In a prince which gouerneth his common wealth wel, many mysteries are dissembled of his parson. Euen as for mighty affaires, ripe counsailes are necessary: so to endure the troubles of the empire, the person needeth some recreation. For the bowe string is alwayes stretched, either it lengthneth, or it breaketh. Whether princes bee yong or old, there can bee nothing moze iust then for the recreaciō of them selues, to seeke some honest pastimes. And not without a cause I say that they bee honest. For sometimes they accompany with so dishonest persons, and so vnchasty: that: they spend their goods, they loose their honoz, & weary their persons moze, than if they were occupied in the affaires of the common wealth. For thy youth, I leaue thee children of great lordes, w whom thou maist pass the tyme away. And not without cause I haue provided that with thee they haue beene brought by from thy infancy. For after thou comest to mannes estate, inheriting my goods, if perchance thou wooldst accompany thy selfe w yong men, thou shouldst find them well learned. For thy warres, I leaue thee baliāunt captaines, though (in deede) things of war are beegoon by wilddome: yet in the end, the issue salet out by fortune. For guards of thy treasures, I leaue thee faithful men. And not without cause, I say they are saythfull. For oftentimes greater are the theues w are recepuers, & tresozers, then are they that doo robbe among the people. I leaue thee (my sonne) expert & aunciēt men, of whome thou maist take counsaile, & w whome thou maist comunicat thy troubles. For there can bee courtied no honest thing in a prince, vnlesse hee hath in his company aunciēt men: for such geue grauity to his parson & auctority to his pallace. To inuēt theaters, to fish ponds: to chase wild beasts in the forrests, to cenne in the felds, to let thy haukes fly, & to exercise weapōs, al these things wee can deny thee, as to a yong mā, & being yong, mayst reioyce thy selfe in al these. Thou oughtst also to haue respect, to ordeine armies, inuēt warres, solow victories, accept truces, confirm peace, raise brutes, to make lawes, to promote the one, & put downe the others.

to punish the euill, & first to reward the good, the counsaile of al these things ought to bee taken, of cleare iudgements, of persons of experience, & of whyle heads. Thinkest thou not, that it is possible to passe þ time with the yong, & to counsaile with the old? The wise and discrete princes, for all things haue time inough, if they know well how to measure it. Bee ware my sonne, that they note thee not to vse great extremities. For the end & occasion why I speake it, is because thou shouldst know (if thou knowest not) that it is as vnderent a thing for a prince, vnder the colour of gravity, to bee ruled & gouerned wholly by old men: as vnder semblaunce of pastime, alwayes to accompany hym selfe with the yong. It is no general rule, that all yong men are light, nor all old men sage. And thou must according to my aduise, in such case vse it thus: if an old man lose the gravity of his age, expulise him from the: if þ find any yong men sage, dispise not their counsaile. For the bees doo draw moze hony out of the tender flowers: then of þ hard leaues. I doo not condemne the aged, nor I doo commend the yong, but it shal bee wel doone, that alwayes thou choose of both the most bertuous. For of troth, there is no company in the world so euil ordered, but þ there is meane to liue with it, without any suspicion: so that if the yong are euil with folly, þ old are worse through couetousnes. On a gaine I retourne to aduertise thee (my sonne) that in no wise thou vse extremity. For if thou beleeue none but yong, they will corrupt thy maners with lightnes: & if þ beleeue none but þ old, they will deprave thy iustice through couetousnes. What thing can bee moze monstrous, then þ the prince which commaundeth all, should suffer him to bee commaunded of one alone? Beleeue mee sonne in this case, þ the governments of many, are seldome times gouerned wel by the head of one alone. The prince which hath to rule & gouerne many, ought to take the aduise and counsaile of many. It is a great inconuenience, that thou being lord of many realines, shouldst haue but one gate, wherin all doo enter into, to doo their busines w thee. For if perchauce hee which shal bee thy familiar, bee of his owne nature good, and bee not mine enemy: yet I would bee afraid of him, because hee is a freend of mine enemies. And though for hate they doo mee no euil: yet I am afraid þ for þ loue of an other, hee will cease to doo mee good. I remember that in the annalles of Pompeius, I found a litle booke of memozyes, w the great Pompeius bare about him, wherin were many things that hee had read, & other good counsailes, w in diuers parts of the world hee had learned: and among other wordes, there were these. The gouernour of the common wealth, w committeeth al the government to old men, deserueth very litle: & hee that trusteth al yong, is light. Hee that gouerneth it by hym selfe alone, is beyonde hym self: & hee w by hym self & others doo gouerne it, is a wise prince. I know not whether these sentences are of the same Pompeius, or that hee gathered them out of soome booke, or that any philosopher had told him them, or some freend of his had geueen him them. I meane, that I had them witten with his hands and truly they deserued to bee witten in letters of gold. When thy affaires shal bee weighty, see thou dispatche them alwayes by counsaile. For when the affaires bee determined by the counsaile of many, the fault shal bee diuided among them all. Thou shalt find it for a truth (my sonne) that if thou take counsaile of many, the one wil tel the inconuenience, the other the peril,

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other the feare the other the damage, the other the profite, & the other the remedy, finally, they will so debate thy affaires, that playnly thou shalt knowe þ good & see the daunger therof. I aduertise thee (my sonne) that when thou takst counsaile, þ beehold wth thy eyes þ inconuenience, as wel as þ remedies wth they shal offer vnto thee. For þ true counsaile consisteth not, to tel what they ought to doo, but to declare what therof is like to succede. When þ shalt enter p^{ri}se (my sonne) great & weighty assayres, as much oughtst þ to regard þ litle damages for to cut the of in tyme: as þ great mishaps, to remedy them. For oftentimes it chaunceth, that for the negligēce of taking by a gutter, þ whole house falleth to the ground. Notwithstanding I tell thee thou take counsaile: I meane not, that thou oughtst to bee so curious, as for every trifle to cal thy counsaile. For there are many things of such quality, þ they would bee immediately put in execution: & they doo endamage the selues, attending for counsaile: That which by thine owne auctorizy thou maist dispatch with out the damage of the common wealth, referre it to no other person: & here in thou shalt bee iust, & shalt doo iustice conformentable. For considering that thy seruice dependeth onely of them, the rewarde which they ought to haue, ought to depēd onely on thee. I remember, that when Marius þ Consul came from the warres of Numidia, hee deuided all the treasour hee brought amongst his souldyers, not putting one selwell into the common treasour. And when heere of hee was accused, for that hee had not demaunded likewise of the Senat: hee answered them. It is not iust I take counsaile with others, for to geue recompēce to those: which haue not taken þ opinions of others, to serue mee. Thou shalt fynde (my sonne) a kinde of mē, which are very hard of money, and exceeding prodigall of counsaile. There are also dyuers lenders, which without demaunding them, doo offer to giue it. With such lyke men, thou shalt haue this counsaile, neuer looke thou for good counsaile at that man, whose counsaile tenderth to the preiudice of another. For hee offreth woordes to thy seruice, & tranaleth thy busines to his owne profyt. As þ gods gaue mee long life, of these things haue I had great experience, wherin I let thee know, that for the space of. xv. yeares I was consull, Senatoz, Censoz, P^{re}toz, Questo, Edil, & Tribune: & after al this, I haue been. .is. yeares emperoz of Rome, wherin al those w^h haue spoken most against mee, touched the profit or damage of another. The chief intencion of those w^h folow the courts of P^{ri}nces are to procure to augment their houses. And if they cannot com to that, they seeke to dimynish þ of another, not for that any profit should folow vnto them therof, bee it neuer so litle: but because many malice is of such condicion, that it esteemeth the profit of another, his owne damage. They ought to haue great compassion of the P^{ri}nce, for the most that follow him, serue him not for that they loue him but for the gyfts & rewarde w^h they hope to haue of hym. And this seemeth to bee true, for the day that P^{ri}nces shal cease to geue the: the self same day beegyn they to hate hym. So that such seruants, wee cannot call friends of our persons: but couetous of our goods. That thou loue (my sonne) the one a-boue þ other, thou mayst ryght well: but I aduertise thee that thou, nor they doo make any semblance, in such sort that al doo know it. For if thou doost o therwyse: they wil murmure at thee, & wyll all persecute thee. Hee incurreth into no smal peryll, nor hath no litle trouble, which is aboue al of the P^{ri}nce beeloued, & of the people hated. For then hee is hated, & persecuted of all. And yet

yet more damage ensueth vnto him, of the enmy of al: then dooth of the loue of the prince alone, for sometimes (the gods permitting it, and his behauiour deserving it) the Prince dooth cease to loue him: & there with his enemyes beegyn to persecute hym. From the tyme I knew what meained to gouerne a comon weale, I haue alwayes determined, neuer to keepe man in my house one day, after I know him to bee an enemy to the common wealth. In the yere of the foundacion of Rome, 649. Lucius Lucullus the Senatoz going to the warres agaynst Mithridate, by chaunce found a tablet of copper, in the city called Triganic, the which was at the gate of the kyng of that prouynce. And on that same was engrauen certayne Caldean letters, the which in effect sayed these wordes. The prince is not sage, who wyll put in hazard the state of his common wealth, for the onely commoditie of one alone: For the seruyce of one, cannot auayle against the loue of al. The prince is not sage, & for to enrich one alone, seeketh to empouerish all: for it is a thing intollerable, that the one doo labour the fyelds, and the other doo gather the fruit. The Prince is not lust, which wil satisfy the couetousnes of one more then the seruyce of all: for there is meane to pay the seruices of the good, and there is no ryches to satisfy the couetousnes of the euyl. The Prince is a foole that despyeth the counsaile of all, and trusteth in the opinyon of one. For though there bee in a great shippe but one Pilot, yet it needeth manye Harryners. Bold is the Prince, which to loue one onely, wyll bee hated of al: for noble Princes ought to think it much profyt to bee beeloued, and much more displeasure to bee hated. These were the wordes which were wrytten in that tablet, worthy of eternal memozy. And I wil tel thee further in this case that Lucullus the Senatoz sent on the one part the tablet of copper, where these wordes were: and on the other part, the coffers where in hee had brought the ryches, to the end the senat should choose one, and leaue the other. The senate despying the riches and treasours, choose the tablet of counsailes.

The Emperoꝝ foloweth his matter and exhorteth his sonne vnto certain particular things worthy to bee engraued in the hartes of men. Cap. lvi.

Vntil now, I haue spoken as a father to his sonne, that which toucheth thy profit. Now I will tel thee what thou shalt doo after my death for my seruice. And if thou wilt bee the true sonne of thy father, & things which I haue loued in my life, shal bee of thee esteemed after my death, doo not resemble many chyldzen, who after their fathers haue closed their eyes, doo remember them no more. For in such case, though in deed & fathers bee dead & buried: yet they are alwayes liuing, to complaine to & Gods of their chyldzen, Though it seemeth not to bee schauderous, yet it is more perillous, to contend wth & dead: then to inture & lyuing. And & reason is for & the lyuing may reuenge, & are for to aunswere: but & dead cannot make aunswere, & much lesse they can bee reuenged. And in such case & Gods doo take their cause in protection: & some times they execute such cruel punishment of those that liue, & rather the they would endure it, they wyll to bee dead. Thou oughtst to think (my sonne) that I haue begot thee, I haue nourished thee, I haue taught thee, I haue trynmed thee, I haue chastised thee, and I haue exalted thee. And for this consyderation, though by death I am absent, it is not reaso & thou ever forget mee

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mee. For the true, & not vnthakfull chyld, ought & same day to bury his father in his tender hart: when others haue layd hym in the hard graue. One of the blisble chastisements w^{ch} the gods geue to men in this world is, that the chyldren obey not their fathers in their life. For the self same fathers did not remember, their owne fathers after their death. Let not yong Princes think, after they haue inherited, after they see theyr father dead, & after they are past correction of their masters, that al things ought to bee doone as they the selues will it, for it will not bee so. For if they want the fauour of the Gods, & haue maledyction of their fathers: they liue in trouble, and dye in daunger. I require nought els of thee (my sonne) but that such a father as I haue been to thee in my life, such a sonne thou bee to mee after my death. I commend vnto thee (my sonne) the veneration of the gods, and this cheefely aboute al thing. For the prince w^{ch} maketh account of the gods, neede not to feare any forme of fortune. Love the gods, & thou shalt bee beeloued. Serue them, & thou shalt bee serued. Feare them, & thou shalt bee feared. Honor them, & thou shalt bee honored. Doo their commaundements & they will geue thee thy harts desire. For the gods are so good, that they doo not onely receiue in accompt, that w^e doo: but also that w^e desire to doo. I commend vnto thee (my sonne) the reuerence of the Temples, that is to wete, that they bee not in discorde; that they bee cleane & renewed, that they offer therein & sacrifices accustomed. For w^e doo not this honor, to & substance wherewith the temples are made: but to the Gods, to whome they are consecrated. I commend vnto thee the veneration of priestes: & I pray thee, though they bee couetous, auaricious, dissolute, vnpatient, negligēt, & vicious: yet y^e they bee not dishonored. For to vs others it apperteineth, not to iudge of the life they leade as mē: but w^e must consider, that they are mediators betwene the gods & vs. Beehold my sonne, that to serue the gods, honor the temples, & reuerence the priestes, it is not a thing voluntary, but very necessary for Princes: for so long endured & glory of the Greekes, as they were worshippers of their Gods, & careful of theyr Temples. The vnhappy realme of Carthage was nothing more cowardly, nor lesse rych, then that of the Romaynes, but in the ende, of the Romaynes, they were overcome, because they were great louers of their treasours, and litle worshippers of their Temples. I commend vnto thee (my sonne) Helia thy Depe mother: & remember, though shee bee not thy mother, yet shee hath been my wyfe. That w^{ch} to thy mother Faustine thou oughtst for brynging thee into the world: the selfe same thou oughtst to Helia, for the good entertaynment which shee hath shewed thee. And in deede, often tymes I beeing offended w^{ch} the shee mainteined thee, & caused mee to forget: so y^e shee by her good wordes did winne againe that, w^{ch} thou by thy euill woorkes didst loose. Thou shalt haue my curse, yf thou blest her euill: & thou shalt fall into the ire of the gods, if y^e agreest that other doo not vse her wel. For all the damage which shee shall feele, shall not bee, but for the inconuenience of my death, & iniury of thy persō. For her dowrye I leaue her the tributes of Hostia, & the orchardes of Vulcanus, which I haue made to bee planted for her recreation. Bee thou not so hardy to take them from her: for in taking them from her, thou shalt shewe thy wickednes, & in leauing them her, thy obedience, & in geuing her more, thy bounty & liberalyty. Remember (my sonne) y^e shee is a Romaine woman yong

yong, & a wydow, & of the house of Traiane my lord, & that shee is thy mother
 adoptiue, & my naturall wyfe: & aboue al, for that I leaue her recommended
 vnto thee, I commend vnto thee my sonne in law, whome I will thou vse
 as parents and friends. And bee ware, that thou bee not of those w^{ch} are bre-
 thern in woordes, & cousins in woordes. Bee thou assured that I haue willed
 somuch good to my daughters, that the best which were in al the countries, I
 haue chosen for their persons. And they haue beene so good, that if in geeting
 them my daughters, they were my sonne in law: in loue. I loued them as
 chyldren. I commend vnto thee my Sisters, & daughters, whome I leaue
 thee al maried: not with strange kings, but with natural senatours. So that
 al dwel in Rome where they mai doo thee seruices: and thou maill geue them
 rewards & gifts. Thy sisters haue greatly inherited the beauty of thy mo-
 ther Faustine: & haue taken lytle nature of their father Marke. But I sweare
 vnto thee, that I haue geuen them in such husbands, and to their husbands,
 such and so profitable counsailes: that they would rather loose their lyfe
 then agree to any thing touching their dishonor. Use thy sisters in such sort
 that they bee not out of fauor, for that their aged father is dead and that they
 beecome not proud, for to see their brother Emperoz. Women are of a very
 tender condicion: for of small occasion they doo complayne, & of lesse they wax
 proud. Thou shalt keepe them & preserve them after my death, as I did in my
 lyfe. For other wise, their conuersation to the people shalbee very noisome: &
 to thee very importunate. I comend vnto thee, Lipula thy yongest Syster w^{ch}
 is inclosed with in the virgine, bestalles, who was daughter of thy mother
 Faustine, whome so derely I haue loued in life, & whose death I haue bewail-
 led vntill my death. Euery yeare I gaue to thy sister, sixe thousand Ser-
 terces for her necessities: & in deede I had maried her also, if shee had not fal-
 len into the fire, & burnt her face. For though shee were my last, I loued her
 with all my hart. All haue esteemed her fal into y^e fire for euill luck: but I doo
 coūt the euill luck for good fortune. For her face was not so burned with roles
 as her renoume suffered peryl among euill tongues. I sweare vnto thee (my
 sonne) that for the seruice of the gods, & for the renoume of men: shee is more
 sure in y^e Temple w^{ch} the bestal Virgins, then y^e art in the Senate w^{ch} thy Se-
 natours. I suppose now, that at the end of the iourney, shee shal find her selfe
 better to bee enclosed, then thou at liberty. I leaue vnto her (in the prouynce
 of Lucania) euery yeare sixe thousand sesterces. Trauaile to augment them for
 her, & not to dymynish them. I commend vnto thee Drusia the Romain wy-
 dow, who hath a proces in y^e Senat. For in y^e tynes of the comotions past her
 husband was banished & proclaimed traytoz. I haue great p^{er}ty of so noble, &
 too: thy a widow: for it is now. iiii. moneths since shee hath put vp her complaint
 & for y^e great wartes I could not shew her iustice. Thou shalt find (my sonne)
 that in. cccc. yeares I haue gouerned in Rome, I neuer agreed that any w^{ch} I
 dow should haue any lute befoze mee, aboue. viii. dayes. Bee carefull to fa-
 uour, and dispatch the orphans, and wydows. For the needy wydows, in
 what place so euer they bee, doo encurre into great daunger. Not w^{ch} out cause
 I aduertise thee, y^e y^e trauaile to dispatch the so sone as y^e maid: & to administer
 iustice vnto the. For through y^e prolōging of beautiful womē's suites, their ho-
 nor & credit is diminished. So y^e their busines being prolōged, they shal not re-
 couer so much of their goods as they shal lose of their renoum. I comēd vnto
 thee

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thee (my sonne) my old seruants, which with my long yeares, and my cruel warres, with my great necessities, with the combzance of my body, and my long disease, haue had great trouble: & as faithfull seruants, oftentimes to ease mee, haue annoyed them selues. It is conuenient since I haue preuailed of their lyfe, that they should not loose by my death. Of one thing I assure thee, that though my body remaine with the wormes in the graue: yet beefore the gods I will remember them. And heerin thou shalt shew thy selfe to bee a good child, when thou shalt recompence those whiche haue serued thy father well. All princes which shall doo iustice, shall get enemies in the execution therof. And sith it is doone by the hands of those, which are neere him the more familiare they are with the prince, the more are they hated of the people: al in generally doo loue iustice, but none doo reioyce that they execute it in his house. And therfore after the Prince endeth his lyfe, the people will take reuenge of those, which haue beene ministers therof. It were great infamy to the empire, offence to the gods, iniury to mee, vnthankfulnes to thee, hauing found the armes of my seruants, redy xliiii. yeares, that thy gates should bee shut against them one day. Keepe, keepe these thinges (my sonne) in thy memozye: and since particularly I doo remember them at my death, consider how hartely I loued them in my life.

The good Marcus Aurelius, Emperoz of Rome, endeth his purpose & life. And of the last woords which hee spake to his sonne Commodus, and of the table of counsels which hee gaue him. Cap. lvi.

When the Emperoz had ended his particuler recommendations, vnto his sonne Commodus, as the dawning of the day began to appeere: so his eyes began to close, his tong to faulter, & his hands to tremble, as it dooth accustome to those, which are at the point of death. The prince perceiuing then litle life to remaine, commaunded his secretozy Panutius to go to the coffer of his books, & to bring one of the coffers beefore his presence: out of the which hee tooke a table of .iii. foot of bredth, and ii. of length, the whiche was of Eban, bordered al about with vnyroze. And it was closed w. 2. lps, very fine of red wood, w. they cal rasing, of a tree where the Phenix (as they say) breedeth, w. dyd grow in Arabia, And as there is but one onely Phenix, so in the world is there but one onely tree of that sorte. On the vttermost part of the table, was grauen the God Jupiter, & on the other & goddesse Venus: & in the other was drawen the God Mars, & the goddesse Diana. In the vppermost part of & table was carued a bull: & in & nethermost part was drawne a kyng. And they sayd the paynter of so famous & renowned a woork, was called Apelles. The Emperoz takyng the table in his hands, casting his eyes vnto his sonne, sayd these woords. Thou seest my sonne, how from the tumults of fortune I haue escaped, & how I into miserable destenies of death doo enter, where by experience I shall know what there is after this lyfe. I meane not now to blaspheme the gods: but to repent my sinnes. But I would willingly declare why & gods haue created vs, since there is such trouble in life, & such paine in death. Not vnderstanding why the gods haue bled so great cruelty v. creatures, I see it now, in that after .lxii. yeres I haue sayled in & daunger & peril of this life: now they commaund mee to land, & harbour in & graue of death. Now approacheth & houre wherein & band of matrimoni is loosd

losed, the thred of life vntwined, the key dooth lock, the slepe is wakened, my lyfe dooth end, & I go out of this troublesome paine. Remembryng mee of y^e I haue doone in my lyfe, I desire no moze to liue: but for y^e I know not why: ther I am carryed by death, I feare & refuse his darts. Alas what shal I doo, since y^e gods tel mee not what I shal doo: what counsaill shal I take of any mā, since no man will accompany mee in this iourney? O what great discreite, o what manifest blindnes is this, to loue one thing al y^e days of his life, & to care nothing w^{ch} ys after our death: Beccause I desired to bee ryche, they let mee dy pooze. By cause I desired to lyue w^{ch} company, they let mee dy alone. For such shortnes of life, I know not what hee is y^e wyl haue a house, since the narrow graue is our certain mansio place: beleeue mee, my sonne, that many things past doo greene mee soze: but w^{ch} nothing so much I am troubled, as to come so late to y^e knowledge of this life. For if I could perfectly beleeue this, neyther should men haue cause to reprove mee, neither yet I now such occasion to lament mee. O how certaine a thing is it, that men when they come to the point of death, doo promise the gods, that if they prozoge their death, they will amend their life: but not withstanding, I am soze that wee see them deliuered from death, without any maner of amendment of life. They haue obeyed that, which of the gods they haue desired: & haue not persourined that, w^{ch} they haue promised. They ought assuredly to think, that in the sweetest time of their lyfe, they shal bee constrained to accept death. For admit that the punishment of ingrate persons bee deferred: yet therfoze the fault is not pardoned. Bee thou assured my sonne, that I haue seene enough, hard, felt, tasted, desired, possessed, eaten, slept, spoken, and also liued inough. For vices geue us great trouble, to those which follow them much: as they doo great desire, to those which neuer proued them. I confesse to the immortall Gods, that I haue no desire to lyue: yet I ensure thee, I would not dye. For life is so troublesome that it weareth vs: & death is so doubtfull, that it feareth vs. If the gods deferred my death, I doubt whyther I should refozme my life. And if I doo not amend my lyfe, nor serue the Gods better, nor prosit the common wealth moze, & if that euery tyme I am sick, it should greue me to die: I say it is much better for mee now to accept death, then, to wylly the lengthning of my life. I say the life is so troublesome, so fyckle, so suspicious, so vncertaine, & so importunat (finally I say, it is a life without lyfe) that hee is an obstinat foole, w^{ch} so much desireth it. Come y^e that may come: for finally, not withstanding y^e I haue spoken, I willingly commit my selfe into the hands of y^e Gods, since of necessity I am thereunto constrained. For it proceedeth not of a lytle wisdom, to receiue that willingly, which to doo wee are constrained of necessity. I will not recommend my selfe to the priests, nor cause the oracles to bee visited, nor promise any thing to y^e temples, nor offer sacrifices to the gods, to the end they should warrant mee from death, and restore mee to lyfe: but I will demand, and require them, that if they haue created mee for any good thing, I may not loose it for my euyl lyfe. So wise and sage are the gods in that they say, so iust & true in that they promise, that if they geue vs not that which wee others would: it is not for that they wil not, but because wee deserue it not. For wee are so euyl, and woorth so litel, and wee may doo so lytel, that for many good woorks wee deserue no meryt: and yet with an euil woork

THE THIRD BOOKE.

worke, wee bee made vnto thy of al. Since therfore I haue put my selfe in to the hands of the Gods, let them doo with mee what they will for their seruice: for in the ende, the worst that they will doo is much better then the world wil doo. For all that the world hath geuen mee, hath bene but mockry, and decepte: but that which the gods haue geuen mee, I haue gouerned, and possessed without suspition. For this last houre (my sonne) I haue kept the best, the most noble, and riches is well that I haue possessed in my life tyme. And I doo protest vnto the immortal gods, that if as they doo commaund mee to dye, they would geue mee lycence to rede in the graue: I would commaund it to bee buryed with mee. Thou shalt know my sonne, that in the .x. yeare of my Empire, a great warr arose agaynst the brutish people of Persia, where by euill luck it was appoynted for mee, in person to geue the battayle: the which wonne, and al their country destroyed, I returned by the old city of Thebes in Aegypte, to see if I could finde any antiquity of those in times past. In the house of an Egyptian pyrest, I found a litel table, which they hangd at the gate of the kynges pallace the day of his coronatio. And this poore pryest told mee, that that which was in this table, was writen by a king of Egypt, named Ptholomeus Arsfides. I beseech the immortal Gods, my sonne, that such bee thy woordes, as the woordes of this table require. As emperor, I leaue thee heire of many realmes: and as a father, I geue thee this table of counsayles. The woordes which the fathers doo teach vnto the children at the last houre, the children ought to keepe continually in their memory. Let this therfore bee my last woord, with the Empire thou shalt bee feared through out all the world: and with the counsayles of this table, thou shalt bee loued of al nations. This talk being ended, and the table geuen, the Emperour turned his eyes, lost his senses, and for the space of a quarter of an houre lay languishing in extreame payne, a withyn a while after yeldd by the ghost. In this table weare certain greeke letters which were in meeter and in our tonge signify thus.

ON honours shall I doo no tirant heare,
nor yett the poore suppress if bee weare iust
For riches rule I would to pardon cleare,
For want of wealth nor folow rigours lust.

For naked lone I neuer spent reward,
nor would correct for onely enuies hate,
Of vertues imps I alway had regard
& mischifs mates haue plagd with torment great.

To others doome I neuer would commit
of open right the quarell to decide
ne yet of doubtfull strifes in trust of witt
The finall end alone I would decide.

To them that sought for iustice equall sway
her golden rule I neuer did deny
ne yet to such for whom desert would lay
Their slender fautes might wel be slipped by

To feeble the grise that waned in my minde.
With others smart I neuer could susteyne

nor yet rewardes my princely woordes would binde
When sweete delight had chifest ioy to rayne.
In high estate when most blind fortune smild
A reckles lyfe I reckles ran not on
nor yet when chaunge those happy dayes begyld
to cold despair my quiet minde was gon.

By boiling heat of malice endles fier
to vices trayne I cast no egre eye
ne yet for lust of pining welthes desire
Vnlesfull facts I reckles would apply.

The traitours brest I neuer could embrace
nor lend mine eares to fawlow flattering talke
of vices flames I wayed not the grace
nor lest vnsought good will in vertues walke.

Poore I was band for that I did relime
Whose needy state dooth stoope in Cresus swate
the greatest gods whose beauncly warek doth grime
the proudest crownes was a my present state.

FINIS.

The fourth booke of the Dyall of Princes

Compyled by the right reuerend father in god, Antony of

Guevara, Bpshop of Mondogucto, preacher, Chronicker,

and counsellor to Charles the first Empe-

roz of Rome:

**Contayning many instructions and rules, for the fauored of the Court, be-
gng once in fauor, easely to keepe and continue them selues in
fauor still. Right necessary & profitable for all prin-
ces, and noble men, & gentlemen courtiers
that seeke to continue them selues
in honoz and estimation.**

(.)

The Epistle to the Reader.



That detracting tongues report of mee and my first tra-
uall in the translation of this *Dyall*, enlarging them at pleasure to
woork my defame, disabling my dooing heerein, by b:ate yt was
no woork of myne, but the fruit of others labo: I neede not much
force, since by dayly proof wee see, that yll disposed myndes can ne-
uer frame an honest tongue in head. For my obiect, and reproofe
of this their sclanderous & malignant speeche, I can allege (cur-
teous reader) two principall causes, which thou reading and iud-
ging with indifferency, mayst easely approue, yf I should seeme to glose with thee. First,
the basenes of my style, the playn and humble woords couched in the same, the mean, rude,
and yll contrived sentences layd befoze thee, together with the simple handling of the
whole: playnly sheweth to thee whence they are, and easely acquainteth thee with the cu-
rious translator. Who protesteth to god, and confesseth to the wo:ld, that hee moze rashely
then wysely plunged him self into so grane and deepe a matter, and whose yong yeres and
vnskillfull head, might both then and now haue excused his sond enterpryse heerein. For the
second and last, I must needes appeal to all the wo:shipfull, and my beeloued compaig-
nyons, and fellow students of our house of Lyncolnes Inne at that tyme, from whence
my pooze english *Dyall* tooke his light. To whose iust and true reports (fo: thy vndoubt-
ed satisfaction, and discharge of my pooze honesty) I referre thee, and wholly yeld mee.
These recpted causes, fo: purgacion of my suspected fame, as also fo: established assurance
of the lyke, and thy further doubt of mee hereafter, I thought good (gentle reader) to
denounce vnto thee. I myght well haue spared thys second and last labo: of myne taken,
in the refozmacion and co:rection of thys *Dyall*, enlarging my self further once agayn,
wyth the translation of the late and new come fauored courtier (and whych I found
annexed to the *Dyall* fo: the fourth and last booke) If my preceeding trauell taken in the
setting forth of the first three books, and the respect of myne honesty in accomplishing
of the same, had not incited mee (vnwilling) to continue my first begonne attempt, to
bring the same to his perfyte and desyred end: whych whole woork is now complete by
thys last booke, entituled the fauoured courtier. Whych fyrst and last volume, wholly
as yt lyeth, I prostrate to the iudgement of the graue and wyse Reader, subiecting my
self and yt, to the refozmacion and co:rection of hys lerned head, whom I beseech to iudge
of mee wyth fauor and equity: and not wyth malice to persecute my fame, and honest in-
tent, hauping fo: thy benefit, (to my lytle skill and knowledge) imployed my symple
talent, crauyng no other guerdon of the, but thy good report, and courteous acceptaunce
heereof. Whych doeing thou shalt make mee double bound to thee. First, to bee thank-
full fo: thy good will. Secondly, to bee considerate how hereafter I take vppon mee so
great a charge. Thirdly, thou shalt encourage mee to study to increase my talent.
Fourthly, and lastly, most freely to bestow thine increase thereof on thee, and fo: the bene-
fit of my countrey and common weale, whereto duety byndeth mee: Obseruing the sage &
prudent saying of the renowned orato: and famous Cicero: With which I end, and there-
to leaue thee. Non nobis solum nati sumus, ortusq; nostri partem patria vendicat, partem
parentes, partem amici. In defence and preservation whereof (good reader) wee ought not
alone to employ our whole wittes and able senses, but necessity enforxyng vs, to sacrifice
our selues also fo: benefit thereof. From my lordes house nere London the 10. day
of May. 1568.

Thine that accepteth mee.

Th. North.

*The prolog of this present woork sheweth what one true frend ought
to doo for an other: Addressed to the right honorable the lord Fraunces
Conos, great commaunder of Lyon.*

The famous Philosopher Plato, besought of al his disciples to tel the,
why hee iornyed so oft from Athens to Scicille, beeing the way hee tra-
uelled (in dede) very long, and the sea hee passed very daungerous:
answered them thus. The cause that moues mee to goe from Archen to
Scicille, is only to see Phocion, a man iust in al that hee dooth, and wise in all
that hee speaketh: and because hee is my very frend, and enemy of Denys,
I goe also willingly to him, to ayd him in that I may, and to counsell him in
all I know: and told them further. I doo you to weete my disciples, that a
good philosopher, to visit and help his frend, and to accompany with a good
man, should think the iorney short, and no whit paynfull, though hee should
sulk the whole seas, and pace the compase of the earth. Appolonius Thiancus
departed from Rome, went through all Asia, sayled ouer the great flud Nile,
endured the bitter cold of mount Caucasus, suffered the parching heat of the
mountayns Riphei, passed the land of Nassagera, & entred into the great In-
dia: And this long pilgrimage tooke hee vpon him, in no other respect, but
to see Hyarcus the philosopher, his great and old frend. Agcsilaus also among
the Greekes accompted a woorthy Captayn, vnderstanding that the kyng
Hycarius had an other captayn (his very frend) captiue: leauing all his oth-
er affayres apart, traueling through dyuers countreys, went to the place where
hee was, and arryued there, presented him self vnto the kyng, and said thus
to him. I humbly beseech thee O puissant king, thou deigne to pardon
Minotus, my sole and only frend, and thy subiect now: for what thou shalt doo
to him, make thy account thou hast doon it to mee. For in deed thou canst ne-
uer alone punish his body, but thou shalt therewith also crucify my hart.
Kyng Herod after Augustus had overcome Mark Antony, came to Rome, and
laying his crowne at the Imperiall feete, with stout cozage spake these woordes
vnto him. Know thou (mighty Augustus) if thou knowest it not, that if Mark
Antony had beleeued mee, and not his accursed loue Cleopatra, thou shouldst
then haue proued how bitter an enemy I would haue been to thee, and hee
haue found how true a frend I was, and yet am to him. But hee, as a man
rather geuen ouer to the rule of a womans will, then guided by reasons
skill, tooke of mee but money only, and of Cleopatra counsell. And proceeding
further sayd: Lo here my kingdom, my person, and royall crowne layd at thy
princely feete, all which I freely offer to thee, to dispose of at thy will & plea-
sure, pleasing thee so to accept it, but yet with this condicion (inuiet Augustus)
that thou commaund mee not to here nor speak yll of Mark Antony my lord
and frend, yea although hee were now dead. For know thou, sacred prince,
that true frends, neither for death ought to bee had in obliuio, nor for absens
to bee forsaken. Iulius Cesar last Dictator and first emperour of Rome, dyd so
entierly loue Cornelius Fabatus the consull, that traueling together through
the alps of Fraunce and beeing beenighted, farre from any towne or harbor,
saue that only of a hollow caue, which happely they lighted on: And Corne-
lius the consull euen then not well at ease, Iulius Cesar left him the whole caue
to them

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to the end hee might bee more at rest, and hee him self lay abroad in the cold & snow. By these goodly examples wee haue resited, and by dyuers others wee could resite, may bee considered, what faithfull friendship ought to bee betwixt true and perfect friends, and into how many daungers one friend ought to put him self for another. For it is not enough that one friend bee soye for the troubles of another, but hee is bound (if neede were) to goe and dye toposully wyth him. Hee only deseruedly may bee counted a true friend, that vnasked, and beefore hee bee called, goeth wyth his goods and person to help and releene his friend. But in this our yron age alas there is no such kynd of amity as that wee haue spoken of. More then this, that there is no friend will part wyth any thing of his to releue his friend, much lesse that taketh care to fauor him in his troubles: but if there bee any such that will help his friend, it is euen then when tyme serueth rather to pity and lament him, then to ayd or succor him. It is a thing woorth the knowledge, that to make a true and perpetuall friendship, wee may not offer to many persons, but according to Seneca his saying, who saith. My friend Lucillus, I counsell thee that thou bee a true friend to one alone, and enemy to none: for numbers of friends byrings great incumbrance, which seemeth somewhat to diminish friendship. For who that considereth the liberty of the hart, it is impossible that one should frame and agree wyth the condicions of many, and much lesse that many should content them wyth the desires and affections of one. Tully and Salust were two famous orators amongst the Romaines, and great enemies betwene them selues, and during thys emulation betwene them, Tully had purchased all the Senators friendship, and Salust only had no other friend in all Rome, but Mark Anthony alone. And so these two great Orators beeing one day at wordes togethers, Tully in great anger sayd to Salust: what force or power art thou of, or what canst thou doo or attempt against mee: such thou knowest that in all Rome thou hast but one only friend, Mark Antony, and I no enemy but one, and that is hee. To whom Salust answered. Thou gloziest (O Tully) that thou hast no mo but one only enemy, and afterwards testis at mee, that I haue no more friends but only one: but I hope in the immortall Gods, that this only enemy thou hast, shalbee able enough utterly to vndoo thee: and this my sole friend that I haue, shalbee sufficient to protect and defend mee in al my causes. And shortly after these wordes passed betwene them, Mark Antony shewed the friendship hee bore to the one, and the enimity hee had to the other, for hee caused Tully to bee put to death, and raysed Salust to great honor. A friend may well impart to the other all his owne, as bread, wyne, money, tyme, conuersation, and such lyke, but hee cannot notwithstanding geue him part of his hart, for that suffereth it not to bee parted nor deuyded, because it can bee geuen but to one alone. This graunted to bee true, as needs it must doubles, that the hart can not bee deuyded but only geuen to one, then is it of necessity, that hee that will seeke to haue many friends, must needs repair to the Chambers to proude him of many harts. Many baunt them selues, and think it a glory to haue numbers of friends, but let such well consider to what vse that legendary of friends do serue them, they shall then easily fynd they stand them in no other need, but to eat, to drinke, to walk, to babble, and to murmure together,

together, and not one to help the other with their goods, fauor, and credit at their neede, nor frendly to repproue them of their faultes and byces, which doubtles ought not to bee so. For where true and perfect frendship raygneth, neither I with my frend, nor hee with mee should dissemble any fault or byce. Ouide sayth in his booke de arte amandi, that the lawe of true & vnfeined loue is so streight, that no frendship but myne in thy hart should herber, and in myne should lodge none others loue but thine, for loue is none other thing but one hart lyuing in two bodies, & two bodies obeying one hart. In this world there is no treasure comparable to a true & sure frend, lyth to a faithfull frend a man may safely discouer his secrets of his hart, bee waynto him his greeuing greues, trusting him with his honoꝝ, committing to his guyd & custody all his goods, hee shall saccoꝝ him in his misery, counsell him in peril, reioyce at his prosperity, and mourn at his aduersity: and in syne I conclude, such a frend neuer werieth to serue him in his lyfe, nor to lament him after his death. I graunt that gold and siluer is good, kynnsfolks are good, and money is good, but true frends exceede them all without comparison. For all these things cannot warrant vs from necessitie (if synister fortune plunge vs into it) but rather encrease our torment and extremitie: Also they doo not reioyce vs, but rather heap further greefes vpon vs, neither doo they succoꝝ vs, but rather ech hour geue vs cause to complayn, much lesse doo they remember and aduise vs of that that is good, but still doo deceiue vs, not directing vs the right way, but still bringing vs out of our way, and when they haue lead vs awry out of the high way, they bring vs into desert woods, and hygh and daungerous mountayns, where of necessity wee must fall downe hedlong. A true frend is no partaker of these conditions, but rather hee ys fory for the lest trouble that happeneth to his frend, hee feareth not, neither spareth his goods, nor the daunger of his person, hee careth not to take vpon hym any painfull iorney, quarels, or lutes, nor yet to put his lyfe in euery halard of death. And yet that that is most of all to bee esteemed is, that lyke as the hart and bowels euer burn with pure and sincere loue, so dooth hee with and desire with gladsome mynd, to bere the burthen of all his frends mishaps, yea moze then yet spoken of. Alexander the great offered great presents to the Philosopher Zenocrates, who would not bouchsafe to receiue them, much lesse to beehold them. And being demaunded of Alexander why hee would not receyue them, hauing pooze kynnsfolks and parents to beestow them on: hee answered him thus. Truly I haue both brothers and sisters (¶ Alexander) yet I haue no kinsman but him that is my frend, and one only frend I haue, who hath no neede of any gyfts to bee geueuen him. For the only cause why I choose him to bee my sole and only frend, was for that I euer saw him despise these worldly things. Truly the sentence of this good philosopher Zenocrates is of no small efficacy, for him that will aduysedly consider of it, sith that not seeldom but many times it happeneth, that the great troubles, the sundry daungers, and the continuall necessities and miseries wee suffer in this vale of misery, haue for the most part proceeded from our parents, and afterwards by our frends haue been meditated and redressed. Therefore since wee haue thought it good and necessary

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to choose a friend, and that hee bee but one only, ech man must bee wise lest in such choise hee bee deceiued. For oft tymes it happeneth, that those that take litle regard herein, graunt their friendship to such one as is to couetous, impatient, a great babler, seditious, and presumptuous, and of such condicions that sometyne it shoold bee lesse euil for vs to haue him our enemy, then to account of him as of our deere friend. Him whom wee wil choose for our faithfull friend, amongst other maners and condicions hee must chiefly and beefore all bee indued with these, that hee bee curteous of nature, faier spoken, hard and stout to indure payn, pacient in troubles, sober in dyet, moderate in his woozds, graue and ripe in his counsels, and aboue all stedfast in friendship, and faithfull in secrets. And whom wee shall fynd with these laudable vertues and conditions adozned, him may wee safely take and accept for our friend. But if wee see any of these parts wanting in him, wee ought to shoo him as from the plague, knowing for certaintie, that the friendship of a fained and fantastical friend is much woozle and perillous, then the enmity of a knowen and open enemy. For to the hands of one wee commit our hatt, and faith: and from the deceipts and treasons of the other, wee defend our selues with our whole force & power. Seneca wytyng to his deere & faithfull friend Lucillus sayth vnto hym, I pray thee (O Lucillus) that thou order & determine thine affaiers by thadvice & counsel of thy friend, but also I doo remember thee, that first thou see well what maner of friend thou hast chosen thee, for there is no marchandise in the world this day that men are so soone beegyled in, as they are in the choise of friends. Therefore the graue sentence of Seneca wysely wayed, wee shoold assent with him in oppinion, that first no man byeth a horse but hee first causeth him to bee ridden, nor bread but first hee seeth and handleth it, nor wyne but hee tasteth it, nor flesh but first hee wayeth it, nor cozne but hee seeth a sample, nor house but that hee doorth first value it, nor Instrument but first hee playeth on it, and iudgeth of his soundryt is but reason hee shoold bee so much the more circumspect beefore he choose his friend to examin his life and condicion; since all the other things wee haue spoken of may bee put in dyuers houses and coznors, but our friend wee lodge and keepe deere in our proper bowels. Those that wyrite of the emperoz Augustus say, that hee was very straunge and scrupulous in accepting friends, but after hee had once receyued the into his friendship, hee was very constant and circumspect to keepe them. For hee neuer had any friend, but first hee had some prooue and tryall of him, neither woold hee euer after forlake him for any displeasure doon to him. Therefore yt shoold alwayes bee so, that true friends shoold bere one to an other such loue and affection that the one beeing in prosperity, shoold not haue occasion to complayn of him self in that hee did not relieue his friends necessity beeing in aduersity: nor the other beeing pooze and needy, shoold grudge or lament for that his friend beeing rich and welthy, woold not succor him with all that hee might haue doone for him. For to say the truth, where perfect friendship is, there ought no excuse to bee made to doo what possible is the one for the other. The friendship of young men cometh commonly, (or for the most parte at least) by beeing companions in byce and folly: and such of right ought rather

rather to bee called bacabonds, then once to deserue the name of true frends. For that cannot bee called true frendship, that is continued to the preiudice or derogation of vertue. Seneca wyrtyn agayn to Lucillus sayth these woordes. I woold not haue thee think, nor once mistrust, O my Lucillus, that in all the Romayn empire I haue any greater frend then thou: but with all assure thy self, that our frendship is not so streight betwene vs, that I woold take vppon mee at any tyme to doo for thee otherwyle then honestly shoold lead mee. For though the loue I bere thee hath made thee lord of my liberty: yet reason also hath left mee vertue free.

¶ The authoꝝ proceedeth on.

Applyng that wee haue spoken to that wee will now declare, I say I will not acknowledge my self your seruant, for so shoold I bee compelled to feare you moze then loue you: much lesse will I vaunt my self to bee your kinsman, for so I shoold infortune and displease you: and I will not brag that heeretofore wee haue been of famillier acquaintance, for that I woold not make any demonstration I made so lyttle account of you, and lesse then I am bound to doo: neither will I boast my self that I am at this present your familliar and welbeloued, for in deede I shoold then shew my self to bee to bold and arrogant: but that that I will confesse shalbee, that I loue you as a frend, and you mee as a kinsman, al bee it this frendship hath succeeded dyuersly tyll now. For you beeing noble as you are, haue bountifully shewed your frendship to mee, in large and ample gyfts: but I pooze, and of base estate, haue only made you sure of myne in woordes. Plutarche in his Polytrikes sayd: That it were farre better to sell to our frends our woordes and good deeds, (whether they were in prosperity, aduersity, or necessity) then to feede them with bayn flattering woordes for nothing. Yet is it not so general a rule, but that sometymes it happeneth that the high woordes on the one syde are so profitable, and the woordes so few and feeble on the other syde, that one shalbee better pleased and delighted with hearing the sweete and curteous woordes of thone, then hee shalbee to bee serued with the cold seruyce and woordes of the other, of small profyt and value. Plutarch also in his booke De animalibus telleth vs, that Denis the tyrant beeing one day at the table reasoning of dyuers and sundry matters with Chrisipp⁹ the philosopher, it chaunced, that as hee was at dinner, one brought him a present of certen sugar cakes; wherfore Chrisippus cesing his former discours fell to perswade Denys to fall to his cakes. To whom Denys answered, on with your matter Chrisippus, and leaue not of so: For my hart is better contented wyth thy sweet and sugred woordes, then my tong is pleased with the delycate tast of these mountayn cakes. For as thou knowest, these cakes are heauy of digestion, and doo greatly annoy the stomake: but good woordes doo maruelously reioyce and comfort the hart. For this cause Alexander the great had the poet Homer in greater beneration, beeing dead, then all the other that were alyue in his tyme: not for that Homer euer did him seruyce, or that hee knew him, but onely because of his lerned bookes hee wrote and compyled, and for the graue sentences hee found therein. And therefore hee bare about him in the day tyme the booke of the famous deedes of Troy (called the Illiades) hanged at
hys

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his neck within his bosom: & in the night hee layd it vnder his bolster, at his beddes head where hee slept. In recompence therefore (say) of the many good turns I haue receiued at your hands, I was also willing to compile and dedicate this my litle treatise to you, the which I present you with all my desires, my studies, my watchs, my sweett, and my troubles, holding my self fully satisfied for all the payns I haue taken, so that this my simple treatise well bee gratefull to you (to whom I offer yt) and to the publyke weale profitable. Seeing well assured, if it please you to trust mee and credyte my writing, you shall manifestly know how freely I speak to you, and lyke a frend, and not deceiue you as a flatterer. For if the beeloued and fauored of princes chaunce to bee cast out of fauor, it is because euery man flattereth hym and seeketh to please him and no man goeth about to tell him troth, nor that that is for his honor, and fittest for him. Salust in his booke of the warres of Iugurtha sayth, that the hygh heroycall facts and noble deedes were of no lesse glozy to the historiographer that wrote them, then they were to the captayn that dyd them. For it happeneth many tymes that the Captayn dying in the battell hee hath woone, lyueth after wards notwithstanding by the fame of his noble attempt, and this proceedeth not only of the balaunt deedes of armes hee was seene doo, but also for that wee read of him in woorthy authors which haue amply writtten thereof. Wee may well say therefore touching this matter, that aswell may wee take hym for a true frend, that geueth good counsell: as hee whych dooth vs great pleasure, and seruyce. For according to the oppinion of the good Marcus Aurelius, who sayd to his secretary Panutius, that a man with one pay, may make full satisfaccion and recompence of many pleasures and good turns shewed: but to requyte a good counsell, dyuers thanks and infinite seruises are requisite. If wee wil credit the ancient historiographers wee shall fynd it true, that the vertuous emperors, the fortunate kyngs, and the balaunt Captains, when they should enterpryse to goe conquer their enemies, either they sought for some philosopher, or they choose some other honest learned man, of whom they tooke counsel touching all their affayrs, beefore they prest any soldiers. Comparing the tymes past, with the tymes present, wee thinke (that haue read some what) that the tyme past was as pure grayn, and this now as chaffe and strawe: the one as a tyme calme and still in the sea, and this as wauering and tempestuous: that then the fyne and pure mettall, and this now the drosse thereof: The other the marie, and this the bones: the one the cleer day, and the other the dark night: For in these days in princes courts, and noble mens houses, they glozy more to haue a scoffing knaue or iester to make them laugh, then they reckon of a graue and wyse man to geue them counsell. Alexander the great in all his warres wold always bee accompanied with the wyse Aristotle. Cyrus kyng of Persia, with the philosopher Chilo: Kyng Ptolomie with Pithinus the philosopher: Pirthus kyng of Epyre, with Zetirus: Augustus the emperour with Symonides: Scipio the african with Sophocles: Traian the emperour with Plutarche, & Antonius the emperour with Gorgias: now all these famous princes caried not with the so many learned philosophers, to fyght in battell with armed weapon in hand like other their soldiers, but only to vse their counsel & aduice.

So

So that the great battels they overthrow, and the woorthy victories they winne, with the noble triumphs doon, it is as much by the graue counsell of these good and wise Philosophers, as by the force of their army, and prowess of their Captayns. The greatest good turn and benefit one friend can doo for another, is to know to geue good counsell to his friend, in his greatest neede: and not without cause I say to know to geue counsell. For it happeneth oft tymes, that those that thought to haue geuen by good remedy by their counsell, (wanting in deede discretion and iudgement in the same) haue caused vs to ruine into further daungers. And therefore Seneca beeing once demaunded of the emperor Nero, what hee thought of Scipio thaffrican, & Cato the censor, answered him in this manner. I think it was as necessary that Cato was boyn for a comon wealke, as Scipio for a warres, for the good Cato with his prudent counsell expelled vice out of the wealth publike, and the other with his noble courage and great armies did euer withstand the force of the enemies. According to the saying of Seneca, let vs also say after him, that hee is very arrogant that presumes to geue an other counsell, but with all wee say agayn: that if the counsell bee found good hee hath geuen to his friend in his neede and necessity, as much praise deserueth hee that gaue it, as hee that knew how to take it. Now after the example of the auncient philosophers, which went to the warres not to fight, but only to geue counsell, I will (say) for those things that pertain to your seruyce, and profit, take vpon mee the offyce of a philosopher, and for the first doctrine of my philosophy I say, that if it please you, to receiue these counsels whych my penne dooth write to you, at this present, I promise you, and by the faith of a christian man I swear, that they shalbee such excellent helps to you, for the preservation of your credyt and fauor you are now in, as you may bee enriched by the true and diligent seruice of your seruants. For if a man woold with an oth ask the trueth of Plato, Socrates, Pirthagoras, Diogenes, Licurgus, Chilo, Pittachus, and of Apolonius, and also of all the vniuersity and company of the other philosophers, they woold swere and affirm that the felicity of man consisteth not in great might, in great aucthority, and possessions: but only in deseruing much. For the honoz, fauor, and dignities of this mortall lyfe, are moze to bee praised and had in benediction when they are placed in a condigne and woorthy person: then they are beeing possessed of an vnwoorthy and graceles man, allotted to hym not by vertue, but by fortune. And therefore your aucthority beeing great at this present, created thereto by gods diuine will and prouidence, and now in the hyghest degree of prosperity: I woold wish you my good lord, lesse then any other courtier to trust to fortunes impery. For yf the earthquakes sooner bring to ground the proud and stately Pallaces, then the meane and low howses: if ofter fall on the highest mountayns, the dreadfull lightnings and tempests, then on the lowest hilles: if among the greater multitude of people the plagues bee riser, then amongst the fewer number: yf they vse rather to spread their netts, and lay the byzelyme on the green and thickest bowes, then on the dry and withered sticks, to snare the self byzds withall: If alwayes the stillest seas doo forelye to be a greater tempest following: and if that long

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long health bee a watch vnto a great and dangerous sickness ensuing: by this also I will inferre, that those that are attuned to subline estate a hygh degree are commonly moze subiect to fall, then those of mean and baser sort. The emperoz Augustus on a tyme demaunded of the Poet Virgill, that hee would teach him how hee might conserue him self in the empire, and alwayes bee acceptable to the publike weal. To whom Virgill answered. I think, O mighty Cesar, that to reigne long in the empire, thou must consideratly looke into thy self, examining thy lfe and dooings; and how much thou shalt see thy self excell and exceede all those (of thy empire) in dignity: So much moze must thou endeuoꝝ thy self to surmount all others, in vertue, and woꝝ thynges. For hee is unwooꝝthy to rule a multitude, that is not chief himself in all vertues. Those therefore that in court of princes bere office, and authority, ought earnestly to desyre and indenuour them selues to auoyd the filthy sink of vice, and to seeke the cleere spring of vertue. For otherwile, they shalbee moze defamed for one vyce or defect found in them, then honoꝝed for their office and authority they haue.

The aucthoꝝ concludeth.

According to the saying of the poet Virgill to the Emperoz Augustus, I am also of opinion (my Lord) that you ought to bee very circumspect and well aduised, in looking into your self who you are, what power you are of, what you are wooꝝthy, and what you possesse: and dooing thus, you shall fynd that among your wise counsellors you are the greatest, among the rich, among the best esteemed, among the most fortunat, among your secretoꝝies, among the rulers, amongst all those of your realm & subiects, you are euer the greatest. And therefore as you are greatest, and supreme aboue them all: so you ought the moze to force to bee the most vertuous of them all. For els it were against all reason, beeing the greatest, to bee the least and most inferior of all. For truly none ought to bee praised for good, for hee is of power, force, possessions, wealth, much wooꝝthy, in fauor, or dignity, neither for any nobilitie that is in him, if these natural gifts bee not accompanied with vertue & good woꝝks. The auncient historiographers do highly commend the greatnes of Alexander, the knowledge of Ptholomie, the iustice of Numa Pompilius, the clemency of Iulius Cesar, the patience of Augustus, the trueth of Traian, the pity of Antonius, the temperancy of Constantius, the continency of Scipio, and the humanity of Theodosius: so that wee may say these so great & noble princes haue wonne moze honoꝝ by their vertues, then they haue atchpyed by tryumphant victoꝝies. Albee it a man bee neuer so dishonest, vicious, and lasciuious, and that hee bee rooted in all ydlenes, let vs say and auouch it for a trueth, that it is impossible (if hee may return to looke back on him self, and that hee may cal to mynd what maner of man hee hath been, what hee is at this present, & to what end hee may come) but that the remembraunce of his forepassed faults and deeds, shoold bee moze grieuous and yskom to him, then the great delight his body shoold take of the present pleasures. For neither the wooꝝms in the byrnes, noꝝ the locusts in the corn, noꝝ the moths in the garments, noꝝ the litle wooꝝms in the wood are so hurtful and damageable, as sinnes are of power to make a man sorrowfull. For to say truly, the pleasure wee receyue when wee commit them

them is not so great, as is the displeasure wee feele after wee remember them. The whych I considering, my lord, yt causeth mee to looke ouer myne old memorials, to examyne my memozy, to strengthen my iudgement, and to seeke a new kynd of study, to no other end, but to fynd out sweete woordes, dryers doctryns, and straunge hystories, by means whereof I myght with- draw you from bayn and wooldly delights, to causz you to walk in the right path, and to affect things vertuous and honest, though I haue always knowen them as acceptable to you, as they haue been famulier. For princes seruants, the moze they are busied with affairs, the lesse they knowe themselves. And therefore great payn suffereth hee, and wyth ouer benymous poyson is hee infected, that wyth others, and for other occupyeth all hys time, and for his own sobol health cannot spare a moment of tyme. What comfort and quiet were it vnto my hart, if it were assured it had taken the ryght way, in the doctrine which I write to you, and that I had not erryd in the counsels I geue you: so that in readdyng my booke you myght acquire profit thereby, and I of my trauel therein reap my full contentation. And to the end, my Lord, wee may better expresse the matter, search the wound, and stoppe the bayns, that wee may leaue no part incurd or dreggs of infection, if heetherto I haue bled playnesse, I will now speak moze playnly to you, and yet as one friend bleth to an other. And therefore may it please you to accept these final wrytten pzeposes in this book, among al the residue, proceeding from the hands of one that rather desyreth y health of your sowle, then the gayn and satisfaction of your affects and desyres.

Call you that bee princes famillers, and becloued Courtiers: obserue and retayn with you these few pzecepts and counsels.

1 **N**euer tell (my lord) to any all that you think. Shew not all that you haue. Nether take all that you desire: Tell not all that you know. Much lesse neuer doo all that you may. For the right path way to bying the fauored courtier into hys Princes disgrace, is to bee addicted to hys sensual appetytes and bayne humoys, and not to bee guyded wyth reason and discrecion.

2 Beware also you trust not, nor commit to the hasard of fortunes tickles such things, as touch and conserue your parson, honoz, goods and conscience. For the wyse courtier that lyueth in his princes grace, will not rashly put him self in daunger, in hope to saue him self harmles, at all tymes when hee listeth.

3 Although euer y man offer his seruice to you, and seeme to bee at your commaundement when you shall neede him: yet I tell you (sy) I woold not wylly you had ether neede of them, or of mee: For many of those tyne and curious courtiers which are the first that offer them selues to draw on your syde, and to stand by you if neede bee, are commonly (at the very pinch) the first and redyest to throw stones at our faces.

4 In other mennes matters busy not your self to much: and in your own, stryue not wyth tyme, but take leysure. For lyuing after thys rule,
you

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you shall long keepe your self in the good and quyet estate you are in, and otherwise some inconuenience myght lightly fall vppon you, that shoold make you remember what you were wont to bee.

5 The imminent perill and daunger those are in, which are mounted to the toppe of some high thyng, or to the cliffe of some hygh and rocky mountayn, where they haue no other way to descend, but to fall, is much lyke to that of the fampliers of Princes. And therefore my lord, I woold wylsh you woold procure you such saythfull frends about you, that they hauyng regard and care of your person, shoold always hold you by the gobon for falling. And not such as after they had let you fall, woold then lend you their hands to help you vp agayn.

6 All bee it the thyngs of the world shoold bee preferred beefore all others of this worldly lyfe, yet neuerthelesse I wyll bee content, so that you haue as great care and consideration of your conscience, as you haue of your honor. All whych I was wyllyng to tell you (say) to the end you may better vnderstand, that those that are in estimation with the prince, though they may benefit by tyme (in takyng their tyme) yet tyme dooth neuer benefit by them at all.

7 You must euer doo good to your bittermost potuer, and neuer doo displeasure to any, though it lye in your power, and that you haue iust cause. For the tears of the poore that are iniurped, and the lamentable cryes and playnts of the oppressed, may possibly one day ascend to the presence of the tribunall seat (where god shall sitt in his maiesty) demaundyng iustyce and vengeaunce agaynst you: and also come to the eares of the prince, to cause you to bee hated of hym for euer.

8 Touching the fauor you will shew to any, eyther in offices, or other benefits you will bestow on any man, take heede you alwayes rather preferre honest and true Christians, then your owne neere kynsmen or frends. For a man may lawfully make his frend partaker of his goods, but not of his conscience.

9 In your counsels you geue, in any wise bee not to much affectioned in them, neither scozne with those that contrary your oppinion. Bee not proud and seuer to those you doo commaund, neither doo any thing wythout good aduyce and consideration. For al bee it in princes courts euery mā dooth admire and beehold the excellency and woorthynes of the person, yet are those alwayes that are most in fauor of the Prince, moze noted, regarded, and sooner accused then others.

10 If you wyll not erre in the counsels you shall geue, nor saye in those things you enterpryse: Embrace those that tell you the truth, and reiect and hate those, whom you knowe to bee flatterers and dissemblers. For you shoold rather desire to bee admonished of the thing present, then counselled after the dammage receined.

Although wee suppose assuredly all these things aboue wrytten are not lykely to happen, nor come euen so to passe as I haue spoken: yet may yt please you (say) to remember they are not therefore impossible. For spitefull fortune permitteth oft tymes, that the sayles which the lyghtnyng and boysterous

boysterous tempests could not break and teare in peeces, are afterwards bps
 a soden, (even in the sweete of the mornings sleepe, & the man taking his rest,
 leauing the seas beefore in quiet calme) all to shpyered, and to r'n a sunder. Hee
 that meaneth to geue another a blow allso, the more hee draweth back hys
 arme, with greater force hee striketh. And even so (neyther more nor lesse) sat-
 eth fortune with those, on whom for a time shee smileth, for the lenger a mā
 remaineth in her loue and fauor, the more cruel and bitter shee sheweth her
 self to him in the end. And therefore I wold aduise euery wise and sage per-
 son, that when fortune seemes best of all to fauor him, and to doo most for him,
 that then hee should stand most in feare of her, and least trust her deceipts.
 Therefore (Sir) make no small accompt of this my booke, litle though it bee.
 For you know, that doubtes (as experience teacheth vs) of greater price &
 value is a litle spark of a Dymond, then a greater ballasse. It forceth lytle
 that the booke bee of small or great volume, syth therrellency thereof consys-
 terth not in the number of leaues, more or lesse, but only in the good and graue
 sentences that are amplie wryten therein. For euery autho: that wryteth, to
 make his booke of great price and shew, ought to bee brief in his woozds, and
 sweete and pleasant in his matter hee treateth of, the better to satisfy & mynd
 of the reader, and also not to bee tedious to y hearer. And (Sir) I speak not
 without cause that you should not a lytle esteeme this small treatise of myne,
 since you are most assured, that with tyme al your things shall haue end, your
 friends shall leaue you, your goods shall bee deuided, your self shall dye, your
 fauor and credyt shall dimynish, and those that succede you, shall forget you,
 you not knowing to whom your goods and patrimony shall come: and aboue
 all, you shall not know what condicions your heires and chyldren shall bee of.
 But for this I wryte in your Royall history and Chronicle of your lawdable
 vertues and perfections, and for that also I serue you as I doo with this my
 present woork, the memozy of you shall remain eternized to your Successors
 for euer. Chilo the philosopher beeyng demaunded whether there were any
 thing in the world that fortune had not power to bring to nought, answered
 in this sort. Two things onely there are, which neyther tyme can consume,
 nor fortune destroy, and that is: the renowne of man wrytten in bookes, and
 the veritie that is hidden. For although troth for a tyme lye interred, yet
 yt resurgeth agayn and receyueth lyfe, appearing manifestly to all. And euen
 so in like case the vertues wee fynd wryten of a man, doo cause vs at this pre-
 sent to haue him in as great veneration, as those had in his tyme that best
 knew him. Read therefore (Sir) at times I beseech you these wrytyngs of
 myne, allbeit I feare mee you can scant boztow a moment of tyme with leys-
 sure once to looke vpon yt, beeing (as I know you are) allways occupyd
 in affaires of great importaunce, wherein mee thinketh you should not so sur-
 charge your self, but that you myght for your commodyty and recreation of
 your spirits reserue some pryuat howers to your self. For sage and wise men
 should not so burden them selues with care of others toyle, that they should
 not spend one hower of the day at the least (at their pleasure) to looke on their
 estate and condicion. As recouteth Suetonius Tranquillus of Iulius Cesar who
 notwithstanding his quotydian warres hee had, neuer let slypt one day but
 that hee read, or wrote some thing. So that beeing in his Daurillyon in the

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camp in the one hand hee held his launce to assault his enemy, and in the other the penne to wypte with all, with which hee wrote his woorthy commentaries. The reasonable man therefore calling to mynd the streight account hee must render of him self and of the time hee hath lost, shal always bee more careful that hee lose not his time, then hee shal bee to keepe his treasure. For the wel employed time is a mean & help to his saluation: & the euil gotten good a cause of his eternal danation. More ouer yet, what soyle and trauayl is it to the body of the man, & how much more perill to the liuing soule, when hee consumeth his hole days and life in worldly broile: and yet seely man hee can not absent him self from that vile drudgery, till death dooth summon him to yeeld by his account of his liue and dooings. And now to conclude my prologue, I say this booke is deuided into two parts: the first is to werte: in the first tenne chapters is declared how the new come courtier shal beehaue him self in the princes court to winne fauor & credit with the prince: & the surplus of the woork treateth, when hee hath atcheued to his princes fauor, & acquired the credyt of a woorthy courtier: how hee shal then continew the same to his further aduancement. And I doubt no whit, but that my lordes & gentlemen of court wil take pleasure to readit, and namely such as are princes familiars and beeloued of court shal mostly reap profyt thereby, putting the good lessons & aduertisements they fynd heretofore written, in execution. For, to the yong courtiers it sheweth them what they haue to doo: & putteth in remembraunce also the old fauored courtier (lying in his princes grace) of that hee hath to bee circumspect of. And finally I conclude (sir) that of al the treasures, riches, gyfts, fauors, prosperities, pleasures, seruices, greatnes, & power, that you haue & possesse in this mortal & transitory life, & by the faith of a christian I sweare vnto you also that you shal cary no more with you, then the onely time whiche you haue wel & vertuously employed, during this your pilgrimage.

The Argument of the booke entituled the fauored courtier, to heare the author sheweth the intent of his woork, exhorting all men to read and study good and vertuous bookes vnto the refecting fables and vayne triffling stories of small doctrine & erudicion.

Aulus Gellius in his booke De noctibus atticis sayeth, that after the death of the great poet Homer, seuen famous Cytics of Greece were in great controuersy one with the other, ech one of them affirming, that by reason the bones of the sayd poet was theirs, and onely appertained to them, all seuen takyng their othes, that hee was not onely boyn, but also nozshed and brought vp in euery one of them. And this they did, supposing that they neuer had so great honoz in any thing, but that this was farre greater, to haue educated so excellent and rare a man as hee was. Euripides also the philosopher, boyn and brought vp in Athens, trauayling in the realme of Macedonia, was sodeynly stricken with death, which woofull newes no sooner came to the Athenians eares, (declared for a trouth) but with al expedition they depeached an honorable imbassy, onely to intreat the Lacedemonians to bee contented to deliuer them the bones of the sayd philosopher, protesting to them, that if they wouold franckly graunt them, they wouold regradify that pleasure done them:
and

and if they would deny them, they should assure them selves they would come to demand them with sword in hand. Kyng Demetrius held Rhodes besyged long tyme (which at length hee wanne by force of armes) and the Rhodians beeing so subbuzn that they would not yeeld by composition, nor trust to his princely clemency, hee commaunded to strike of all the Rhodians heads, and to rase the cyty to the hard foundations. But when hee was let vnderstand that there was euen then in the cyty Prothogenes, a philosopher and paynter, doutyng least in executyng others, hee also vnknewen myght bee put to the sword, reuoked his cruel sentence, and gaue straitlyght commaundement forthwith they should cease to spoyle and deface the town further, and also to stay the slaughter of the rest of the Rhodians. The diuine Plato beeing in Athens, aduertised that in the cyty of Damasco (in the realme of Palestine) were certayn bookes of great antiquity, whych a philosopher bozn of that countrey left beehynd hym there: when hee vnderstoode it to bee true, went thither immediatly, led with the great desyre hee had to see them, and purposely (if they dyd lyke him) afterwards to buy them. And when hee sawe that neyther at his sute, nor at the requestis of others hee could obtayn them, but that hee must buy them at a great price, Plato went and sold all his patrimony to recouer them: and his own not beeing sufficient, hee was fayn to bozrow vpon interest of the comon treasury to help him. So that notwithstanding hee was so profound and rare a philosopher (as in deede hee was) yet hee would sell all that small substaunce hee had, onely to see (as hee thought) some pzetynething moze of philosophy. As Ptholomeus Philadelphus kyng of Egypt, not contented to bee so wise in al sciences as hee was, nor to haue in his library. 8000. bookes as hee had, nor to study at the least. 4. howers in the day, nor ordinarily to dispute at his meales with philosophers, sent neuertheles an imbasage of noble men to the Ebzeus, to desire them they would bee contented to send him some of the best lerned and wisest men among them, to teach him the Ebzeu tongue, & to read to him the bookes of their lawes. When Alexander the great was bozn, his father kyng Phillippe wrote a notable letter immediatly to Aristotle, & among other matters hee wrote there were these. I doo thee to werte, O greatest philosopher Aristotle (if thou knowest it not) that Olimpias my wife is brought to bed of a sonne, for w^{ch} incessantly I geue the gods immortal thanks: not so much for I haue a sonne, as for that they haue geuen him mee in thy tyme. For I am assured hee shall profit moze with the doctrine thou shalt teach him: the hee shall preuail with the kingdoms I shall leaue him after mee. Now by the examples aboue recited, and by many moze we could alledge, wee may easily consider, what reuerence and honoz the aunient kyngs bled the learned and vertuous men of their tyme. And wee may also moze playnly see it, syth then they held in greater price and estimation the bones of a dead philosopher, then they doo now the doctrine of the best learned of our time. And not without iust occasiō dyd these famous & heroycal princes toy, to haue at home in their houses, & abroad with them in the feeld, such wise & learned men whilst they liued, & after they were dead to honoz their bones and carcases: and in dooing this they erred not a jot. For who so euer accompanieth continually wth graue & wise men, enioyeth this benefit and priuiledge beefore others, that hee shall neuer bee

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counted ignorant of any. Therefore continuing still our first purpose, let vs say, that who so euer will professe the company of sober and wise men, yt can not otherwise bee, but hee must maruelously profyt by their company. For beeing in their company they will put all vain and dishonest thoughts from him, they will teach him to subdue and resyst all sodein passions and motions moued of choller: by them they shal winne good friends, and learn also neuer to bee troublesome or enemy to any, they will make him forsake all sinne and vice, declaring to him what good woorkes hee shal follow, and what hee shal most fly and eschew: they will let him vnderstand how hee shal humble and beehaue him self in prosperitie, and they will also comfort him in his aduersity, to keepe him from all sorow and dispayre. For though a man bee neuer so careful and circumspect, yet hath hee alwayes neede of the counsell of an other in his affaires, if therefore such person haue not about him good vertuous, & sage men, how can it otherwaies bee but that hee must stumble oft, and fall down right on his face, hauing no man to ayd or help him. Paulus Diaconus sayeth, that albeitt the Africans were wyld and brutish people, yet had they withstanding a law amongst them, that the senators amongst them could choose no other senator, if at the electio there were not present a philosopher. So it happened one day amongst the rest, that of many philosophers they had in Carthage, amongst them was one named Apolonius: Who ruled for the space of three score and two years all their senat with great quyet, and to the contentacion of all the senators: which to shew them selues thankfull to him, erected in the market place so many images of him, as he had gouerned their common weale years, to the end the fame and memozy of hym should bee immortal: and yet they dyd dedycate to their famous Anniball but onely one image, and to this philosopher they set vp about three score. Alexander the great when hee was most bent to bluddy warres, went to see and speak with Diogenes the philosopher, offering him great presents, and discoursing with him of dyuers matters. So that wee may iustly say, this good prince of hym self tooke payng to seek out wise men to accompany him, electing by others choise and aduise all such, as hee made his captayns to serue him in the warres: It is manifest to all, that Dionisius the Siracusan was the greatest tyrant in the world, and yet not withstanding his tyranny, it is a wonder to see the sage and wise men hee had continually in his court with him: & that, that makes vs yet moze to wonder of him is, that hee had them not about him to serue him, or to profyt one jot by their doctrine and counsell: but onely for his honoz, and their profyt, which enforceth mee to say, concurring with this example, that syth tyrants dyd glozy to haue about them wise, & woorty men: much moze should those reioyce, that in their woorkes and deedes are noble, and free harted. And this they ought to doo, not onely to bee honozed with them openly, but also to bee holpen with their doctrine & counsell secretly. And if to some this should seeme a hard thyng to follow, wee will say: that woorty men not beeing of ability and power to mainteyn such wise men, ought yet at least to vse to read at tymes, good and vertuous bookes. For by reaydng of bookes, they reap insynpt profyt, as for example, by reaydng as I say these good authozs, the desire is satisfied, their iugement is quickned, idleness is put away, the hart is disourdened, the time is well employed, and they lead their lyfe vertuously, not beeing

beeing bound to render account of so many faults, as in that tyme they myght haue committed. And to conclude, it is so good an exercise, as it geueth good examples to the neyghboz, profyt to hym self, and health to the soule. Wee see by experience, after a man taketh vppon hym once the study of holy scriptures, and that hee frameth hym self to bee a diuine, hee will neuer wyllyngly thenceforth deale in other studies, and all because hee will not forgoe the great pleasure hee receyue th to read those holly sayyngs. And that causeth, that wee see so many learned and wise men (for the moze part) subiect to dyuers diseases, and full of melancoly humoys. For so sweete is the delight they take in their bookes, that they forget and leaue all other bodely pleasure: And therefore Plutarke wyrteth, that certayn Philosophers beeing one day met at the lodgyng of Plato to see hym, and demaunding hym what exercise hee had at that tyme: Plato answered them thus. Truly my brethren I let you know, that euen now my onely exercise was to see what the great poet Homer sayd. And this hee told them, because they tooke hym euen then readying of some of Homers bookes, and to say truly, hys answer was such, as they should all looke for of hym. For to read a good booke in effect is nothyng els, but to heare a wyse man speak. And yf this our iudgement and aduise seeme good vnto you, wee would yet say moze, that you should profyt moze to read one of these bookes, then you should to heare speak, or to haue conference wyth the autoz hym self that made yt. For it is wythout doubt, that all wyrters haue moze care and respect in that their penne dooth wyrt, then they haue in y their tongue dooth vtter. And to the end you should not thynk wee can not proue that tiew that wee haue spoken, I doo you to wyrt, that every autoz that wyll wyrt, to publish hys dooyng in prynt, to lay yt to the shew and iudgement of the world, and that desyreth thereby to acquire honoz and fame, and to eternyse the memozy of hym, turneth many bookes, conferreth wyth other wyse and learned men, addycteth hym self wholly to hys booke in deuoureth to vnderstand well, oft refuseth sleepe, meat and drynk, quencheth hys spyrts, dooyng that hee putteth in wyrtynge exactly with long aduise, and consideration: whych hee dooth not, when hee dooth but onely speak and vtter them, though oft in deede (by reason of his great knowledge) in speach vntwares there falleth out of hys mouth, many goodly and wise sentences. And therefore god hath geuen hym a goodly gift that can read, and hym much moze that hath a desyre to study, knowing how to choose the good bookes from the euill. For to say the troth, there is not in this world any state or exercise moze honozable, and profitable then the study of good bookes. And wee are much bound to those that read, moze to those that study, and much moze to those that wyrt any thing, but mostly doubtes to those that make & compile goodly bookes, & those of great and hye doctrine. For there are many vayne and fond bookes, that rather deserue to bee thzowen in the fyre, then once to bee read or looked on. For they doo not onely shew vs the way to mock the, but also y ready mean to offend vs, to see them occupy their bzayns & best wyrttes they haue

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to write foolish and vain things, of no good subject or erudition. And yet that is worst of all yet, they are occasion that others spend as much time in reading their jests, and mockries, as they would otherwise have employed in doctrine, of great profit and edifying, the which to excuse and defend their error, say they did not write them for men to take profit thereby, but only to delight and please the readers, to passe the time away merrily. Whom we may rightly answer thus: that the reading of yll and vain bookes can not bee called a pastime, but aptly a very losse of time. And therefore Aulus Gellius in the fyfteenth of his booke writeth, that after the romayns vnderstoode the orators and poets of Rome did geue them selues to write, vain, voluptuous, and dishonest bookes, causing enterludes, and poetical comedies to be played, they did not onely banish them from Rome, but also out of all parts of Italy. For yt seemed not the Romayne grauity, neither was it decent for the weale publyk, to suffer such naughty bookes among them, and much lesse to beare with vitious and lasciuious gouernors. And if the Romain paynymys left vs this for example, how much more ought we that are christians to continew and follow yt, since they had no other bookes to read saue onely histories, and wee now a days haue both histories & holy scriptures to read which were graunted vs by the church, to the end by the one wee myght take some honest pleasure and recreation, and with the other procure the health of our soules. O how farre is the comon wealth now adays degreded from yf wee write and counsel, sence wee see playnly, that men occupy them selues at this present, in reading a number of bookes, the which onely to name I am ashamed. And therefore sayd Aulus Gellius in his fourteenth booke, that there was a certayn phylosopher wrote a booke of hye and eloquent stile, but the subject very hard & dyffuse to vnderstand, the which Socrates and other phylosophers hearyng of, commaundid immediatly the booke to be burned, and the authoꝝ to be banished, by whych example wee may well perceue, that in that so perfyte and reformed ciuety they would not onely suffer any lasciuious or vitious booke, but also they would not beare with those, that were to haue and bayn glorious in their stiles, and whose matter were not profitable and benefyciall to the publyk weale. That man therefore that walloweth in idleness, and that vouchsafeth not to spend one hower of the day to read a graue sentence of some good booke, wee may rather deservedly call hym a brute beast, then a reasonable creature. For euery wise man ought to glory more of the knowldege hee hath, then of the aboundaunce of goods hee possesseth. And it can not be denied but that those which read vertuous bookes, are euery had in better fauor and estimation then others. For they learn to speak, they passe the time without trouble, they know many pleasant things which they after tel to other, they haue audacity to reprove others: & euery man desyeth to heare them, and in what place or company so ever they come, they are alwayes reuerenced & honored aboue others: euery man desyeth their knowldege and acquaintance, and are glad to ask them counsel. And that, that is yet of greater credyt to them is, that they are not feare in number, that trusteth them with their body and goods. And moreover I say, that the wise and learned man which professeth study, shall know very well how

to counsell his friend, and to comfort him self at all tymes when neede dooth
 serue, which the foolpsh ignoraunt person can not doo, for hee can not onely
 tell how to comfort the afflicted in aduersity, but also hee can not help hym
 self in hys own proper affaires, nor take counsell of him self what is best to
 doo. But returning agayn to our purpose, wee say, because wee would not
 bee reprooued of that wee rebuke others of, wee haue beene very circumspect
 and aduised, and taken great care and payns in our study, that al our
 bookes and woorkes wee haue publyshed and compiled, should bee so exactly
 doone, that the readers might not fynd any ill doctrine, nor also any thyng
 woorthy reproofe. For the vnhonest bookes made by lasciuious persons doo
 geue deservedly euident token to the readers to suspect the authors, and trou-
 bleth the iudgements of those that geue attentyue eare vnto them. And there-
 fore I counsell, and admonish him that will enterpryse and take vpon him
 to bee a writer, and setter forth of bookes, that hee bee wise in his matter
 hee sheweth, and compendious in the woordes hee writeth: and not to bee ly-
 ke to dyuers writers, whose woordes are of such a frase and style, as wee shal
 read many tymes to the midst of the booke, ere wee fynd one good and nota-
 ble sentence, so that a man may say, that all the frute those reap for their paine,
 watches, and trauayl, is no other, but onely a meere toy and mockry, they
 beeing derided of euery man that seeth their woordes. That author that vn-
 dertaketh to write, and afterwards prostrateth to common iudgement the
 thing hee wryteth, may bee assured that hee setteth hys wittes to great tra-
 ueyl and study, and hazardeth his honor to present peryll. For the iudgement
 of men beeing varyable, and dyuers (as they are in deede) many tymes they
 doo meddle and enter into iudgement of those things, whereof they are not
 onely not capable to vnderstand, but also lesse skilfull to read them. Now in
 the booke wee haue set out of the dyall of princes, & in that other wee haue tran-
 slated of the life of the romayne emperours, and in this wee haue now set forth
 of the fauored courtier, the readers may bee assured they shal fynd in the good-
 ly and graue sentences, whereby they may greatly profyt, and they shal not
 read any woordes superfluous, to comber or weery them at all. For wee dyd
 not once licence our penne to dare to write any woord, that was not first wai-
 ed in trewe balance, and meat by iust measure. And God can testify wyth vs,
 that without doubt wee haue had moze payn to bee bysle in the woordes of our
 bookes wee haue hitherto made, then wee haue had to gather out the in-
 uention and graue sentences thereof. For to speak good woordes, and to haue
 good matter and wise purposes, is the poperty of one that naturally is modest,
 and graue in his actions: but to write breuely, hee must haue a deepe vnder-
 standing. When at the font of the printers foorme wee first baptised the booke
 of Marcus Aurelius, wee there intituled it the dyall of princes, and this there-
 fore that wee haue now made & added to yt, wee will call yt (for moze breue-
 nesse) the fauored courtier: which portendeth the whetstone and instructyon
 of a courtier. For if they will boushase to read, and take the frutefull coun-
 cels they fynd wrytten herein, they may assure them selues they shal awake
 out of the vanyties they haue long slept in, and shal also open their eyes, to
 see the better that thyng wherein they lyue so long deceyued. And allbee yt
 in

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in deede this present woork sheweth to you but a few contrived lines, yet god him self dooth know, the payns wee haue taken herein hath been exceeding great, and this for two causes: thone for that the matter is very straunge and dyuers from others, thother, to thynk that assuredly it should bee hated of those, that want the taste of good discipline. And therefore wee haue taken great care, it should come out of our hands well reformed, and corrected: to the end that courtiers might fynd out many sentences in yt profitable for the, and not one woord to trouble them. Those noble men or gentlemen that will from henceforth haue their children brought by in princes courts, shall fynd in this booke all things they shall neede to provide them of, those also that haue been long courtiers, shall fynd all that they ought to doo in court, And such also as are the best fauored of princes, and carry greatest reputation of honor with them, shall fynd likewise excellent good counsellis, by meane whereof they may always mainteyn, and continue them selues, in the cheefest greatness of their credit and fauor: so that it may wel bee called a mitridatical elixuary, recuering and healing all malignaunt opilations. Of all the bookes I haue hitherto compyled, I haue dedicated some of them to the Imperiall maiesty, & others to those of best fauor & credit to him: wherey readers may see, y rather glory to bee a satire, then a flatterer, for that in al my sentences they can not fynd one cloked woord, to enlarge and imbetter my credit and estate. But to the contrary, they may read an insynpt number of others, where I doo exhort them to gouern their persons discreetly and honorably, and to amend their lyues thenceforth. When I imprinted the Dial of princes, together with Marcus Aurelius, and brought them to lyght, I wanted not backbiters and detractors that beganne forthwith to teare mee in peeces, neither shall I want at this present (as I beleeue) such as will not spare wryth venomous tongues to payson my woork. But lyke as then I little wayd their sclanderous speeches of mee, even so much lesse doo I now force what they can say against mee, beeing assured they shall fynd in the end, they haue y spoken of mee, and my pooze woorks, proceeding from them rather of a certayn enuy that gnaweth their hart, then of any default they fynd in my doctryne: comfortyng my self yet in the assurance I haue, y al their spight shall one day haue an end, and my woorks shall euer bee found good and perdurable,

Here endeth the Argument.

The fourth booke of the Dyall of Prin-
ces, *Compiled by the Lord Antony Gueuara,*
Byshop of Mondogucto,

That it is moze necessary for the courtier (abiding in court) to bee of lyvely
spirit & audacity, then it is for the souldier, that goeth to serue in the warres.
Cap. i.

Plutarch, Plinie, and Titus Linius declare, that kyng Agiges one day re-
quested the oracle of Appollo to tell hym, who was the happiest man in
the world, to whom answer was made that it was a man they called
Aglaon, beeknownen of the gods, and vnknownen of men. This kyng A-
giges making then search for this man thorough all Greece, who was cal-
led Aglaon, found at length that it was a poore gardener dwelling in Archas-
dia, who being of the age of thre score years and two, neuer went a-
boue a myle from his house, keepyng hym self and his family continually
wth hys onely labor and tyllage of hys garden. Now all be it there were
in the world of better parentage and lynage then hee, better accompa-
nyed of seruaunts and tenaunts, better prouyded of goods and ryches, hygh-
er in dygnity, and of greater authoryty then hee: yet for all this, was this
Aglaon the happiest of the world. And thys was, for that hee neuer haun-
ted Prynces courts, neyther by enuy to bee ouerthrowen, nor yet by aua-
ryce to bee overcome. For many tymes it chaunceth to men, that when they
would least geue them selues to acquayntaunce, then come they most to
bee knownen, and when they make least account of them selues, then com-
meth there an occasyon to make them to bee most reputed of. For they wyne
moze honoz, that dispyse these goods, honozs, and ryches of thys world: then
those doo, that continually gape, and seeke after the same. And therefore
wee should moze enuy Aglaon wth hys lytel garden, then Alexander the
great wth hys myghty Asia. For trewe contentacion consisteth not in ha-
uyng aboundaunce, but in being contented wth that lytle hee hath. It
is a mockry, and woozthely hee deserueth to bee laughed at, that thynketh
contentacion lyeth in hauyng much, or in being of great authoryty: for
such ways are redyer to make vs stumble, yea and many tymes to fall down
ryght, then safely to assure vs to goe on our way.

The punishment that God gaue to Cain for murderynge of his brother Abel
was, that his body continually trembled, and hee euer after wandered thro-
ough the world: so that hee neuer found ground where hee might enhabyt,
nor house where hee might herber. And albe it this malediction of Cain was
the fyrst that euer god ordeyned, I durst affirme notwithstandyng that it
remayneth as yet vntyll this present day amongst courtiers, wth wee see
them daily traueyle and turne into straunge countreys, daily chaun-
ging

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gyng and seeking new lodgings. Which maketh mee once agayn to say, þ
 Aglaon was counted happy, & for þ onely hee neuer comed farre fro hys hou-
 se. For to say truly, there is no mysery comparable to that of the courtier,
 that is bound dayly to lye in others howses, hauing none of hys own to
 goe too. And hee onely may bee called happy, that putteth not hym self
 in daunger to serue others. Iulius Cesar beeyng counselled to waite vpon
 the consull Silla, to the end that by seruyng or beeyng about hym hee my-
 ght doo hym self great good, and yt myght bee very profytable to hym, aun-
 swered thus. I sweare by the immortall gods I wyll neuer serue any,
 on hope to bee moze woorth, and greater then I am. For thys I am suer
 of, that where lyberty is exiled, there myght noz power can preuaile.
 Hee that forsaketh his own countrey where hee lyued at ease, and in heal-
 th, and the place where hee was known and beeloued, the neyghbozs
 of whom hee was visyted, the frends of whom hee was serued, the pa-
 rents of whom hee was honozed, the goods wherewith hee mayntay-
 ned him self, hys wife and childezen (of whom hee had a thousand plea-
 sures and consolations) and that commeth to serue and dye in the court:
 I can not say otherwise of hym, but that hee is a very foole, or that hee
 commeth to doe penance for some nothable cryme hee hath commytted. And
 therefore not wythout great cause was thys name of court (whych in our
 tongue sygnifyeth short) adhibited to the pallace of prynces, where all things
 in deede are short, onely enuy and malice excepted, which contynue long.
 Hee onely desireth to bee a courtier, that as yet hath not tasted the sweete-
 nes and pleasure of his own house, noz hath yet proued and seen the trou-
 bles and payns of the court. For hee þ knoweth them, sygheth when hee is
 called to the court, and weepeth when hee is kept long there. I haue stu-
 dyed in tymes past in the vniuersities, preached in the court, praying in
 relygion: and now I dwell vpon my byshoppyck, teachyng and Instruc-
 tyng my dyocessans: but I dare say, of all these sower states reptyd,
 there is none so streight, and paynfull, as is to follow the court. If I
 studied at the vniuersity, I dyd yt of free wyll to bee wyser: but onely
 in the court I spent my tyme, to bee moze woorth then I was. But the
 greatest tyme I consumed in relygion, was to say my prayers, and to bee-
 wayle my greuous synnes. In the court I onely gaue my self to suspect
 my neyghboz, and inuented to buyld great castells of wynd (wyth thought)
 in the ayer. And therefore I retorn once agayn to say, that it is a grea-
 ter trouble to become a courtier, then to bee a relygious person. For in
 religion it sufficeth to obey one: but in the court hee must serue all. And in re-
 lygion also they are appareled wyth lesse cost and charges, and to the grea-
 ter contentacion of the person, then they are in the court. For a pooze gen-
 tleman courtier ys bound to haue moze chaunge and sutes of apparell, then
 the falcon feathers. The religious persons goe allways to dynner, and fynd
 their meat on the table ready prepared for them, wythout any thought taken
 of their part what they shall haue: but syne courtiers many times rise out of
 their bed, without euer a peny in their purse. And allbee it relygious per-
 sons all their lyfe take great payns in rpyng at mydnyght to serue god: yet
 haue

haue they great hope after their death, of the heavenly rest and comforts but pooze courtiers, alas what should I say, hard is their lyfe, and more peryllous their death, into greater daunger truely putteth hee hym self that becommeth a courtier, then dyd Nafica when hee was wyth the serpent, then kyng Dauid wyth the Phylistiens, then the Southsayers wyth Euah, then Hercules wyth Antheon, then Theseus wyth the Minotawre, then kyng Menelaus wyth the wyld boze, then Corebus wyth the monster of the marysh, and then Perseus wyth the monstrous whale of the sea. For every one of these valyaunt men were not afrayed but of one: but the myserable courtier standeth in feare of all. For what is hee in court, & sleeping hys neere kynsman or dearest friend, more in fauor or credyt then hym self, or ryther then hee, that wytheth not hys friends death, or at the least procureth by all means hee can, hee shall not equal, nor goe euen wyth him in credyt or reputacyon. One of the woozst thyngs I consyder and see in courtiers is, that they lose much tyme, and profyt lyttle: for the thyng wherein they spend their days, and bestow the nyghts for the moze part is, to speak yll of those that are their betters, or excell them in vertues: and to vndoo those that are their equals and compaignyons: to flatter the beeloued, and among the inferior sort to murmure one agaynst another, and allways to lament and sygh for the tymes past.

And there is nothyng that prouoketh courtiers moze to complayn, then the dayly desyre they haue to see sundry and new alteracions of tyme. For they lyttle way the ruyn of & common weale, so they may enlarge and exalt their owne states. Also it is a thyng of cours in court, that the reierced and fauorlesse courtiers shole togethers, murmuring at their prynces, and backbiting their counsellors and offycers, saying they vndoo the realme, and bring all to nought. And all this presupposed, for that they are not in the lyke fauor and estimacion that they bee in, whych beareth offyce and rule in the common weale. And therefore when it cometh in questyon for a courtier to aduance hym self, and to come in credyt in the court, one courtier can scarcely euer trust another. On thother syde, mee thynketh that the life of the court is not the very lyfe in deede, but rather an open penaunce. And therefore in my oppinion, woe should not cerken courtiers alyue, but rather dead, buried in their lyfe. For then the courtier euer syndeth him self panged wyth deaths extreme passions, when hee perceyueh an other to bee preferred and called befoze hym. Alas, what great ppy it is to see a haplesse and vnfortunat courtier, for hee seely soule awaketh a thousand tymes in the nyght, tolleth from syde to syde of hys bed, sometyme bryght hee lyeth, lamenting his ffrom happe, now hee sighteth for his natue soyle, and soroweth then for hys lost honor: so that in manner hee spendeth the whole nyght in watch and cares, imaginynge wyth him self all ways hee can, to come in credyt and fauor agayn, that he may attain to wealch and preferment befoze others. It maketh mee think, & it is not a pain, but a cruel torment: no seruaice but tribute: not once only, but euer: that the body of the pooze miserable courtier abideth and that (in despyte of him) his tormented hart dooth beare. By the law of the court, every courtier is bound to serue the kyng, to accompany the

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the beeloued of court, to visit noble men, to wayt upon those that are at the prynces elbow, to geue to the vsshers, to present the auditors, to entertayne the wardens and captayns of the ports, to currey fauor with the herbingers, to flatter the treasozers, to trauayl and speak for their frends, & to dyssemble amongst their enemies. What legges are able to doo all these things? what force sufficient to abide these bzunts? what hart able to endure them? and moze ouer what purse great ynough to supply all these deuyles? I am of opinion there was neuer any so foolyshe, nor marchaunt so couetous, that hath sold hym self in any fayze, or cost him self for any other marchaundise, but onely the vnhappy courtier, who goeth to the court to sell his lyberty, for a lytle wynd and bayn smoke of the court. I graunt that a courtier may haue in the court plenty of gold and siluer, sumptuous apparell, fauor, credyt, and authority: yet with all this abundaunce yee can not deny mee, but hee is as poore of lyberty, as ryche of substaunce or credyt. And therefore I dare boldly say this woord agayn, that for one time the courtier hath his desire in court, a thousand times they will enforce him to accomplish others desires, which neither please nor lyke him. Surely it commeth of a base and vyle mynd, and no lesse cowardly, for any man lightly to esteeme his lyberty, and fondly to embrace bondage and subiection, being at others commaundement. And if the courtier woold aunswer mee to this, that though hee serue, yet at least hee ys in his prynces fauor. I woold reply thus, though hee bee in fauor with the prynce, yet is hee not withstanding slane to all his other officers. For if y courtier will sell his horse, his moyle, his cloke, his sweord, or any other such lyke what soeuer hee shal haue redy money for al, sauing for his lyberty, which hee lyberally bestoweth on all for nothing. So that hee seemeth to make moze estimate of his sweord, or apparell hee selleth, then hee dooth of his lyberty which hee geeueth. For a man is not bound to trauail at all, (to make hym self master of others) moze then pleaseth him: but to recouer lyberty, or to mayntayn it, hee is bound to dye a thousand deaths. I speak not these things for that I haue read them in my bookes, but because I haue seen them all w myne eyes: and not by science, but by experience: and I neuer knew courtier yet content in court, much lesse enioying any iote of his lyberty, which I so much esteeme, that if al men were sufficient to know it, and knew wel how to vse it, hee woold neuer for any treasure on earth forgoe yt, neyther for any gage lend yt, were it neuer so precious. Yet is there in court besides this another kynd of trouble I haue not yet touched, and that is not small. For oft tymes thither commeth of our frends which bee strangers, whom of necessity, and for honesties sake, the courtier must lodge with him at home, y court being all ready full pestered. And this happeneth oft in such a tyme, when the poore courtier hath neither lodging of his own, to lodge them in: nor happily syre pence in his purse to welcome them with all. I woold you woold tel mee also, what grief and sorrow the poore courtier feelet at his hart, when hee lodgeth in a blynd narrow lane, eateth at a bozowed table, sleepeth in a hired bedde, his chamber hauing no dooze to it, yea and for the moze part his apparell and armor, euen to the very sweord in gage. Then when any frend of his commeth out of the countrey to lye with him hee being so poore, and also a stranger in another mans house: how is it possible hee shoold ac-

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cept into his company any others, and perhaps as needie as hee. Sometimes hee were better, & had rather beare his frends costs, and charges (beeing altogether vnable) yea and fynd him al his necessities (what list so euer hee made) then hee should suffer his frend or strainger to come home to his howse to knowe and see the mysery hee liueth in. For moze is the honest hart and good nature ashamed and greeued to discouer his mysery, then yt is to suffer and abyde yt. Comonly the courtier beeing alone is content with a litle couch, one mattresse or quilte, one flockbed, with one pillow, and one payr of sheets, with one couerlet, with one frieng panne, one gridyerne, one spitt, one kettel one basen, with one candellstick, and with one pott, which hee can not doo, if any straunger or frend of his come to him, for then hee must for his reputation sake hang his chamber, dresse vp his bed, and furnish yt better, and must also prouide for a thousand other such trifles hee standeth in neede of. And if it fall out his host and Goodman of the howse wil not lend him these things, or that perhaps hee hath them not (as it chaunceth oft) hee shalbee compelled to bozow vpon a gage, or to hier of others: where as if hee were alone with his owne people, hee would right wel bee contented with his small ordinary. And what a straunger cometh to seee him, hee must bee at greater cost and charges: so that hee shal spend moze at one dyner, or supper, then hee had doone befoze in three daies. And therfor doubtles the courtiers are at moze charges with their frends y come to seee them, then they are with them selues. For the honorable and woortthy courtiers had rather fast an other tyme, then to shewe him self at this pinch needy and hard, and to bee mocked of his acquaintance. ¶ How many men are there in the world that spend in one daye al that they haue traueled to get togethers in manie: not for y they esteeme not their goods, & desire not to keepe them: but onely for a litle bayne glozie, to get the y name of a free harted & liberall man, dealing honestly among his frends. Also as grete is y trouble to y pooze courtier when y court remoueth oft from place to place. For the hee must trusse vp his bagage, lode y moyls, & hier cartes to cary yt, afterwards pray the coffeter to pay him, the harbingers to prepare him a lodging, and then hee must fyrst send one of his men to seee if the lodging bee meete for him: further moze courtiers haue occasion oftymes to bee angrie with the carters and muletters, for loding to much or to litle, and for coming too late to the lodging, & many times also they must ride at noone days, and in the greatist heate and somtymes in raine, dewe, tempest, or in other ill weather (what so euer yt bee) for that the carters and cariers will not lose their iorney. And admit that all this may bee easely caried, is it therfore reasonable, or meete, the pooze courtier should spend at one vyage or removing of the court, all the profit & spare hee hath made in six moneths befoze? And what shal wee say also, of the stufte and moueables that the pooze courtier of necessity must buy in every place where the court remaineth, as chaires, tables, formes, stools, water potts, platters, dishes, and other small trassherp that would cost moze the cariage, then the buyng of them a newe, and to conclude, al things pertaining to court are paynfull, vnpleasaunt, and chargeable for the pooze courtier. For if hee should cary alwayes with him, al such things as bee necessary, and that hee should neede: in cariage they are broken or mard, or beeing left beehind, they are in basard to bee stolen or lost.

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For hee that will bee a continuall courtier, must bee of a bold and stout courage. For hee shalbee forced howeuerly to leaue of his owne desires, to please and content others, chaunging and shifting to diuerse places and strange lodgings, and oft tymes, of seruants and newe family, daily increasing his charge and expence. And truly if that which is gotten and gayned in court bee worth much: much more dooth that exceede that is spent in court, and these expences are rather laushe, then moderat: disorderd, then well spent, for in effect courtiers spend moze, with strangers they receiue into their lodgings, then they doo with their ordinary seruants they keepe. Albeit that, that courtiers lose and leaue beehind them at euery remouing of the court bee but of smal accompt or importance, yet is it notwithstanding both grieffe, and displeasure to them. For in dede there is no howse so richly furnished, and replenished with moueables, but that the lord or master of the howse will chafe to see a dishe or glasse broken, or spoyled. Yet there is an other discomodity in remouing of the court, for some courtiers there are that bee so poore, that for what they canne hardli follow the court, and others also that are rich, are compelled to beare many of their charges with whome they are in company with by the way: and some of those are so rude, & ill brought vp, that they had rather beare their charge al their iourney, then once againe to haue them in their company. But a godsname what shall wee say yet of the wretched courtier whose coffers, and horse are arrested at his departing for his debts: Truly I ly not, for once I sawe a courtiers mogle sold for her prouider shee had eaten, & that mony not sufficient to pay the host: the courtier remaining yet detter of an ouerplus, the poore man was stripped euen of his cappe and gloves for satisfaction of the rest. Also there is an other sorte of needy courtiers, so troublesome, and importune, that they neuer cease to trouble their frends, to borrow money of their acquayntance, soome to fynd them selues, soome to apparell them selues, others to pay their detts, others to play, and others to geue presents so that at the remouing day, when they haue nothing wherewith to pay nor content their crediters, then are they sued in lawe, and arrested in theyr lodging, and the credyters many tymes are not satisfied with theyr goods, but take execution also of theyr bodies, laying them in fast prison, till they bee payd and satisfied of their whole dett. O what a folly may bee thought in those, that cannot moderat theyr expences according to theyr ability: For to say bp rightly, hee should cut his garments according to his cloth, and measure his expences with his reuenues, and not follovyng his affection and desire. For the gentleman, or courtier, in the end hath not the meane nor commodity to spend as the contry man hath, that lyueth at home at ease in his contry, & spendeth such commodities as hee brings into his howse, but the courtier consumeth in court not his owne alone, but also that of others. And therfore in court or els where, let euery wise man bee diligent to bring his affaires to end: but yet let him so moderate and vse his expences, as hee shall not neede, nor bee driven to mortgage and gage that hee hath. For hee that feasteth, and rototh with others purse of that that is lent hym, cannot choose but in the end hee must breake, and deceyue his crediters. Therfore all woorthy men that loue their honoz, and feare reproche, ought rather to suffer hunger, cold, thirst,

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care, paine and sorow: then to bee had in the checke robe, of riotous and prodigall spenders, trussles of their promise, and suspected of their wordes. There is yet another great trouble in the court of princes, and that is the exceeding derth of bittels, the unreasonable war of howles, and the great price of horses, for many times they spend more for straw, and litter for their horse, then they doo in other places for hey, otes, and bread. And further if the courtier bee a pooze gentelman, and that hee would feast and banquet his friends or companions, hee shall spend at one dinner or supper somuch that hee shall bee constrained to fast a hole weeke after. Therfore if the courtier will be well bled in following of the court, hee must not only know, and speake too, but also loue, and inuite at tymes the bouchers, bittlers, fruterers, keepers, and fosters, fishmongers, and poulterers, and other purueiers of the same, of whose hee shall alwaies haue as much neede of his prouision, as hee shall haue of the iudges, to shew him Justice when hee shall neede it. For meate, bread, wyne, wood hey, otes, & straw, are comonly very deare in court: For serue of al these things are to bee bought in court, but of others infinit things to bee sold, to profit and gaine the pooze courtiers, that els had no myst to liue. And yet is there a litle more trouble in court, and that is, that continually letters are sent to the courtier from his friends, to obtaine of the prince or his counsel his dispatch in his priuate affaires, or for his seruants or tenants, or other his friends. And manie times these lutes are so ill welcome to the courtier, that hee had rather haue pleased his friend with a peece of mony, then they should haue layd vpon him so waighy a matter. And besides this there is yet another trouble, that the bringer of the letter must needes ly at the courtiers house attending his dispatch, so that the courtier delaiyng his friends busines, augmenteth his greefe, and keeping the messenger there, increaseth his charge. And if perchanse his busines bee not dispatched, and the sute obteyned, those that wrote to him will not think hee left it of, for that hee would not doo it or take paines therein: but for that hee wanted fauour and credit, or at least were very negligent in following their cause. And that that bereth them thoroowly yet is, that their parents and friends weene (which are in the contry farr from court) that this courtier hath all the courtiers at his commaundement, that hee may say, and doo what hee will there. And therfore his friends, when they haue occasion to imploie him in court, and that they write to him touching their affaires, and that hee hath now taken vpon him the charge and burden of the same, seeing him selfe after brable to discharge that hee hath enterprised, and can not as hee would satisfie his friends expectation: then hee salet to dispaire, and wisheth hee had been dead when hee first tooke vpon him this matter, and that hee made them beleeue hee could go thoroough with that they had comitted to him, being vnpossible for him, hauing small credit and estimation amongst the nobility and counsellors. Therfore I would neuer counsell him that hath brethren, friends, or other neere kynsfolks in court, to go seeke them out there, albeeyt they had matters of great weight and importance, on hope to bee dispatched the sooner by their credite, fauour, and sute: and for this cause, for that in court there is euer more priuy malice, and Enuy then in other places: wherefore they can not bee reuenged one of the other, but must tary a tyme, and then when

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they see opportunity, they set on foote to ouerthrow, and secretly to put back their enemyes sure. Now lo, these things, and other infinite plagues doo light on these poore vnfortunate courtiers, incredible happely to any but the old and experienced courtier. If the old and wise courtier would count all the fauours and mischaunces, the verth and aboundance, the frendships and enmities, the contentation and displeasures, & the honoz & infamy hee hath endured in the court, I beeleeue assuredly wee should not bee a litle sozy for that body that had suffryd so much, but much moze for that hart that had abidded all those stormes and bzoyls. When the courtier seeth that hee is not hard of the prince, nor spoken to of the beloued & fauored of the court, and that the tresorer dooth not dispatch him, & a coferer keepe back his wages, it is a misery to see him, & on the other syde a pleasure and pastime to heere what hee sayes, cursing the wretched life of this world. And euen then in his heat and rage hee tearcth and blasphemeth god, and sweares accursedly, that thenceforth hee will forsake the vaine abuses of court, and leaue also the trompries of y^e deceitful world, auowing to enioy^e him selfe in p^{re}ciunt of religious waies, & to take vp^{on} him also religious habit. Alas if I fetcht das mani sighes for my sinnes, & a courtiers doo for their mishaps and disgraces: what a number would they come to. For a courtier, incontynent that hee seeleth him selfe sicke, that hee is alone, and reiected of his frends in court, hee becometh so heavy and pensue, that with his deepe sighs hee piercth the heauens on hye: and with his flowing teares hee mooueth the earth beelow. So that a man might moze easely number the troubles of the stout and hardy Hercules, then those which the courtier dayly suffereth. And besides those many wee haue recited, yet further, these also wee can recite, that theire seruants robbe them, their purseberrers consume their mony, iesters and counterfet knaues ly euer vpon their reboord, woomen pick their purses, and strompets and babodys spoyle them of all. But what shall I say moze to you. If the poore courtier bee full of feathers, every man plumes him: but if hee want whings, there is no man hasty to plume him: and to cōclude, in princes court you shall find no such trade of life, wherby you may satisfy every man. For if the courtier speake litel, they will say hee is but a soole, & if hee bee to large of torig, they will say hee is a glorious soole, if hee bee free in expences, they wyl say hee is a prodigall soole, yf hee bee scarce of his purse, they will say hee is a couetous miser, yf hee bee alone, and solitary at home, they will account him an hypocrite: and if hee visite others oft, they will say hee is a bold and troublesome man, if hee haue any trayne of men following on him, they will say hee is a prowd man: and if hee go without cōpany, that hee is poore, and miserable. So that of court, this may rightly bee sayd. That it is a very theather, wheare one mocketh and grinneth at an other, and yet in the end they (al in maner) synd them selues scorned and deceiued. Nowe discussing also of sleepe, doth the courtier alwayes sleepe as much as hee will: no surer, but as much as hee may. And touching his meate, hath hee alwayes that hee lyketh: and truly: but hee is forced to bee contented with that hee hath. And as for his apparel, is hee clothed accordyng to his will: no no: but accordyng to others fancies. O vnhappy courtier, that spendith the most parte of his myserable life, in coming his head, washing his beard, wea-

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ring faire and braue hofe, varnifhing his fword & dagger, blacking his bootes,
prouiding him of clokes, bying him cappes, furring him gownes, and fitting
him felf with other fmall & needefull trifles: wafing in them all his owne
goods, and that of his friends. I am not of that mynd & opinion that others
are, that fay there are none in fo greate liberty as courtiers bee, which fhould
not bee fayd, & much leffe credited, fith wee fee by dayly prooffe: if they bee in
fervice, they are as fclauies. If they bee not in fervice with the kyng, or other
nobleman, they lyue in pooze eftate. Nowe let euery man fay what hee will:
where pouerty reigneth, there liberty can haue no place. And there is no-
thing in þ world werer, the that wee buy with intreaty & not with money. And
therfore wee muft confefle, that princes courts are meeter to excuife the
youth, then for the aged to lyue there without reft. For yong men haue more
hardines, to away with the paines and trobles of the courte: then they haue
yeares, to feeke the greefes and displeafures they receiue thereby. Now goe to
the court that lift, procure office & auctozity that will: for hither to I neuer met
or fpake with man that was contentid with the court. For if hee bee crept in
fauor hee feareth euery howe to fall, and lofe his credit, if euer hee bee once
out of fauor, & in difgrace, hee difpayreth hee fhall neuer retorne againe into
fauor, and if hee that goeth to the fea committeth him felfe firft to god beefore
hee take fhypp: much more ought hee to doo yt that goeth to dwel in court:
for in the fea, of a C, fhippes there doo not perilly tene: but in þ court, of a 1000,
courtiers, there cometh not thzee in fauor.

Of courtiers brauoles and quarells with the harbingers
for ill lodging. Cap. ii.

After Lucullus the roman his retorne from Asia, in an ozation hee made
beefore the fenat, hee fayd thus: I fweare vnto you by þ Immortal gods
(fathers conſcript) that in all this my tozney I felt no payne, nor troble,
nether for the conduct and government of myne army, nor for the rebellion
of the peple, nor for the abſence of my friends, nor for the warr of þ enemies,
nether for the long tyme, nor yet for the perill of my life. For all theſe things
are incident to ſoldiours and men of warr, and comon to rulers in peare. But
if you bee deſirous to know what was my troble, and that that greened mee
moſt, yt was on the remembrance of the quiet reſt I had at home. For as
you know right wel (ſacred ſenat) during þ tyme a man lodgeth in other mens
howſes hee is neuer at liberty. And this woozd of Lucullus mee thinketh
euery courtier might well apply to him ſelfe, for that hee is alwayes bound
to doo ſervice to the maſter of the howſe where hee lodgeth, yt although
hee receyue a 1000. iniuries of him, yet therfore it is not lawfull for him to
anger or diſpleaſe him in any thing. Therfore in very ill and vnluckye howez
is the courtier arrivid, when hee muſt take his tourney in ſteade of reſt, tra-
uaile for quietnes, myſery for aboundance, bondage for liberty, and payne for
pleaſoz, and albeit courtiers abide many paines and trobles, yet this mee
thinketh is the greatiſt, and leſt tollerable, when they muſt bee lodged: reſo-
ning of the paines, diſpleaſures, fortunes, and miſhappes that me ſuffer, litell
is that my penne dooth wyte heerin, and much leſſe that my tong doth ſpeake

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in comparison of that the woofull hart dooth byde. Whow many things are there, that are felt even at the very bottome of the hart, and yet dare not the tongue once utter them: Truly how pooze a howse so ever the courtier hath in the contry, hee should more esteeme yt, then the best lodging that ever hee met with in court, or els where. For at home, hee dooth and comaundeth all that hee will: But in an other mans howse, hee must take that is gevee him. A pilgrime or trauelet that come into a citty, where hee shall see fayre & goodly churches, stately buyldinges, rich gates, high walles, pauid streates, large market places, prouision enough, aboundaunce of vittells, and numbers of strangers, and when hee hath scene all this, hee dooth so little esteeme of the, that to retozne agayne to his pooze home, hee trauelleth though it bee all the night. And therfor wee should not wonder at those, that doo not greatly stray from their howse, and that are but seldome in many places: but wee might well haue him in suspition, that continually wandreth through strange contries and howses. For not withstanding the great wonders hee seeth, and the greate conuersation of ainity that hee hath or can synde, yet in the end they are only the eles that are fed with the sight of others thinges, & not the hart that is contented with his owne, and also to see in princes courts great treasure & riches brings vs comonly more greefe then delight. And the more his eye is fed with viewe of the faire dames of court & princely pomp therof, the greater sorrow assaulteth his harte, hee may not still enioy the same. And therfor the Renowned Focion, the Athenian captain, answered once certaine men that said there were to bee solde in the markett place of Athens goodly bones, & rich Jewels woorthie the sight, howbeit hard to bee bought, beeing held at so hie a price by the marchant that sold the. From my first youth (sayd this philosopher) I made an oth: neuer to goe see any citty, onles it were to conquer yt, & yeld yt subiect to mee: nor to go see Jewels, that I could not buy. The great emperoz Traian was much comended, for that hee neuer tooke toy in his head to go see any thing, but for one of these three causes, to weete: ether to imitate that hee sawe, to bye yt, or els cleerly to conquer yt. Worthy words of Focion, and Traian, & very meete to bee noted & retained. Now to speake more particularly of the troubles daily heaped on their necks that solow court, & that are to bee lodged in dyuers places, and straunge howses, I say: that if the pooze courtier doo depart at night from the court to repaire to his lodging, hee fyndeth oft tymes the host of his howse, and other his guesstes at home, already in their beds, and fast asleepe: so that it hapneth sometimes, hee is fayne to go seeke his bed in an other place for that night. And also if hee should rise early in the morning to followe his matters, or to wayte vpon his lord our master, his host perhaps and his howsehold are not yet awake, nor stirring to open him the doore. And further if his host bee angry & displeased, & out of time: who shall let him to lock his doores, the day once shutt in: and who should compell him to open his doores befoze brode day? Truly it is a great happ to bee wel lodged aboute the court, & much more to meete with an honest host: For it hapneth oft, that the great pleasure and contentacion wee receiue, being lodged in a fairer lodging is lightly taken from vs, by the hard intreatie and straight vlsage of the host of the same. And in this is apparant, the banity, fondnes, and lightnes of some courtiers, that rather desier, & seeke for a fayre
and

a pleasant lodging: then for a good, and profitable. The ambition of the courtier is now growne to so great a folly, that hee desireth rather a fayr lodging for his pleasure, then a comodious or profitable for his family. For admit the harbinger doo geue them a good and comodious lodging, if yt bee not sightly to the eye, & stand comodiously, they can not lyke of yt by no meanes. So that to content them, the courtiers must needs prouide them of a faire lodging to the eye, though litel handsome to lodge in: and yet somtymes they will hard & scāt bee pleased with that. And if the courtier bee of reputaciō, and beeloued in court, I pray you what paine and troble shall the pooze harbinger haue to content his mynd, and to continue in his fauor? For befor master courtier will bee resoluēd which of the .ii. lodgings hee will take, the fayre and most honorable, or the meane & most profitable, hee bleedeth at the nose for anger, and his hart beats and leapes a thousand tymes in his body. For his person would haue the good, and comodious lodging: & his folly, the pleasant, & fayr. I neuer sawe dead man complaine of his graue, nor courtier content with his lodging. For if they geue him a hall, hee will say it wanteth a chimney, if they geue him a chamber, hee will say yt lacketh an inner chamber, if they geue him a kitchin, hee will say it is to lowe, & smoky, and that yt wanteth a larder; if they geue him a stable, that it wanteth a spence or storehouse, if they geue him the best & cheefest partes of the howse, yet hee saith he wanteth small & litell houses of office, & if hee haue access to the wel, hee must also haue the comodity of the base court. And in syne, if they geue him a low paved hall, to coole & refrehe him in sommer, hee wil also haue a high boorded chamber for the winter, & possible hee shall not haue so many roomes at home in his owne howse, as hee will demaund in his lodging abroad. And therfor many things suffereth the courtier in his owne howse, that hee wil not beare with al in an inne or an other mans howse. And it may bee also, that the harbingers haue prouided them of a fayr & goodly lodging, where hee shall comaund, both master, stuff, and al other things in the howse, & yet the courtier shal mislike of it, fynding faulte it is to farre from the court, & reputeth yt halfe a dishonor & impayr of his credit to bee lodged so farre of, synce others that are beeloued, & in fauor in court in deede, lye hard adioining to the court, or at the least not farre of. For this is an old sayd troth, the neerest lodged to the court comonly the best esteemed of the prince. I haue seen many courtiers offer large giftes, & rewardes, to intreat the harbingers to lodge the neere the court: but I neuer saw any that desyred to bee lodged neere the church, & this cometh, for the rather glozy to bee right courtiers, the good christians. And therfor Blon dus reciteth in his booke De declinatione imperii a grettan called Narsetes, (a capitaine of Iustinian the great) was wōt to say oft, that hee neuer remēbred hee wēt to the sea, nor etred into the pallace, nor begā any battaile, nor couceled of warres nor mounted a horse back, but that first hee went to the church & seruid god. And therfor by the dooings & sayings of Narsetes wee may gather that every good man ought rather to incline to bee a good christien, the to geue him self to armes and chivalry to bee a right courtier. It happeneth many times, that after the courtier bee come to his lodging, hee lyketh of yt well, and is well pleased with all: but when hee hath been in others lodging, & hath looked vpon them, straight way hee falleth out of liking of his owne, and thinketh him selfe ill lodged to others. And this misliking groweth not of his ill lodging, but

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of an inward mallice & spite hee hath, to see his enemy preferred to a better then his own. For such is the secret hate, & enuy, in princes court, (a thing common to courtiers) that they disdain not only to thanke the harbingers for their care take of them, in placing them in good lodgings: but they must also complaine, and speake ill of them, for the good lodgings they haue geuen to their aduersaries, and compaignions, better then that of theirs. There is also a fowle disorder in court among the harbingers, in appointing lodgings: and liell modesty besides in courtiers in asking them. For such there are, that many times, nether they, nor their parents haue any such lodgings at home in their own howses, as they will demaund only for their hoſkeepers, & seruants. But the great payne of the court is yet, that such nouels as come newly to court, they say they are of great estimation in the contry, rich, and of an auncient howse, and his father of great autority and estimation, and when the troth is knowen, his fathers autority and first estimation was, of good laboꝝers, & husbandmen, their only rents and reuenues consisting in that they gat, by the daily sweȝt & labour of their persons: and their power and ability, in the rents of an other mans goods: and their liberty, in seruice & subiection of those that gaue them wages, and hyred them by the day. And I would to god their blood were not tainted with some other notable blot. There is a plague also in the court, which alwayes dureth, and neuer leaueth court, and that is: that those that are alwayes least wooꝝth, and of least calling, doo presume & take vpon them most, & also are wooꝝt to please of al others. And this they doo (their power being small): that they would supply that in wooꝝds & countenance, which they want in deedes and effects. I ly, if I saw not once in the county of Aragon, a gentilmā that hyred a whole howse, wheare hū selfe and his famely were very well lodged and comodiously: & after that I remembred I met with him in Castilla, wheare hee could not content hū selfe with the change of eight howses, besides his first hee was appointed to: and the occasion was, for that in Aragon hee paid for that howse hee had, and for these hee paid nothing. So of others purse euery man coueteth to shewe his magnificence, and to declare his follyes: but when they desfray their owne charge, they are hard as flynt, and goe as neere to wooꝝke as may bee. It is very true, that if there bee any disorder & troble to bee lodged in the court, it cometh also for the most parte of the harbingers, without whome the courtiers could neuer bee well lodged, although the prince had commaunded they should bee lodged, neere him. Albeitt in the court a man may easily exempte him self from the princes councel, & iustice of the same, hauing no sutes there, and from the councell and affaires of warres being no captaine: from the synode of the spirituality, being no ecclesiastical persone: and from that of the Indians, going to no Magicians: from the conuention of marchāts, keeping safely their marchandise: & from þe coꝛrectio of the lord hgh marshal of þe court, not being foolish & insolēt: yet neuertheles there is no courtier (bee hee neuer so hgh or great in fauor) þe can auoyde him selfe from þe harbingers autority, but hee must needes come vnder his lee, being in their power to dispoſe þe lodgis as they think good: to lodge the honorably or meāly, to please or displease the, to lodge or dislodge them. And if the courtier happē at any tyme to quarel or fal out wth the: I warrāt him hee shalbee remebꝛed of þe harbingers in his lodging, and possibly a hoſkeeper, (yea perhappys his enemy) shalbe better

better lodged then hee, or els hee may seeke his lodging in the streets where hee shal. For all other iniuries or offences doon in court, whatso euer, the courtier may easely redresse them by Justice, but for those hee receiveth of the harbinger, hee must take them quietly, and bee contented with them. For otherwise wee should not onely offend them, but inure our selues; and make them to proude vs of no lodging: so heerby wee should utterly bee dislodged, and improuided. And therfore they doo beare with many things in that office, which they would not doo in any other office: as for example. Those kynd of officers must bee much made of, of others well intreated, accompanied, feasted, flattered, followed, yea and many tymes serued and waited vpon. I meane in seruing their turne, anoynting their handes, and alwayes enriching their gloues with some peece of gold and siluer, and alas, the feely courtier that hath not such soueraine oynment in his box, to cure these aboue recited sores, but only to serue his owne turne: if hee bee not his kynseman, or neere allied, let him yet at least get acquainted with him, & make him his friend, an eise thing to bring to passe, if hee doo not vex him nor geue him thwart language, & somtymes hee must inuite him to dinner & supper. For in y^e court there is no goodnes gotten, neyther by y^e kyng, by y^e beloued, by the noble men, by the honorable of his counceyl, treasurers, nor yet by the harbingers, but in suffering them, & dooing them alwayes good & acceptable seruice. And if percase the harbingers wrong you, & doo you displeasure, or that they should say you were troublesome and importunate: yet bee you wyse to beare with them in any case, and seeme not to heere them. For what loseth the courtier, if hee bare now and then with a fewe crooked woordes at the harbingers hands: mary by forbearing them, hee haply cometh to bee lodged the better. Suppose the courtier bee not alwayes lodged to his mind and desire, should hee immediatly complayne of them or murmur at them: no sur, hee should but so dooing shewe him selfe of small education. For what skylleth yt though among many pounds of good meate, the boucher somtyme myngle a morsell of syuer, longes, or lightes of the beast. And therfore a man should not blame the pooze harbingers so much as they dooth. For they are not commaunded of the king to buyld new lodgings, but such as they are, to deuide them amongst the trayne of his court: So that they lodge courtiers in such as they find, & not in those they would, adding therto y^e they haue regard to their estates & demerits, & not to y^e affections & willes of y^e persons they lodge. For it were moze reaso, they should appoint y^e greatist & best lodgings, to y^e noblest personages & y^e oldest seruants of court, then to the late & new come courtier: whose youth can better away wth an ill nights lodging, the y^e gray heares of y^e old courtier. Otherwise, y^e seruice of y^e old courtier that hath spent his yong yeares in princes court (to y^e great payne & trouble of their persones) & in his seruice, should for gwerdon beee payed with ingratitude, if hee should not bee preferred to y^e best comodious lodging for his ease & also y^e first to bee aduanced by the prince before y^e yong seruiture. Now if it bee honest & resonable that y^e harbinger haue great consideration to y^e merits of him that hee lodgeth, even so it is fit the courtier should way the presse of the court, and in comodious place wheare the harbingers are constrained to lodge them: knowyng that to day the court remoueth to such

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a place where there are happely six thousand houses: and to morrow perhaps there are not a thousand, therefore if in such a place hee fynd but narrow sustien to make him a dublet: let him take patieng till such time they remoue to another place, where they shall fynd brode cloth enough, to make them large clokes.

How the courtier should entreate his host or maister of the house where hee lyeth. Cap. iiii.

The good and ciuile courtier must also intreate his host wel where hee lyeth: for els if hee come in to his lodging braling & thretning, it may bee, that besides hee hee will keepe his hart and good cheere secret from him, hee will not also open his chamber doores to him. There are in the court such harte braines, and vndiscreete persons, that haue so litell regard and respect to their honest hostes, that they doo nothing in their lodgings, but reuell and keepe il rule, and doo euen what they list, as though the house were theirs to commaund, and not gyuen them only for lodging. Whereof springs two exceeding euils, the one that they offend god: and the other that the prince is also ill serued. For the howse is not geueen them to commaund, but onely appointed for them to lodge in. Wee reade in the life of the emperor Scuerus that hee ordeined in Rome, that if the owner of the howse did inreat his guest and stranger ill, or that hee did him hurt or displeasure, the stranger should accuse him beefore the iustice, but in no wise brabole nor quarrell with him in his owne howse. Plutarke in his politikes also resisteth, that in the temples of the gods, in the realme of Dace, there was no liberty or safety for malefactorz, saue in their owne proper howses, which serued them for their only refuge and inuolable assurance, for they thought that within the entry and gates of the same, none other but the lords and masters of the howse might pretend any iurisdiction or seignory. Now if among the Daces no officer or iustice could lay hold or punish any man, so long as hee kept his howse: mee thinketh it is against all reason, and humanity, that the courtier should once offer his host an iniurious or vnseemely word. Plato beeing one day reprovued of his frends, for that hee would not rebuke his host Denis the Siracusan, who at the first receiued him very courteously, and after wards bled him ill, answered the thus. My frends, to bee angry with fooles that shew vs pleasure, to take reuenge of children whom wee haue brought vp, to beate a woman with whome wee must bee familiar, and to braue and braule with those in whose howses wee are lodged, nether the philosophers of Grece ought to counsell him, nor the noble hart once to think to doo yt. I can not deny, but that there are some hostes very rude and vnciuil, that it is in maner an impossible thing to bring him to any honesty or ciuility. Howbeit notwithstanding I would wish the noble and worthy courtier to take in iest, all the wronges and iniuries doone or sayd to him by his host, or at the leass to seeme as though hee hard them not all: other wise, from that day the courtier falleth out with him, hee may euen withall thinke presently to depart his howse, and to seeke him a new lodging: for hee can neuer bee quiet in his lodging, where the goodman of the howse and hee cannot agree. And where so euer

neuer the fyne courtier shall lodge, let him neuer stick at the charges of a lock
 to his chamber doore a hatch to the window, a degree or.ii. to the staires, a
 rope for the well, a harth to the chimney, nor for a casement to the wyndowe,
 for these are but trifles, & they cost lytle, though hee leaue the to the howse: yet
 with those trifles hee byndeth his host, & makes him beeholding to him. Also
 hee may not forget sometime to send home rates to his host, and to inuite him
 to dinner to him: and lykewise if his host did present him with any thing,
 hee must accept it in very good part, and thank him much for yt. For other
 while, by small presents, great friendship is obteyned. The discrete cour-
 tier must also forbid his pages and seruants to come into his hostes garden,
 to spoyle his frute, or to gather his flowers, to steale his hennys, or to breake
 any thing of his: That they pul not by the pauements of the howse, paynt his
 walles with coles or chalke, that they robbe not his done howse, nor make a-
 ny noyse to steale his coneyes, to breake his glasse windows, and to hurt or
 marr any thing about his howse: for if many times they refuse to lodge stran-
 gers in their howses, it is, not for want of lodging, or that the masters should
 comber them: but for the displeasures, and shrewd turnes they receyue by their
 pages and seruants daily. For shall chaunce many tymes that a citizen that
 hath a faire newe howse, goodly whyt walles, and trimly paynted, shall haue
 a courtier come to lodge in his howse, that shall haue such a trayne with him
 of seruants, pong chyldren and their newewes, which are so foolish, proud and so
 reckless, that they breake the formes, throw downe tables, paint & beedatcb &
 walles, beate downe doores, ronne thoreugh the feelings, steale the byrds, and
 doo a thousand other mischefes & vnhappy turnes, so that the poore owner
 of the howse had rather lodge an other tyme Egyptians & beggers: then such
 rude & harmefull courtiers. And therfore I haue seene in the court, by res-
 of the seruants disorder & ill rule, the masters comonly ill lodged, lodgings
 denied them, or after they had them to bee quite taken from them. One of the
 necessarist things a courtier should haue, is to keepe quiet & well conditiond
 seruants: other wise it is to bee thought (as in deede the comon saying is) the
 howse to bee ill gouerned, where the family & seruants are so ill conditioned
 & disorderd. And touching this matter Aulus Gellius De noctibus atticis saith,
 & when Cornelius Gracchus was returned to Rome, after hee had been consul a
 great while in the Iles Balears, hee said these wordes beefore all the senate.
 You know (fathers conscript) I haue been chief Justice, & consull, xiii. yeares.
 during all which tyme I sweare to you by the imortal gods, that to my know-
 ledge I neuer did wrong to any man, nether any seruant of myne displeasure
 to any, nor doone any thing that was not lawfull to bee doone in the howse
 where I lay. Phalaris the tyrant when hee receyued any displeasure of
 the Agrigentines, hee caused his seruants to lodge in their howses with them,
 for the one and the other were so wicked, so vnchristy, such quarrellers, and
 brawlers, that hee could not worke them a greater spyght nor displeasure,
 then to lodge them heere and there in their howses. There bee also in the
 court some courtiers, that are esteemed of euery man to bee of so euill bee-
 hauiour and demeanour, their seruantes and family of such lewde and
 nauoghty condicions, that their hostes are thoroughly resoluyd, ether not to
 receyue them into their howses, or if they bee compelled to yt, to absent the
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selues for the tyme of their beeing there: rather then to suffer such iniuries
 and wrongs, as they are suer they must take at their hands. The courtier
 must consider that sometimes hee hath neede of a bottel of water to drinke, a
 broome to sweepe his chamber, a platter or dish to serue him withal, of a table
 cloth and napkins, and of a towell for his hands and his face, of a stoole to sit
 on and of soome kettle for the kytchin: and in such case, hee should charge his
 seruants curteously to aske these things of his host, and not to take them par-
 force & vnasked. Euerie man desiereth to bee master in his owne howse, and
 hee hee brother, couden, or frend, hee will not suffer him to beare asmuch rule
 in his own house, as him selfe. So that hee wilbe lesse offended, with the hurt
 and losse of those things that hee hath lent, and were gently asked him: then
 with those, which vnknowing to him, by force, and against his will they haue
 taken from him, yea though they bring them afterwards hole and sound a-
 gaine. And this our libertie is somuch set by, that wee shall see sometimes a
 man for his pleasure, playe and lose a.c. Crownes of gold, and saue neuer a
 woord: and on the other syde, if one breke the least glasse in his howse, hee
 will crye, and rage to the heauens. I remember whan I was a courtier,
 and went to visit an other courtier a frend of myne, that was sick in his lod-
 ging, I fell a chiding and rebuking the host, for that I found him exclaimyng
 and cryyng out of the pages, which playng at the bal had broken him a lytle
 lampe of glasse, and hee answered mee thus. I cry not (say) for the losse of
 my lampe which is a halspeny matter, nor for the oyle that they spylt worth a
 farthing, but onely for the libertie they robbe mee of, and for the small ac-
 count they make of mee. The good and wise courtier may not bee so
 familiar with his host his wief, nor suffer his seruants to bee busy with the
 mayds of the howse, more then to speake to them for their necessities, for in
 this case, they should lesse hurt the master of the howse, to ransake and spoyle
 his house, and all that hee had in yt: then to take from him his honoz and
 good name. To cast the bedds on the flower, to break the doozes & windowes,
 to brispaue the stones, to paint and black the wallis, or to make any noyse in
 the howse, are all of them things: yet sometimes tollerable though not honest
 nor ciuill: but to take his wief, and to abuse her, it is nether lawfull nor possi-
 ble to dissemble yt, much lesse to suffer it. For it were too much shame, and re-
 proch to the husband to abide yt, and high treason and crime abhominable for
 the courtier to doo yt. Nowe synce men are frayle, and that they can not, nor
 wil not subdue their passions and filthy motions of the fleshy, there wanteth
 not notwithstanding women in princes courts, whose loue & frendships they
 may easely embrace: which though they were al commaunded to auoide the
 court, and þ bierge of þ court, yet it could not bee chose, but some might secretly
 continue still in court to enterteine the courtly courtiers. For if in the court there
 bee kept a table of plate .ii. moneths onely in the yeare, all the yeare long bee-
 sides they fynd the Greats full stored of comon woomen. Whenthe yeare is
 most plentiful and frutefull of all things, yet still there lacketh soome prouision
 of bittalles in the court: but of such woomen there is neuer no want but ra-
 ther to manie. And therfore wee haue not sayd without great reason, that
 it were to much treason and dishonesty for the courtier to fall in loue with his
 hostesse: for in dooing yt, hee should doo her husband too much wrong, dis-
fame

fame the wife, and offend his friends and neighbors, and utterly biddo hym self. For Suetonius Tranquillus resyteth that Iulius Cesar caused a Captayn of his to bee beheaded only for sclaundering and defaming of his hostesse, the which hee did not, taryng for the complaint of her husband, nor y^e accusation of any other. And y^e Emperoz Aurelianus seeing one of his men at a windobow one day pulling his hostesse by y^e sleewe, caused his hand to bee stricken of immediately, although both his hostesse and hee sware hee did it but in iest, and to no other intent. Plutarch in hys booke De matrimonio sayth, that there was a law among the Licaoniens, that if any straunger did but only talk with his hostesse, his tong should bee cut out of his head, and if hee had passed further, that hee should then lose his head. Macrobius also in hys Saturnalles reciteth, that amongst y^e Romainys it was reputed a great infamy, if any mā came, and praysed the beauty and maners of the mistresse of the house where hee lodged, for in praising her, hee let them vnderstand hee knew her, and knowing her hee spake to her, and speaking to her, hee opened his hart to her, and this dooing, hee playnly defamed her, and made her to bee euel reported of. Aulus Gellius wyrteth that the lyke punishment was geueen to him that had carnall participacion with any bestall birgin, the self same was also executed on him that procured any infamy to his hostesse where hee lay. Which punishment was, either to bee cutt in the middes, & quartered in fower parts, or els to bee stoned to death alyue. The good courtier must also haue an other great regard, & that is, to comaund his seruants to looke wel to his ryding apparell, and such as are lent him of courtiers to wear otherwhyle, to see that it bee kept clean and well brusshed, and aboue all safely deliuered where it was borrowed, for commonly the horskeepers haue theyr horses lowsing clothes and their maisters foote cloth moze nete and clenly, then the groomes and pages of the chamber haue his apparell; and this procede of their great slouth & negligēce. And truly this passeth the bounds of shamefast degree, yea and commeth much to charge the courtiers conscience, the small account hee hath, so to let his garments and apparell, and other hys mouables to bee spoiled and lost. And this happeneth very oft by the negligence of their pages and seruants, which now throweth them about the chambers, dragges them vpon the grownd, now sweeps the house with thē, now they are full of dust, then rattered and torne in peeces, here their hose seam rent, there their shooes broken: so that if a poore man come afterwards to buy them to sell agayn, it will rather pity those that see them, then geue them any cozage to buy them. Wherefore the courtier ought not to bee so careless, but rather to think vpon his owne things and to haue an eye vnto them: for if hee goe once a day to his stable to see his horses how they are kept and looked to, hee may lykewise take an other day in the weeke where hee may fynd leisure to see his wardroppe, how his apparell lyeth. But what paciens must a poore man take, that lendeth his implements and apparell to the courtiers: that neuer laieth them abroad a summing, to beat out the dust of them, nor neuer layth them in water, to wash and white them, bee they neuer so soyl. And al bee it the beds and other implements lent to the courtier, bee not of any great value, yet it is not fitt they should bee thrown at theyr tayl & kept filthily: for as charely and dayntily dooth a poore laboring and husband

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man keepe his wollen couerlet, and setteth as much by it, as dooth the iolly courtier by his quilt or couerpane of silk. And it chaunceth oft tymes also, that though at a neede the pooze mans bed costeth him lesse money, then the rich mans bed costeth him, yet dooth it serue him better, then the rich and costly bedd serueth the gentleman or nobleman. And this to bee true, wee see it by experience, that þe pooze husbandman or citizen slepeth commonly moze quietly, & at his ease, in his pooze bed & cabean wth his sheets of tow: then dooth the lord or rich courtier, lying in his hanged chamber, & bed of silk, wrapped in his fynest holland sheetes, who still sigheth & cōplayneth. And fynally wee conclude, that then when þe court remoueth, & that þe courtier departeth from his lodging where hee lay, hee must with all curtesy thank the good man and good wife of þe house for his good lodging, & courteous intertainment hee hath had of them, & must not stick also to geue them somwhat for a remembrance of him, and besides, geue certein rewards among the maides & men seruants of the house according to their ability, that hee may recompence them for that is past, & win theire fauor for that is to come.

¶ What the courtier must doo to winne the Princes fauor.

Cap. lity.

Diodorus Siculus saith, that the honoz and reuerence the Egyptians bled ordinarily to their Princes was so great, that they seemed rather to woozship them, then to serue them: for they could neuer speak to them, but they must first haue lycence geuen them. When it happened any subiect of Egypt to haue a sute to their prince, or to put vp a supplication to the king, kneeling to them they sayd these woozds. Soueraigne lord & mighty prince, yf it may stand with your highnes fauor & pleasure, I wil boldly speak: yf not, I will presume no further, but hold my peace. And the self reuerence & costume had towards god Moyses, Aaron, Thobias, Dauid, Salomon, and other fathers of Egypt, making like intercession when they spake wth god, saying. Domine rex, Si inueni gratiam in oculis tuis, loquar ad dominum meum. O my lord and king, yf I haue found fauor in thy sight, I wil speak vnto thee: yf not, I will keepe perpetuall silence. For there is no seruyce yll, when yf it is gratefull & acceptable to him, to whom it is doon: as to the contrary none good, when it pleaseth not þe party that is serued. For if hee þe serueth, bee not in his maisters fauor hee serueth, hee may well take paines to his vndooyng, wthout further hope of his good will or recompence. Wherefore touching that I haue sayd, I inferre, that hee that goeth to dwell & abyde in the court, must aboue all indeuer him self all hee can to obtayn the princes fauor, and obtayning it, hee must study to keepe him in his fauor. For it shood lyttle preuaile the courtier to bee beeloued of all others, and of the prince only to bee mistyked. And therefore Alcarnidas the Grecian, beeing once aduertised by a frend of his, that the Athenians did greatly thirst for his death, & the Thebans desyred his life: hee answered him thus. If those of Athens thirst for my death, & them of Thebes likewise desyring my life, I can but bee sorry & lament. How bee it yet, if King Phillip my soueraigne lord & maister hold mee still in hys grace & fauor, & repute mee for one of his beeloued, I care not if all Greece hate and dysloue mee, yea andlys in trayt for mee.

In deede it is a great thing to get into the princes fauor, but when hee hath gotten it, doubles it is a harder matter to know how to keepe it. For to make them loue vs, and to winne their fauor, wee must doo a thousand manner of seruyces: but to cause them to hate and dislyke of vs, the least dyspleasure in the woorld suffyseth. And therefore the pain and trouble of hym that is in fauor in the court is great, if hee once offend, or bee in displeasure.

For albeit the prince doo pardon him hys fault, yet hee neuer after returneth into his fauor agayn. So that to conclude, hee that once only incurreth his indignation, hee may make iust reckening neuer after, or maruelous hardly to bee receiued agayn into fauor. Therefore sayth the diuine Plato in his booke De republica: that to bee a king and to raigne, to serue and to bee in fauor, to fyght and to overcome, are three impossible things, which neither by mans knowledge, nor by any diligence can bee obtayned: only remaining in the hands and disposing of fickle fortune, whych dooth diuylde and geue them where it pleaseth her, and to whome shee fauoreth best.

And truely Plato had reason in his saying, for to serue, and to bee beeloued, is rather happ and good fortune, then industry or diligence. Since wee see oft times that in the court of princes, those that haue serued but thre yeres only, shalbee sooner preferred and aduanced, then such one as hath serued perhaps .xx. or .xxx. yeres, or possible al his life tyme. And further hee shalbee both displaced, and put out of seruice, by means of thother. And this proceeds not through his long and faithfull seruyce hee hath doone, but only by reason of the good hap that foloweth him. Although Plato telleth, that to gett realmes and seignories, to overcome battels, and to bee fauored and beeloued of princes, bee things graunted to vs rather by hasard, & fortune, then by force, of good woorks, and laudable acts, or by long toylng in painfull seruice: yet the noble and stout hart therefore shold not cesse at any tyme to enterpryse, and manfully to execute in every occasion presented to him, to achyue to fame and honor: neither for any payn and laboz to lose the hope to obteyn his pretended purpose. For men fortymes lose many things, rather through timorousnes, and want of audacitie, then for that they lack good hap or fortune. To see in the court of princes some to bee richer, more honored, more noble, more esteemed, better beeloued, more wayted vpon, better serued, & better welcome then others, and more feared then others: wee may by these tokens know, that fortune hath not vsed to reward those with such fauors & preferrements, which lyue at home ydely, and much lesse courtiers, who liue in court with all pleasure and delicacy, wherewith they are neuer weryed.

Let no man bee so fond to think, that fortune is so bountifull and liberall, that for his auaritie, or only thought, shee wilbee once moued to lift him out of misery, to exalt him to higher place and dignity, without some secret and priuate respect had to his vertue. For when shee many tymes vppon a sodein raiseth any to high and great estate, it cometh by the merits of him that is exalted, or through the displeasure of him that is throwen down: in whose roome shee hath placed another in fauor with her. As wee read of Iulius Emilius, for a tyme hygh in fauor, and afterwards in great disgrace woth the emperoz Constantius, in whose place and roome succeeded afterwards another named Alexander, who beeing one day reproued by some of his friends

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of ingratitude towards them, (that said they were causers and furtherers of his honor and preferment) answered them in this manner. Maisters, if I am comen into such fauor with the imperor, my good and gracious lord, succeeding in the place of Emilius, truly it was moze by reason of his deserved fall, then by your obtayned means or request: fortune and his heauy destiny hauing so willed and ordained it, moze to ouerthrow and displace hym of his roome and credit hee was in, then to aduance and preferre mee to the same. The which I say, to aduise the citizen & gentleman that goeth to the court to bee a courtier, to thend hee bee not fickle headed, & light of beelief, to think that immediately hee shal come to such auctorizty, that hee may easely comaund al that hee will: neither that hee shoold so much dispaire, & bee hopeles, but that by tyme (in seruing well) hee might come to bee in as great fauor, as any other about the pzince. Wee see dayly such chaunge & alterations in the common weal, & fortune to turne her vnstable wheele so oft, that many times & administration of & comon weal is in his hands & rule, of whom beefore they made little or none accompt. And therefore I say to you, and againe returne to tell you, that the courtier & seeketh to come into his princes fauor, & to bee beeloued of him, & that coueteth to bee wel reputed of in court must indeuor him self to bee very honest, & as neere as may bee faultles of lyfe: & true & faithfull in his charge or office hee taketh vpon him. For the good oppinion that men haue of a man, is euer the first degree to attain to the princes fauor. For there is no man in the world, of whatsoeuer state or condition hee bee, so vicious and lasciuious, but at the least hee desireth to haue an honest and vertuous man in his house: so that a man may say, that the good and godly lyfe is the reddest mean and way (where euer the person bee) to bring him soonest into the princes fauor, and to make him to bee beeloued generally. Wherefore Phalaris the tyraunt, wytyng to an emulatoz of his, sayd these woordes vnto him. I confesse thou art an honest man, but thow wilt not deny mee also, that al those thou keepest in thy house, bee wicked persons and of yll lyfe: a thing which in my house thou shalt fynd all contrary. For although I am a tyraunt, at least yet I loue, that no yll disposed person eat bread in my house: So that though I am laden with many byces, yet am I accompanied also wyth many wyle and learned men. The diuine Plato came from Greece into Scicilia, only to see Dionisius the Siracusan, and not Plato him self alone, but also dyuers other philosophers in company wyth him: to whom hee did not only honor & intreat well, but also saw they wanted nothing fitt or necessary for them. Many tymes Dyonisius was wont to say these woordes. I am captain of the Rhodians, syth I defend them from the Affricans: and king of the Affricans, beecause I gouern them: and frend of the Italians, beecause I offend them not: and father of the philosophers, beecause I help to releue them in all their necessities: and the Scicilians call mee a tyrant, beecause they see I leaue not to punish them, and keepe them vnder. By these two examples wee may gather, that the tyrants beeing frends to vertuous & honest men, much moze & of necessity ought the good & iust princes to bee. Also the courtier must take great heede hee bee not arrogant, & a lyer, a flatterer, & dissembler: for those, & such like faults, are rather woordes & bypathes

hypathes, bttlerly to lose a man: then a playne hie way to bring him into fauor and credit. And although by chaunce there haue been some, that with all these faults haue notwithstanding crept into fauor: yet wee will show them a hundred, that only for those bices haue been cast out of fauor & credit both. For comonly, all those that by the fauor of wicked princes beeginne to bee great, and of some honoz, and that study by al dishonest & vnlawfull meanes to continue and keepe them selues in credit, & fauor: Albe it for a tyme wee see them reigne and flourish in prosperitie: yet that lasteth not long, nether is it perpetuall, but a tyme cometh agayne, when wee see them fall, & quite cast of, to their great shame and vtter vndooing. There are many that knoweth and vnderstandeth the princes court but meanly, or not at all, which beelue, that for beeing well spoken, and beeing carefull and diligent in their buyssines and affayres, they should the soner for that come in fauor and credit before others: but in the end their hope and imagination is nothing, not answering any thinge their desier: for as there are in court many greene heads, and graceles couertures, which are of no reputation, nor any thing sett by, nether deseruing to bee wel thought of: So are there many wise heads and beeloued courtiers greatly esteemed and reputed of. And this for their owne good demerits, and by meanes also of the others wicked abuse and disorder. Suetonius tranquillus reciteth, that Scilla the consull, beeing mortall enemy of the Marians, (of which faction was also Iulius Cesar) sayde: that from Cesars infancy his wisdom made him more to bee feared and wondered at: then euer his stoute and valiaunt corage hee showed. Plutarke writing to Traian sayd, I assure thee (Soueraigne prince) I doo more esteeme & honoz thy parson, then I doo care for al thy empire beesyds. For I haue seen thee doo a thousand good things to deserue yt, but I neuer saw thee once desirous to haue yt. And suer in my opinion I think there is no better alchymie in court, to grow to sodeyne wealth, and to acquire the princes fauor: the that the same of his good life should rather resound his prayse to the prince, thereby to make him knowne vnto him: then the respect of his noble house or progenye. That courtier also that craueth his princes grace, must take heede in any wise hee bee not consorter or companion with rashe & haltpersones, whose bristable heads mislike of euery state, still depzauing all others vertues. Such fellow mates, and compaignions, the wise courtier must in any case refuse to bee conuersant with. I must aduise him also hee beeware hee bee not rash of speche, nor that hee speake ill of any man: for it is a right kynd of treson to detrect and backbyte our frends, and much more the prince, to whom wee wholly owe our duty and allegiance. And therfor the wise and vertuous courtier must fly from this company as farre as hee can, that are possessed with such baine humors, and passions of mynde: for such kynde of men, will neuer counsell vs to sarue well, nor to beeware of liberal speaking, but will rather infect vs, and bring vs to their naughty baine humor, and make vs to bee demed as bad as them selues (though wee bee not so) only for keeping them company. Like as in comon weales there are seditious heads, to moue and stirre the poore commons to rebellion: even so in princes courtes there are the like factious heads, that seeke to wynde good wil of courtiers, & so to stirre by their wynds also to tumult & sedition: which, because they haue no way

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to come bp, and grow in fauor, doo detract and speake ill of those, that are in fauor and auctozity. One of these abiects, & inferiour sorte, shall go to the house of an other, (in like disgrace and discredit that him selfe is in,) and there these companions shall open their throates against the prince, and his court saying, the king careth not for his subiects, talking of the high minds and countenances of the beeloued and fauored of court, of the affections of the counsell, of the partiality and enmity of the court, of the want of munition for warres, and of the fall and decay of the common wealth: and thus with theys lewde and vnicomly discourses, they spend the long and dolefull nights of wynter season, and therewithall also the long and whot sunny days of sommers tyme. Adrian the emperour beeing once informed, that there met and assembled togethers daily, at the house of one Lucius Turbon, a number of the seditious and factious sort of Rome, which were offended with him, and conspired against him: to prevent them of insurrection, proclaimed presently through Rome and enacted yt for a law, that all courtiers that assembled there, should lose their heads, and all the Romaines should be banished. All this wee haue spoken, to banish vice from princes courts if yt may bee: for now a dayes, as there are many houses of ordinary tables, and numbers of dysing houses for all maner of play: so is there also in the court, besides the groome porters, other chambers where they meete to murmure at ech mans dooings. And as there are some that say, go we let vs go to such a mans house, and there wee shall fynd play enowgh, and good fellowship to passe the tyme away as wee will: euen so these others say, go we, wee will go to such a chamber, and there wee shall meete with our compaignions and good fellowes, where wee may talke liberally and at our pleasure, without check or controll of any. Infamous bee that house, where there is no other exercise, but play and ryot: and accursed bee that, where they can not occupy them selues, but in defamyng and backbiting theyr breethern and neighbors. For to conlude, it were lesse cruel to play and lose theyr mony, then to robb and spoyle his neyghbor of his good name. Now to get into the princes fauor, it helpeth much to consider, wherein the prince taketh the cheefe delyght, and wherto hee is best affected: whether to musick, hunting, flyng, riding of hores, or fishing, running, or leaping, or any other actiuitie what so euer it bee. And his affect and desier once knowen, and obserued: hee must geue him selfe wholly to loue that the prince loueth, and to follow that that hee followeth. And as princes comonly are geuen to theyr willes, to seeke soome pastymes better then others: so doo they shew them selues more fauorable and gracious to soome of their seruants, then others: and rather to those towhome only they see conforme and agreeable with their affections, then to such as are alway most diligent and paynefull about them, to doo them the best seruice they can. The curious courtier may account him selfe happy, if hee can frame him selfe to comend that the prince alloweth, and lykewyse to dissalow of that the prince misliketh: and though perhappes hee were many tymes of the contrary opinyon, hee may well thinke and beleeue to him selfe what hee liketh best, but in no case to vtter that hee thinketh, nor to make any

any countenance to the contrary. The emperor Aurelius neuer dranke other then redd wyne, and because hee was informed that Torquatus the Roman, for his sake dyd not onely reſtrayne from drinkeing white wyne, but did alſo plant all his vyues with red grapes, hee made him cenſor of Rome, and gaue him the warde of the gate Salaria in the ſayd city. In eating and drinkeing, in hunting, and tilting, in peace, and in warre, in youthfull ſportes, and graue matters, the wiſe courtier muſt alwayes follow the ſteppes and will of the prince, and imitate him in the ſame the beſt hee can. And if yt bee beneficiall for the courtier to haue the princes fauor and to bee eſteemed of him: let him in no wiſe enterpriſe to talke too much to him. For by continuall frequenting the prince yt can not otherwiſe fall out, but hee ſhall both trouble him, and bee thought a proud, arrogant, and an impoſtunat foole of him. And if the courtier hath no graue and weyghy matters to moue the prince in, to what purpoſe dooth hee ſeeme to moleſt and impoſtune the kyng? Wee ſay in weyghy matters to communicate with him. For to talke with the prince, and to trouble his eares with tryſles and matters of ſmall moment, hee ſhould bee reputed of the hearers a raſhy man, and of the king him ſelfe a witleſſe foole. Let vs conſider a little what is fit for the courtier to doo, and what becometh him beſt, and whether it bee lawfull for him to conferre with the prince, and then wee ſhall come to know, if yt bee decent for him to ſpeake oſt to the prince. Therfor to go to the kyng to ſpeake ill of any man, I think no wiſe man will offer to doo yt: and if it bee to geue him ſecret intelligence of any thing, hee muſt firſt doubt whether the kyng will beleeue him or no: and to think to counſell him, it is a token of a light head: and to preſume to ſlept with the prince, and to be merry with him, to paſſe the tyme away, let every man beeware hee runne not into that erroꝝ, noꝝ that hee once preaſe to doo it. To ſend to reprove a prince, I know not what hee is that would bee ſo fooliſh hardy once to dare to open his lippes againſt him: and to flatter him, if the prince bee wiſe, hee will vnderſtand him: and if hee ſynd him once, it is enough to turne the flatterer to greate diſpleaſure, yea and to put him quite out of fauor with him. And therfor to liue in ſuerty and auoyde theſe dangers, mee thinkes it is beſt to ſpeake but ſeldome to him. Lucullus was a great friend to Seneca and was alſo gouernor of Sicilia, and demanding one day of Seneca what hee might doo that might bee acceptable to the emperor Nero his lord and maſter, Seneca answered him thus. If thou deſier to bee acceptable to princes, doo them many ſeruites, and geue them ſeue words. And ſo like wiſe the diuine Plato ſayd in his booke De repub. that thoſe that haue to moue the prince in any thing, in any caſe bee brief: for in dilating to much, they ſhould both comber the prince, and make him alſo not geue attentine care, ne- ther could hee haue leſure to heare them, noꝝ payens to tary them. And hee ſayd further. Thoſe matters and ſubiettes they treate with princes in, and that are bled to bee told them, ought to bee graue, and ſententi- ous: eyther tending to comodity of the weale publyke, to his honor or profit, or to the ſeruyce of the kyng, to whome hee ſpeakes. Theſe counſells and aduertysments of Plato and Seneca (in my poore opinion)

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opinion) deserve to bee noted and had in memozy: And notwithstanding all that I haue spoken, I say yet further to you, that there is nothing disposeth a prince better to loue and fauor his seruants, then to see them diligent in seruice, and slow in speaking. For to reward him that only seekes it by meanes of his tongue and by wordes, it is in our free wills to doo it: but to recompere him that by his diligent seruice only craueth a good turne and not in wordes, wee are in consciens bounde to yt: And hereof springeth the bulgare proverbe: The good seruice is demaund sufficient, though the tongue bee silent,

What maners and gestures becometh the courtier when hee speaketh
to the prince. Cap. v.

When the courtier determineth to speake to the prince, hee must first shewe him self vnto him with greate reuerence, befoze hee come at him, & if the kyng bee set, hee must knele to him vpon one knee, with his rappe in his left hand, holding yet nether to farre nor to neere his body, but rather downwards towards his knee, with a good grace and comly fashion, not to lustely, nor to much boldly, but with a sett shamefast grauity, putting him selfe on the left hand of the prince to speake with him, whether hee bee sitting or standing. For placing our selues on the left hand, wee leaue the king on the right, as duty willethe vs: For the right hand becometh euer to the best person. Plutarke sayeth, that in the bankets the kings of Persia made, they sate him, whome they loued, and made most account of, cheeke by cheeke, and on the left hand of the prince, where the hart lieth: saying, that those whome they loued with their hart, should bee sett downe also on that syde the hart lay, and in no other place. Blondus sayeth to the contrary, that the Romaines dyd honoz the right hand somuch, that when an Emperoz entred into the senate, no man durst euer put him selfe on his right hand. And hee saith moze ouer, that if a yong man were perchanse found sitting on the right hand of an old man, or the seruant on the vpper hand of his master, the sonne on the right hand of his father, or any page, prentise or seruing man, on the vpper hand of a burgeis or cytesin: they were no lesse punished by Justice for that fault and offence, then if they had doon any notable cryme or delict. Who so euer will speake to the prince, must speake with a soft voyce and not to hastily. For if hee speake to loud, those that stand by shall heare what hee sayth to the kyng: and in speaking to fast, the king shall not easely vnderstand what hee sayeth. And hee must also ere hee speake to the prince premeditate long befoze what hee will say to him, and put into him good wordes and aptly placed: for wise men are moze carefull what wordes theyr tongues should vtter, then what theyr hands should doo. There is greate difference betwixt speaking well, and dooing well: for in the ende the hand can but strike and offend: but the tongue can both offend and defame. Euen when a courtier is telling his tale to a prince, let him bee aduised in all his actions & gestures, & that hee play not with his rappe from one hand to an other, much lesse that hee beehold a prince to earnestly in the face. For in the one hee should

should bee taken for a foole, and esteemed in the other for a simple courtier. Hee must take great heede also that hee spitt not, coffe, nor hawke, when hee speakes to him, and if it bee so hee bee constrained by nature to it: then let him hold down his head, or at least turne at one syde that hee breathe not in the kings face. Plinie writing to Fabius saith, that the kings of India neuer suffered any man (in speaking to them) to approach so neere them, that their breath might come to their face. And they had reason to doo it, to avoid strong and insauery breaths, growing rather of the indisposition of the stomack, or of the putrefaction of the lungs, or of the corruption of the brayn. And if the courtier haue to speak with the king after dinner or supper, let him bee ware hee eat no garlyke, nor onyons, nor drinke wine without water. For if hee saue of garlyke or onyons, the king may thinke hee lacketh discretion to come with those sentes to his presence: or if his breath were strong of wyne, that hee were a drunkard. Hee must bee very circumspect also that when hee speaketh to the king, hee speak not with his head, as well as with his tongue, nor that hee play not with his hands, nor his feete, nor y^e hee stroke his beard, nor wrynke with his eyes: for such fond countenances, and gestures, doo rather become a foole or iester, then a ciuill or honest courtier. And in his discourse with the Prince, that hee exceede not in superfluous wordes, more then shall onely bee needefull and touching his matter, and not to seeme in his presence to depraue or detract any man. Hee may honestly allege, (and that without reproch) the scrupce hee hath doon him: but not to lay befoze him others faults and imperfections. For at such a tyme it is not lawfull for him to speak yll of any man, but onely to communicate with hym of his own affayres. And hee may not goe so farre also, as to remeber him with too great affection, the blood spent by his auncestors in his scrupce, nor the great acts of his parents: for this onely word sayd to y^e prince, I did this, better please and lyketh the Prince, then to tell him a hundred other wordes of that that his predecessors had doone. It pertayneth onely to women, and they may iustly craue recompence of the prince for the lynes of their husbands lost in the princes warres: but the balaunt, and woorthy courtier, ought not to demaund recompence, but for that hee only hath doon, by persyng launce, and bloody word. Hee must bee ware also that hee shew no countenance to the king of insatissaccion, neither to bee passioned in casting his seruice in the princes teeth, saying all others haue been recompenced saue only him, whom the Prince hath clean forgotten. For princes will not that wee only serue them, but that wee also (at their willes and pleasures) ary for recompence, and not to haue it when wee gape, or are impoztune for yt. Howbe it it is lawfull notwithstanding, humbly and lowly, without cholor or passion, to put the Prince in remembraunce of all that wee haue doone for him, and of the long tyme wee haue spent in seruyng him. Also the curious courtier shall not shew him self to dyslike at all of the prince, neither by heaping of many wordes, to induce him to bere hym the better good will. For mens harts are so prone to yll, that for one only displeasunt or ouerthwart word spoken to them, they lyghly forgeat a thousand scrupces doone them.

Socrates

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Socrates beeing one day demanded what hee thought of þe princes of Greece, answered. There is no other difference betwene the names and properties of the gods, and that of princes, but that the Gods were immortall, and these mortall. For these mortall princes vse in maner the lyke aucthority here in earth, that the gods immortall doo in heauen above. Saying further also, that I alwayes was, am, and wil bee of that mynd, that my mother Greece remaine a common weal. But since it is determined to bee gouerned by princely monarchie, I wish them in all, and for all, to acknowledge their obedience and allegiance to their king and soueraigne. For when they wouold otherwise vse it, they may bee assured they shall not only goe against mortall princes, but also against the eternall god. Suetonius Tranquillus sayeth, that Titus the emperour being aduertised that the consuls wouold kill him, and usurp his empire, answered thus wisely. Euen as without the diuine will and prouidence I coulde neuer haue possessed the imperiall crowne, so without their permission and sufferance, it lyeth in no mans power to depriue mee of it. For to vs men it pertaineth only to keepe the imperiall iurisdiction, and to the gods alone to geue and defend it: Which wee haue spoken, to the end no man presume to bee reuenged of his prince, neither in woord nor deede: for to speak yll of hym, wee shoulde rather purchase vs their high indignation and displeasure, then procure vs any cause or suggestion to bee reuenged of him. Let the good courtier bee also aduysed, that in talking with the prince hee bee not to obstinate, to contend with the prince, or any other in the princes presence: For this name of arrogant, and self willed, becommeth not the person of a wise courtier. For wee know that in sport, and argument euery man desireth to overcome, how tryfling so euer the matter bee. And therefore wee read in the lyfe of the emperour Seuerus, that Publius the consull iested one day with Fabricius his companion, and told him hee was in loue. Whom Fabricius answered: I confesse it is a fault to bee in loue; but yet it is a greater fault for thee to bee so obstinate as thou art. For loue proceedeth of witt and discretion: but obstinacy, commeth of folly and great ygnorance. If perchance the kyng ask the courtiers opinion in those matters they discoursed, if hee know his opiniõ to agree woth the princes, let him tell it him hardely: but if it bee contrary, let hym hold hys peace, and not contend against him, framing some honest excuse to conceale hys opinion. But if perhaps the king were obstinate, and bent to his opinion in any thing, and that throughe his self will and obstinacy, hee wouold doo any thing vnreasonable, or prejudiciall to his common wealth, and that great detryment might come thereby: yet for all this, in such case the beloued courtier shoulde not at that instant bee to playn with hym, to let hym vnderstand his error, neyther yet shoulde hee suffer him altogether to passe hys way vntouched, but in some fyne maner and proper woordes (as may beecome the place best) to geue him to vnderstand the troth. But to vse it with more discretion, hee shall not neede beefore them all to open hys whole mynd, but to keepe his oppynion secreete, expecting a more apter tyme, when the kyng shall bee apart in his pryncy chamber, and then frankly to tell hym his hole mynd, with all humylty and reuerence, and to shew him the plaine troth,

troth, without keeping any one thing from his knowledge. For otherwyse in tellyng the kyng openly, hee should make him ashamed: and in dyssemblyng his fault also prively, hee should not bee admonished of hys error committed. Now therefore let our conclusion bee, that the courtier that proceeds in his matters, rather with oppinion and obstinacy, then discretion and iudgement: shall neuer bee in fauor with the Prince, nor yet beeloued in the court. For it is as necessary for the courtier, that will seeke the fauor of the prince and loue of the court, to impose his tongue to silence: as it is to dyspose his body to all maner of seruyce. I know there are some such rash, vndiscreete, and arrogant fooles, that as much doo boast and reioice to haue spoken vndiscreetly to the king, and without respect of his princely maiesty: as if they had doon some maruelous thankfull seruyce, with whom truly no man ought to bee greatly offended, for such fond boistes and vaunts as they make, and much lesse also with that that happens to them afterwarde. The courtier also must bee well aduysed, that albee it the kyng for his pleasure doo princely play wyth his hands, or iest with his tong with the courtier, and that hee take great pleasure in it: yet that hee in no case presume to doo the lyke, (yea though hee were assured the kings maiesty woold take it well;) but let him modestly beehaue him self, and shew by his woozds and countenance that hee thinketh the prince dooth honoz him, in pleasing his maiesty to vse those pastymes and pleasant deuyses, with so vnbwoozthy a person as hee is. For the prince may lawfully play, and sport him self with his lordes and gentlemen: but so may not they again wyth him. For so dooing, they might bee counted very fond and lyght. With a mans companions and equals it is lawfull for euery man to bee mery and play with all. But wyth the prince, let no man so hardy once presume further, more then to serue, honoz, and obey him. So that the wyse courtier, must in deuoz him self alwayes to come in fauor by his wisdom, and courtly beehauour, in matters of weight and importaunce: and by great modesty and grauity, in things of sport and passe tyme. Therefore Plutarch in his Apothegmes sayth, that Alcibiades, amongst the Greekes a woozthy captayn, and a man of hys own nature disposed to much myzth and pleasure, beeing asked once by some of hys familiar frends why hee neuer laughed in theaters, bankets, and other common plays where hee was, answered them thus. Where others eat, I fast: where others take pain & play, I rest mee & am quiet: where other speak I am silent: where they laugh, I am curteous, & iest not. For wise men are neuer known but among fooles, and light persons. When þ courtier shall vnderstand, or heere tell of pleasant things to bee laughed at, let him in any case (if he can) fly fro those great laughers & fooleries: that hee bee not perhaps moued too much with such toys, to laugh to loud, to clap his hands, or to doo other gestures of the body, or admirations to behement, accompanied rather with a rude and barbarous maner of beehauour, then wyth a cypyll and modest noblenes. For ouer great and excessiue laughter was neuer engendered of wisdom, neither shall hee ever bee counted wyse of others that vseth it. There are also an other sort of courtiers that speak so coldly, and laugh so dryly, and with so pla grace, that it were more pleasure to see them weepe, then to laugh. Also to noueloz to tell tales to deliyght others, and to make

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to make them laugh, you must bee as brief as you can, that you weary not, & comber not the auditory: pleasant and not byring noz odypous. Els it chaunceth oft times, that wanting any of these condicions, from telling they come many tymes to good earnest. Elius Spartianus in the lyfe of the Emperoz Seuerus sayth that the said Emperoz had in his court a pleasaunt foole, and hee seeing the foole one day in his domps and cogitacions, asked hym what hee ayled to bee so saddy. The foole made aunswer. I am deuyfing with my self what I shoold doo to make thee mery. And I swore to thee (my lord Seuerus) that for as much as I way thy lyfe deere, possible I study more in 8 nights for the tales I shall tell thee in the morow after, then doo thy Senators touching that they must decree on the next day. And I tell thee further (my lord Seuerus) that to bee pleasaunt and delighting to the prince, hee must neyther bee a very foole, noz altogetther wyse. But though hee bee a foole, yet hee must sinatter somewhat of a wyse man: and if hee bee wyse, hee must take a lyttle of the foole for his pleasure. And by these examles wee may gather, that the courtier must needes haue a certein modesty and comely grace, as well in speakyng, as hee must haue a soft and sweete voice in singing. There are also some in court, that spare not to goe to noble mens bordes to repast, which beeing in deede, the vnseemely grace it self, yet in their woozds and talk at the boozd they woold seeme to haue a maruelous good grace, wherein they are oft deceyued. For if at tymes the Lords and gentlemen laugh at them, it is not for any pleasure they take in their talk, but for the pl grace, and vncomly gestures they ble in their talke. In the bankets and feasts courtiers make soine tymes in the sommer, there are very oft such men in theyr company, that if the wyne they drank tooke theyr condition, yt shoold bee drunk either colder, oz whotter then it is.

How the Courtier shoold bechaue him self to know, and to vifit the noble men and gentlemen, that bee great with the Prince and continuing still in court.
Cap. vi.

THe courtier that cometh newly to the court to serue there, must immediately learn to know those that are in aucthority, and fauor in the court, & that are the princes officers. For if hee doo otherwise, neither shoold hee bee acquainted with any noble man oz gentleman, oz any other of the princes seruaunts, neither woold they also geewe him place, oz let him in whē hee woold. For wee bee not conuersant with him wee know not, & not beeing conuersant with him, wee trust him not, and distrusting him, wee commit no secrets to him: So that hee that will come in fauor in the court, must make him self known, & bee frend to all in generall. And hee must take heede that hee begin not to sodainly to bee a busy suter in his owne priuate affairs, oz for his frend, for so hee shalbee soone reputed for a busy soliciter, rather then a wyse courtier. Therefore hee that wil purchase fauor and credite in the court, must not bee to carefull to preferre mens causes, and to entermedle in many matters. For the nature of princes is, rather to commit their affairs in the hands & trust of graue and reposed men, then to busy & inopportunate soliters.

The

The courtier also may not bee negligent to visyt the prelates, gentlemen, and the fauored of the court, nor to make any difference beetween the one & the other: and not onely to visyt their parents and friends, but his enemies also. For the good courtier ought to endeuour him self the best hee can to accept all those for his friends at least, that hee can not haue for parents and kinsfolks. For amongst good and vertuous courtiers, there should neuer bee such bloudy hate, that they should therefore leaue one to company with an other, and to bee courteous one to another. Those that bee of base mynd, doo shew their cankered harts by forbearing to speak, but those that bee of noble blood & valiaunt courage, beegynne first to fight, ere they leaue to speak together. There is also an other sort of courtiers, which beeing sometimes at the table of noble men, or els where when they heare of some quarell or priuate displeasure, they shew them selues in offer like syerce lyons, but if afterwards their help bee craued in any thing, and that they must needes stand by theyr friend and drab on his side: then they shew them selues as still as lambs, and gentle inough to bee intreated. Amongst others the new come courtier hath to bee acquainted withall, hee must learn to know those the prince fauoreth, and loueth best, on whom hee must attend and wayt vpon, and doo all the seruice hee can, without grudge and disdaigne. For there is no kyng, but farre of on hym, hath an other kyng, that still contrarieth his mynd, and preuenteth him of his intent and pleasure: And euer neere vnto him some, whom hee loueth and fauoreth, that may dispose of the prince as hee lysteth. Plutarke wytyng to Traian sayd these woordes. I haue (O Traian) great pity on thee, for the first day thou tookest vpon thee the Imperiall crovone of the Romayn Empire, of a free man thou thraldest thy self to bondage. For onely you other princes haue autority to geue liberty to all others, but neuer to graunt it to your selues, saying more ouer, that vnder the colour of royall liberty, you shall remayn more subiect, then your own subiects that ere obey you. For if you commaund many in theyr houses, also one alone after commaundeth you in your own court. Now although many commaunded the prince, or that hee would folloow the counsell but of a few, or that hee loued one aboue an other, or that hee consented one alone should gouern hym, the good courtier neede not once open his mouth to reason of the matter. For so it myght easely fall out, hee should beegynne out of hand to feele in the court, of what importaunce yt were to enter into such discourses of the prince, and afterwards to goe home to his own house, to end yt with bitter teares. First to purchase the hygh indygnation of the prince, secondly to bee dysdeigned of the court, thirde to bee cast quyte out of fauor, fourthly to bee exyled and banished the verge of the court, and fyfthly and lastly to end the rest of his wofull dayes in vile and myserable place. Now if it bee hard to compasse to get into the princes fauor, I thynk yt no very ill counsell y^t at least hee seeke to bee in fauor wyth him that is in the princes fauor. For oft times there commeth asmuch displeasure to vs, beeing ill willed of those y^e prince dooth esteeme a fauor: as there dooth by y^e princes own indygnation, that reigneth ouer vs. For that wee talke of princes, commeth not all to his eares (and but seldome) onlesse the matter bee sclaunderous and of

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sensible to his maiesty. But to the contrary, wee no sooner speak of those that
 bee in fauor, & beeloued of the prince, but they are not onely wth speede aduertis-
 sed what was spoken of them: but they further dyuine what wee thought of
 them. Therefore my friend courtier, syth it lyeth not in thee to diminish or im-
 paire his credit, that is in fauor wth y^e prince, & beeloued in y^e court: neither to dis-
 place his matters & suys hee taketh in hand, & y^e thou hast no auctorite to re-
 forme & gouern the comon weale, nor to redresse & amend the wrongs & in-
 iuries receiued, I would wissh thee to follow my counsel. If thou spy the faults
 & imperfections of the court, that thou rather suffer & abide them, in keeping
 them secret: the to seeme to reprove them openly, when thou seest princes the
 selues contented to dissemble & couer them priuely. It is therefore the soun-
 der counsel, to follow and serue those that are in fauor & credit, then to pursue
 them in woord or deede. And therefore y^e courtier must bee very choyse with
 whom hee is familiar, to whom hee speaketh, whom hee trusteth, who hea-
 reth him, and of whom hee recepueth all his intellygence. For there is great
 difference beetweene the woordes that are spoken, and the intent & meanyng
 wyth which they were spoken. For the bowells and intrails of courtiers are
 so damnable, and their harts so crooked, and diuerted from the right path way
 of bounty and goodnes, that the new and ignozant courtier shall think hym
 self much profited by their aduices, and admonitions, when in deede they shal
 but deceiue him: and shall think hee was well counselled, when hee shall fynd
 hym selfe the most deceyued in the world, and in greater anger then beefore.
 There are some also so lytle contented wyth y^e prince, and so ill recompensed
 for their saruice, that they are not onely not hys friends, but they practyse se-
 cretly to purchase hym moe enemies. And when the courtier seeth, that hee
 that is in fauor and credyt, dooth in deede styck close wyth hym vnfaignedly,
 what neede hee care then, though all the rest bee his enemies. And the good
 courtier must consider, that hee goeth not to the court to reuenge iniuries;
 but onely to purchase honoz and profyt. To whom also I geue counsell, that
 hee bee not enemy to him that is in fauor, nor friend to his enemy: and yet it
 shall bee best for him to bee friend to all, and enemy to none, if hee can possy-
 ble. Who so euer despyeth to bee well thought of in the court, and to bee bee-
 loued of courtiers, it is better for him to suffer iniuries doone hym, then hee
 hym self to bee a procurer of them to others. And for the iniuries, detracty-
 ons, and mutynings that they shall rayse against the fauored of the court,
 no man ought to trust any other person then hym self: syth that for the most
 part whom they doo trust, (when hee shall haue neede of the good report, and
 credit of him that is in fauor with the prince, thinking to doo hym a peece of
 great saruice) hee shall not care to vnfold to hym euen the bottome of hys
 friends secrets, whych were comynpted to him in great secrecy. Hee must al-
 so consyder that hee can not possibly in a short tyme grow in fauor wyth the
 prince, nor come also to bee accepted for a friend of hym that is in fauor about
 the prince: but the sooner to hasten his good fortune, hee must acquaint hym
 self thoroughly with the officers and seruaunts of the beeloued, and doo them
 a thousand pleasures dayly, as well in courteous woordes, as in seruyng their
 turnes also wth money or iewels, presenting them euer wth some pety smal to-
 ken fro them, to haue them in mynd, and to remember them to their masters.

For the trew order of this disorder, is in effect to bee rather frend to their seruants, then familiar or beeloued with their masters, that are in so great fauor: hee must also bee informed, which of his seruants (that is in estimation wth the prince) is in best credit with his master, & him hee must seeke to make hys frend aboue al other his fellows. For euen as the prince hath a seruant whom hee loueth, that leads him altogether: euen so likewise hath the fauored courtier, a seruant about him, & commaundeth him. There is no wil so free & lyberal, neither any lord so high & absolute, nor iudge so vpright a iusticer, but in y^e end hee geueth more trust & credit to one, then to an other. And hereof proceedes most comonly, that wee loue not those wee ought to loue, but those whom wee fawse most. Now therefore following our intent, touching the visitation of courtiers, hee must lay watch, & consider wel to procure knowledge, first, if any such noble men, or other his frends, (which hee hath deuotion to visyt) bee occupied, or withdrawen to their bed chambers, for some priuate busyness of theirs, for if it were so, they woold rather think hee came to trouble them, the to visyt them. And therefore hee that is wise (in visyting his frends) may not be too importune vpon them to prease into their bed chamber, neither to bee too tedious & vnpleasant in his woozds. There are some so solitary, & woold neuer be bysyt, & others that desires to bee visyted euery day, others there bee & woold the visitation shoold bee short, others that take such pleasure to heare a long discours, that hee woold his tale shoold neuer bee ended. So that the courtier must looke into the natures of men, & so to frame his visitacions, according to the condicions of their mynd: and to remember his visitacions to great, & graue men, bee not so oft & dayly, that they bee trouble some to him: nor so seldome, that they may think them straungers, & that they had forgotten him. That onely deserueth the name of a trew visitacion, where the person visyted may not bee troubled with importunacy, nor the visyter may dymynish any part of his credyt and estimation, and also that hee preiudice not his owne comodity in his affaires. I speake it for some that are so trouble some in their visytacions, & so foolish and tedious in their woozds, not knowing how to make an end, that wee may better call them trouble some, enuious, and impudent, then honest visytors, and faithfull frends. And therefore wee shoold leaue them so contented wee bysyt, that they shoold rather bee angry to leaue our company, then that they shoold complayn of our importunity: geewing them rather occasyon to meete vs with a pleasant countenance, when wee enter into their house, then to make them hyde them selues, or fly from vs, when they see vs, & to say they are not within. And mee thinks in dede where wee haue not great and straight friendship, or els some affaires of great importaunce that toucheth vs much, it shoold bee sufficient to bysyt our frends and acquaintance, once in a moneth: and where they woold see vs more oftn, let vs tarry till they complayn, and fynd fault, and send to vs to let vs vnderstand it, and not that wee bee so ready to come to offer and present our selues vnto them, onlesse the necessity of our cause doo vrges vs. There are some persons so vndiscreete in being bysyt, that when others come to see them, eyther they make the gates to bee shutt vppon them, or they cause their seruants to say they are not within, or els they get them out at the backdoze, or they sayn that they are a litle accursed, onely to auoyd and flye from these trouble some and babling visytors. So

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that they had rather see a seriant enter into his house to arrest them for debt, then to bee cumbered wth these lothsome and prytyng bysytters. Also y^t y^e not syt to goe see their frends at vnlawfull howers, as about dynner or supper tyme: for those that are bysytred, w^{ll} rather thynk they come to dyne or suppe wth them, then of curtesy and good w^{ll} to see them. It happeneth sometymes, that many are braue and rytych in apparell, that keepe but a poore and mean ordynary at their table, sparyng from their mouth to lay y^t vpon their backs: and therefore they are very loth, and offended, that any of their frends or famylars should take them at meales to iudge of them: for they thynk y^t lesse payn to fast from meat secretly, then that their scarcety should openly bee discouered. Also the laws of honesty, and ciuility, doo not permit any man to enter into the house, hall, or chamber of an other, wthout knocking, or calling syt at the doore. For that onely p^{er}p^{er}ledge to come into the house sodeynly, and speak neuer a woord, becometh to the husband or masters of the house. Also it is not good to goe see hys frend when hee is at play, for yf hee bee a loser, it can not bee but hee w^{ll} chafe and bee in choler (in hys mynd) wth his frend, to come then to trouble hym, and to let hym of his play: And yf haply hee were a wyinner, beefore his frend came to see him, and afterwards chaunce to bee a loser agayn: hee w^{ll} lay th^{er}ocasson of his losse vpon his frend that came of good w^{ll} to see hym, and say that hee turned hys good luck away from hym, and that hee came but to trouble him, takyng it rather for an offence and insury doone him, then for any good loue or duty shewed him. If our frend in lyke manner whom wee goe to bysyt, come out of his chamber to receyue vs, not byddyng vs come into the chamber, nor to syt down, but standing to talke wth vs wthout any other curtesy or enterteynment, wee may easely perceyue by this his manner of interteynment that hee geueth vs good and honest leaue to depart when wee w^{ll}. The wyle, and fyne courtier, w^{ll} as easely fynd and vnderstand hym by his signes, as hee w^{ll} doo sometymes by his woords. Also the courtier must take great heede that in seemyng to b^e curtesy, hee happen not to make some foolish countenance in pulling of his cap, in makyng curtesy, coming into the hall, or taking a stoole to syt down, lest he bee therfore marked & mocked of the standers by, or noted for proud or p^{er}sumptuous, for to stay or let at these trifles, a man rather getteth the name of a glorious, light, and proud: then of a graue & sober man. All things touchyng consciens, ciuility, & honor, the good courtier should alway haue in memory, & beefore his eyes, when hee shall discoure with his lord, or bysyt his frend. And for the first beginning of his discourse, & talk with him (after they are set down together) hee must ask him how his body dooth, & whether all his house bee merry and in good health: for y^t is the thyng that wee must first procure for our owne p^{ri}uate commodity, and secondly desire y^t for our frends. Also in the courtiers bysitacions hee may not bee too curious or inquisyture of newes, nether ouer beesy to tell newes: for after his frend were once aduertised of the troth, it might bee lightly, hee w^{ld} thank him for his cōmyng & comend him for his curtesy: and not wthstanding blame him for his newes, & count him a lyer. And yf it happen wee fynd the party whom wee bysyt, sad, comfortles, and in some necessity, although hee were not our frend, yet for that hee is a chrystyan, wee

wee ought to comfort him in woordes, & to seeke also to help and relieue him with some what. Licurgus in his lawes hee made ordeyned, that it should not be labourfull for any man to come to see a prisoner, but hee should help to deliuer hym: noz any poore man, but hee should relieue him: noz any sick or diseased parson, but hee should help and comfort him to his able power. And truly mee thinks Licurgus had great reason to make this law, synce wee see that in experience, that a mans mynd, for one onely thing that is geuen him, ys better contented and satisfied: then with a thousand woordes that they can speak to hym. And if his house whom they goe to visyt, and where hee dwelleth, bee his own inheritance, and see symple, or that hee hath it by lease or purchase, or that hee buyt it out of the ground, or if hee haue repayed or new coated yt, the courtier must pray him to let him see yt, and when hee hath seen yt hee must greatly commend it to him: for all mortall men haue this common fault and humour, that wee must bee praised of our dooings and not reproued for our faults. Further if they visyt any sick person, they must remember they speak but lytle to him, and that softly, and pleasant matters: for otherwile yt should seeme (and they wil also beleue) hee came to see him, rather to aggrauat his sickness more, then to comfort him. Wee must euer make short visitacions, not onely with the sick & dyseased, but the whole & sound. And then the good courtier must take his leaue of them, when hee is euen in his most pleasant discourse, to the end they may intreat him to tary longer: and not to tary till they seeme to licence him by outward signes & ceremonies: & hee that shal goe visyt an other, let him take heede hee bee not so long, & tedious in his talke, that the parson whom hee visyeth doo rise befoze him. For it were too playn a token hee were weery of his company & long taryng, syn hee rose befoze him to geue him occasion to depart. If his wife whom hee visyeth, bee not a sister or kynswomen of the courtiers y visyts him, or that they bee not of very familiar acquaintance togethers, hee should not once seeme to ask for her, much lesse to desire to see her. For as Scipio sayeth, a man should not trust any to see his wife, noz to proue his sword. It is also a custome vsed among courtiers, y when they goe to any mans house to see him, befoze they light of on their horse, they send to know whether hee bee with in or no. And when the courtier taketh his leaue of him hee hath visyted, hee must not suffer the gentilman to bring him out of his chamber to accompany him, much lesse to come down the staies with him: which if hee vse in this manner, the other shal bee bound to thank him for his comming, & shal comend him for his civility. And if it happen when wee goe to visyt some noble man, or other beeloued of y court at his lodging, & y at our comming hee is redy to come out of his house to ride abrode in the fields to take ayre, or to ride to y court to sollicyte some of his affaires, or to ride abrode into the town for his pleasure, the dyligent courtier must willingly accompany him, & offer him al the seruice hee can: & so hee shal deserue double thanks of him, thone for his company, & the other for his gentle offer & company. To visyt the princes seruants, it is not y maner (for that they are alway occupied in the princes service) neither shal they haue such time of leysure as other haue. And because they haue no time comodious to see the at home at their own houses, yet at the least the good courtier must needes accompany them at times when they goe abroade. For there is more reason the

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e deemed courtier should make more of him that accompanieth him, then of
other that is too importunate & troublesome to him.

Of the good countenance and modesty the courtier should haue, in bechanyng
hym self at the prince or noble mans table in the tyme of hys meale.

Cap. vii.

Those that are abiding still in princes court, must in any case goe seldom,
or not at al, abode to others tables, but alwayes to keepe their own. For
that courtier that runneth from table to table, to eat of thers cost, to ha-
ue his meat free, is not so sparing of his purse, as hee is too prodygall and la-
wisy of his good reputation. Therefore Eschines the phylosopher beeing de-
maunded one day, what a man should doo to bee counted good, hee answered
thus. To become a parstye Greeke, hee must goe to the church willingly, and
of good deuotion, and to the warres of necessity: but to feasts and bankets,
neither of will, nor of necessity, onlesse it bee to doo them honoz and pleasure
that doo inuite thee. Suetonius Tranquillus writeth, that the mperoz Augustus
prohbyted in Rome, that no man should conuite eche other, to feast, or ban-
ket with an other, but if his frend would doo him y honoz to come to his feast,
that then hee should send him home to his house, of that meat hee should haue
had at the feast and banket with them at their houses. And whan hee was as-
ked of certayn of his frends what hee ment to make this law: hee gaue them
this answer. The cause that moued mee, good frends, to forbide playes, and
bankets in Rome was: because in play, no man can keepe him self from swea-
ring, & terrible blaspheming the name of god: and in bankets euery man is
geeuene to detect and defame his neighbor. Cicero reconteth of Caro the Cen-
sor, that hee lying in his death bed, at the mercy of god, should say these wooz-
des. Fewer things I remeber I haue doon in my life, where in I haue rather
shewed my self a voluptuous & negligent Barbarian, then a wise & good Ro-
main citisyn, for the wch I fynd my self soze greued.

The first is this. For that I spent a whole day & forgot to serue the gods, &
did not profyt my comon weale in any thing, wch I should neuer haue doone.
For it is as great a dishonoz for a phylosopher to bee counted an idle & negly-
gent person: as it is for a noble hart, to bee counted a rank coward.

The second is for that safly I myght once haue gon by land, & perillously I
hasarded my self vpon the water. A thing wch I should wel haue let alone. For
neuer no wise man should euer haue put him self into perill, onles yt were on-
ly for the seruice of the gods, for the increase of his honoz, or for the defence of
his countrey.

The thyrde is, y I opened once a great secret, & matter of importaunce to a
woman, wch I ought lesse to haue doon then al the rest. For in graue matters,
& things of counsell, there is no woman capable to geue counsel, & much lesse
to take it, & least of all to keepe it secret.

The fowerth was, that an other tyme I was contented to bee ouercome
by a frend of mine that earnestly inuyted mee to his house to dinner, & there-
upon I went wyth him, wch I should not haue doone. For to say the troth, there
was neuer famous nor woozthy person that went to eat in an other mans
house, but y hee diminished his liberety, hasardynge also his grauity and repu-
tacion to the ruynoz & bzute of others. The wch woozds beeing so wisely spoken
by

by the prudent Cato, were wel woozthy to bee noted & caried away, & so much the more, & beinge now drawinge to his last home, & euen in his last breathing hower hee onely spake of these fower things & no more, whereof, although hee were a Romain, yet hee shewed to vs a repenting mynd. But woe is mee, & albeit I beare the name of a christian, yea & that I am so in deede, yet in that last day when nature sommons mee, I feare mee, & beleeue assuredly I shal haue cause to repent mee of more then fower things. Now by these thyngs heretofore recyted wee may easely coniecture, that albeit wee are contented to bee entreated & requested in many things, yet in this onely to goe to others tables to feast, & in straunge houses wee should not bee intreated, but rather compelled & against our wills. And where the courtier is forced by impossunancy to accept the bidding, without offering him self beefore, hee deserueth as great thaks of the bidder for his comming, as the other did in bidding him. For if it should not bee so, it should seeme rather a dynner for strangers that trauels by the way, then for noble men and gentelmen that comes from the court. For that day the courtier graunteth to dine with any man, the same day hee byndeth him self to bee beeholding to him that bids him: for although hee come to him of good will, yet to acquite his curtesy doon him, hee is bound of necessity. Also it is a small reputacion (and woozthy great reproch) that a courtier make his bosse hee hath eaten at al the tables and officers boozds in the court, & & no man can say hee hath once been at dinner or supper w him at his owne house. And truly I remeber I knew once a courtier & might dispēd aboue two hundredth Ducats by yeare, who told mee, & assured mee hee neuer bought stick of wood to warme him w in his chāber, nor pot to seeth his meat in, neither spyt to rost w all, nor that euer hee had any cater for his prouision, saue only & hee had made a register of many noble mens boozds, amongst whō hee equally deuided his dyners & suppers. By means whereof hee saued al his charges, saue only his mē's boozd wages. But what bilenes or discurtesy could equal the misery & shame of this careless courtier.ouer not that of & meanest & poozest slaue of the world, & lyueth only by his hyer: no it deserueth not to be copared vnto it. For to what end desire wee the goods of this world, but & by them wee may bee honozed, relieue our parents & kinsmen, and thereby also winne vs new frends: what state or condicion so euer hee be of, & hath inough & abundance, wee are not bound to esteeme & more of him for that, nor to doo him the more honoz, but only for that hee spendeth it wel, & woozthipfully, and for his honoz, if he bee honozable. And this wee speak of gentleman as of cyttisyn. And hee that in court makes profession to dine at other mē's tables, I dare vnder take if they dine betimes on & holly day, hee wil rather lose saruite in the morning, then dinner at noone. And if any frend come to lye w these sort of courtiers, & that hee bee but newly come to the court, straight ways he wil haue him with him to dinner, and bzing him to salute & gentlerian where hee dines that day, saying that hee was bold to bzing his kinsman and frend with him to salute him, and all this is not so much to bzing hym acquainted wyth him, as it is to spare his meat at home for bothe. And yet they haue an other knack of court fyner the thyngs. They flatter & pages & seruants, because they should euer geue the of the best wine at & table, & w certayn familiar noddes & swete woozds they entertain the lords, shewers, & caruers, & make much of them, & they should set beefore them full dyshes & of & best and deintiest meat.

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There are also some of these courtiers that to bee wel wayted vpon at the table, & to make them his friends, doo sometimes present the steward with a velvet cap, the she wers with a paire of washed or perfume gloues, the pages with a sword girdel, and the butlers or cooberd keepers with some other pretty reward or deuise. And it chaunceth oft times in noble mens houses that there are so many guests to dyne and sup with him dayly, that many times the boord will not hold the al by a great number: Wh when they once perceiue, to see how quickly & with what speede the courtiers take their places to set them down & to bee suer of a roome, it is a world to see it. But oh I would to god they were so happy & diligent to goe to the church & heare a sermon, as they are busy to get them stooles to syt at the table. And if perhaps a courtier come late, and y the table bee all ready full, and the lurch out, yet hee will not bee ashamed to eat his meat neuertheles. For albee it hee can not bee placed at his ease yet he is so bold & shameles, that rather then say le hee will syt of half a buttock, or beehynd one at the table. I remeber I saw once at a noble mans boord three courtiers set vpon one stoole, like the fower sonnes of Amon, and whan I rebuked them for it, and told them it was a shame for them, they answered mee merely agayn, that they did it not for that there wanted stooles, but to proue if neede were if one stoole would beare them three. Such may well bee called greedy gluttons, & shameles prowlers, without respect or honesty, that when they are dead, would bee buried in the highest place of the church: & when they are alīue, litle force at whose table they sit, or how they syt, litle regarding their honor or estate. Cruely for him that is poore and needy, to seeke his meat and drinke where hee may come by it best, it is but meete: but for the gorgeous courtier, beedeckt with gold, bee buttoned & bee jewelled, ietting in his beluets & silks, to begge & seeke his dinner dayly at every mans boord, beeing nobly & honorably entertained of the prince, & able to beare his countenance: what reproch, defame, & dishonor is it to him: hee that vseth daily to runne to other mens tables, is oft times forced to syt lowest at y boord vpon a broken stoole, & to be serued with a rusty knyfe, to eat in foule dishes, & to drinke for a change whot water, & wine more then half full of water, & to eat hoze bread, & that y of all others yet is worst of all, every one of the seruants lookes ouer y shoulders on him, & are angry with him in their myndes. Cruely hee that with these condicions goeth abroad to seeke his dinner, were better in my opinion to fast with bread & water at home, then to fill his belly abroad. But such mens reward, that haunts mens houses in this maner, is this in the end, that y noble men to whose houses they come to, are offended with them, the stewards of the house murmure at them, the pages & seruants mocks them, & laughs the to scorn, the tasters & cup beaers chase y them in their myndes, the cabberd keepers wonder at them, y clarks of the kychyn thinks them importunat and shameles creatures. Wherefoze it followeth (who soeuer wil obserue it) y so soone as the seruants see him once come into the dyning chamber, some of them hydes y stoole where hee would syt down, others set befoze him the worst meat of the boord & the filthiest dishes they haue, & therfoze hee y may haue at home at his house his poore litle pyttance wel dressed, a faire white table cloth, a bright knife, new & white bread, wood & candle in the winter, & other necessities: if hee like better to goe from table to table, from kychyn to kychyn, &

from

from one buttery to an other, I wil suppose hee dooth it for great spare & hardnes, or for want of honestie & good manners. Now hee that keepe an ordinarie house, & remayn al ways at home, may dine if it bee in the somer season, in his shytt if hee list, hee may syt whan hee will, and where it please him, hee drinks his wine fresh, & hath the flyes driven from his table with the bentola, hee disoaigneth the court & noble mens boozds, keeping his owne as frank and as sparing as hee list, & no man to gayn say him: yea & after meat hee is at liberty to syt still, & take his ease, or to walk abroad in the shade as hee wil. And in winter if perhaps hee bee wet, hee straight shifis him, & changes all hys clothes, gets him a furred night gown on the back of hym, & a paire of warme shypers to heat his cold feete with all, hee eates his meat warme & smoking whot, & takes y hee likes best, hee drinks white wine, red wine or claret wine as hee thinks good, and neede neuer to care for them that bechold hym. And therefore so great privileges as those bee of liberty, the courtier should neuer refuse to buy them for his monney, much lesse for the gayn of a meales meat he should leaue to enioy them. But if the courtier will needes determyn to vsyt noble mens boozds, hee must bee very ware, y in comming to a noble mans table, hee doo not so much commend his fare & ordinarie, that hee complayn of other mens tables where hee hath fed. For it is a kynd of treason to defame & schaunder those, whose houses they are wont to vsyt oft. And when hee ys set at the table, the courtier must bechaunge him self modestly, hee must eat temperaty, and synely, hee must delay his wine with water, and speak but lytel: so that those that are present can not but prayse hym for his temperancy and sober diet, but also for his wisdom and moderat speach. To feede mannerly is to bee vnderstand, not to blow his nose in his napkyn, nor to lean his armes vppon the table, not to eat to leaue nothyng in the dysch, not to fynd faults woth the cookes, saying the meat is not inough, or not well dresed. For yt were a great shame for the courtier to bee noted of the wayters, to bee a belly gut and to bee counted a grosse feeder. There are some also that make them selues so familiar and homely in the house, that they are not content w that is serued them in the dysch, but shamefully they pluck that to them that ys left in other dysches, so that they are esteemed for Jesters, no lesse sawsy and malepert in their order, then insatiable in their beastly eating. The good courtier must also take heede hee lay not his armes to faire on the table, nor that hee make any noyse woth his teeth or his tongue, nor smack with his mouth when hee eateth, and that hee drink not woth both his hands on the cup, nor cast his eyes too much vpon the best dishes, that hee know, nor teare his bread w his teeth, that hee lick not his syngers, nor adoone eating beefore others, nor to haue too greedy an appetite to the meat or sauce hee eates, and that in drynkyng hee gulp not with his throte. For such manner of feedyng, rather becommeth an alehouse, then a noble mans table. And although the courtier can not goe ouer all the dysches that comes to the boozd, yet at least let him proue a litle of euery one, and then hee must praise the good cocky & fine dresyng of them al. For comonly the noble men & gentlemen that inuite any to their boozd, take it vncourteously, & are ashamed if the inuited praise not their meat and drink they geue them, and not onely the noble men are ashamed of yt, but also the other officers that haue the charge to see yt well dresed, and

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& in good order. Alwayes he that eateth at an other mans table, to doo as hee
 ought, should praise the woorthines of him that bad him (yea though perhaps
 hee made a lye) and commend the great care and diligence of his officers in
 furnishing his table with so good meates, and in setting on yt forth in so good
 order. I say not without a cause that sometime a praise with a lye may well
 stand togethers, sence wee see some noble mens tables so slender furnished,
 and that his ordinary should seeme rather a preparatiue supper and dyet for a
 sick man that means to take physick in the next morning, then an ordinary,
 or dinner for Easter day. And therefore I say, that of right the lords and ma-
 sters are pleased, when they here their officers and seruants commendid. For
 they choose most commonly such a steward, as they know to bee wise, & curte-
 ous of nature: a treasurer, trew and saythfull: a purueier, expert and diligent: a
 butler, hasty and melancony: the groome of his chamber, paynfull and trusty:
 his secretary, wise & secret: his chappelyn simple, & his cooke fyne & curious.
 For many think it moze glozy to haue an excellent cooke in their house, then
 to haue a valyaunt captayn, to keepe a strong peece, or hold. They are con-
 tented in court that noble mens chappleins bee rather symple then ouer wise,
 or wel learned. For if hee read but lytle, hee hath the sooner say seruice, & ther-
 with also is moze fyt to drudge and doo seruice about the house. Now therfore
 continuing our beegonne purpose, the courtier that eateth at other mens ta-
 bles, must see hee drinke lytle, and that his wyne bee well delayed with water.
 For wyne tempered with water, bringeth two commodities: thone, it makes
 him sober that drinks it, and shal not bee overseen: thother, hee shal not dy-
 semper him self, that the wayters haue any occasyon to laugh at hym. Yf yt
 should happe sometimes that hee found the wyne well watered beefore, that
 yt had stode a petyng long, or that yt were some what sharp or sowet, or
 that the water were to whot: the good courtier should not therefore immedi-
 atly complain and fynd fault at the table, for so hee should shame the seruants,
 and make them angry with him, and also displease their maister. Truly it ys
 a greefe to suffer yt, to see that hee that hath nothing at home in his owne hou-
 se, eyther to eat or drynk, will yet looke to bee well vsed at an other mans
 house, and is neuer satisfied. I speak yt for certeyn indiscrete courtiers, and
 wanting iudgement, that beeing at any mans boord, (without any shame)
 dare dispraise the cookes, and speak yll of them, if perhaps the taste of their
 porage and meat myslike them, and that it bee not good, and according to
 their appetit: and of the butlers, if the wyne bee not colde and fresh: of those
 that waight aboue, if euery thing they call for, bee not doone at a beck and
 quickly: of the stewards of the house, if they bee not serued immediatly: and
 of the boyes and pages, if they geue them not drinke sodeinly: of the caruers,
 if they carue them not to their lyking: and also with the clarks of the kychn,
 if they see them not serued with meat ynough, that there bee inough left vpon
 the table. So that the noble mens officers (for the moze part) haue moze trou-
 ble and displeasure, by the discontentacion of those that come to their maisters
 table, then they haue by the euell woordes their maisters speaks to them. And
 for this respect therefore no man ought to bee so bold as once to open his lyps
 to complayn of any want in an other mans house, as if they serue him with
 claret wyne, rather then with white: or with whyte, then claret. For a ryght
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and perfect courtier, should not let his appetit in h tast nor variety of wyne, or meats in an others house. I graunt that it is very fitt, and lawfull for yong courtiers, to runne well, to leap farre, to throw the barre of Iron, to daunce well, to ryde a horse well to manedge and greue him his carere well, and to turne well, to handle his weapon well, and to break a stasse well, and other wise to help him self with all maner of weapons: but for one to desyre an other in drinking, it should bee a great sacrilege of the courtier. The Scythiens, as ratifieth Trog^{us} Pompeius, were so sober and modest in eating and drinking at their meats, that it was a foule fault among them to break wynd, or belch. And therefore now a days wee fynd few Scythiens, but many drinkers, which depart from the feast so full freight, as immediatly when they are come home, they bilode their charged stomach, and lay open al that they haue eaten and dronken. Wherefore hee h bleseth to drink clean, & pure water, is at more liberty, then those that drink wyne simply, wout compoud. For excessiue drinking of wyne, dooth not alonly trouble & distemper the brain & iudgement of the drinker: but further discovereth to you, great & horrible vices. Therfore yet touching our matter, I say once again, that it is a fond dispute, and argument, to proue which of the wyne were best, pleasant, and most sweetest, & which is oldest or newest, sharp or hard, soft or sweet, clearest or darkest, or of best tast or quickest sauor. For to iudge of the tast of wyne, & to know the goodnes and perfection of it, rather (to say truely) becomgeth to a Tauerneer or bintner, then rightly to an honest courtier. And it is fitter, and more decent also for him, to talk of armes and chivalrie, then to deale in discourse of Bacchus feasts. What a mockry, & foolish nicety is it of him, that not only drinks water alone, but also cannot drink it in that cup, where there hath been wyne filled beefore. Hee shall also bee very circumspect that ys bidden to a straungers house, that hee drink not so deepe at a draught, that hee leaue nothing in the cuppe, neither that hee drink so long as hee hath breath, and the water stand in his eyes agayn. For the graue and sober courtier should neuer drink, till hee might no more, nor till there were none left. Also when hee is at the table, hee should not enter in argument and dispute with any, neither should hee bee obstinat in oppinion, and much lesse vse filthy or vncomely talk: and hee must also brydle nature much, that hee crye not out in laughyng as some doo. For lyke as yt soundeth to hys reproch, to bee noted a glutton, and drunkerd: it is in lyke case farre woorse, to bee accounted a foole, and a iester.

Also it preuaileth lyttle that a courtier bee moderate, and honest in eating, if hee bee dishonest, and insolent in hys talk. For many times it happeneth at noble mens boozds, that they take more pleasure in some, then in other some: not to see them eat and drink well, but to heare them tell lyes, and to bee pleasaunt at the boord. Therefore as wee haue said, the wyse courtier should praise and commend all that hee seeth serued at an other mans table, and it is not lawfull for him to dyslike or dyspraise it. And further beecause hee is fedd at an other mans charge, hee must of necessity take all in woort that is greuen hym, and sett beefore him, and not to looke to haue that that hee despyeth. And when there is any question mooued
at the

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at the table of the best and most delicat dishes, & of the fynest cookes, and of þ new kinds of broths & sauces, & fro whence the fatteſt capons come, it ſhal not bee fitt for þ wiſe courtier to ſay in that al þ he knoweth & vnderſtãdeſth. For how much honoz it is for him to bee able to talk in martiall feats, or chivalry: ſo much moze diſhonoz & reproch it is to him, to bee ſkilfull in dreſſing of meats, and all to fill the belly. I remember that beeing one day at a byſhops boord, I hard a knight make great boſt & vaunt, that hee could make vii. maner of fricallies, iiii. kinds of pyes, xii. ſorts of ſauces, and x. of fruyt tarts, and xii. dyuers ways to dreſſe egges: but to heare him tell theſe things was not to bee accounted of ſo much, as the geſtures and countenance hee made in telling them. For hee did lyuely ſhew with his hands the preſent making of them, the eating of them, and the right taſting of them wyth hys tongue. And becauſe it happeneth many times that in ſome noble mans houſe there is not lyke fare and entertainment that an other hath, the cyuill courtier ſhould not bee ſo diſhoneſt, as to make repozt hee leaueth that noble mans table, to goe to an others that is better ſerued. For the woozthy courtier ſhould not haunt that table where hee fareth beſt, but where hee fyndeth him ſelf beſt welcome, and eſteemed. Ah how many noble men and knyghts ſonnes are there, that ſpare not to goe to any mans boord for his meat and drink, yea though it fall out they bee their fathers enemies: and they do it not in reſpect to reconcile them, and their fathers togethers, but rather for a good meales meat, or moze aptly to ſay, to fill their bellies with dainties.

¶ What company the courtier ſhould keepe, and how hee ſhould apparell him ſelf. Cap. viij.

The wiſe Courtier, both in court and out of court, & in all places where hee cometh, muſt take great regard hee accompany with none, but with wiſe, and vertuous men. For if hee doo not, hee can not winne nor acquire ſuch honoz by his well dooing, as hee ſhal loſe his credit, by keeping yl company. And therefore hee ſhal inforce him ſelf alwayes to bee in the preſens and company of vertuous and noble men, and ſhal conferre with the moſt graue, wiſe, and honeſt gentlemen of the court: For bliſing this way, hee ſhal bynd them to him, by reaſon of his daily acceſſe to them: and hee ſhal purchaſe him ſelf a good oppinion of them, beſides the good example hee ſhal leaue to others to tread his ſteps, and follow his coorſe. For what is moze true, then when a yong gentleman commeth newly to the court, you ſhal ſee immediatly a company of other yong fooles, a company of amarous ſquires; light and ydle perſons, a company of troubleſom ieſters, and couetous praters, beſides other yong fry in court, that when they know a new come courtier (namely beeing of great lyuing) They will ſeek to attend vpon him, and trayn him to the luer of their affects and maner, bringing him to like of their qualities and condicions. Wherefore conningly to ſhake of the rout of theſe needy greedy retayners, hee muſt altogether feede them with fair woozds, & ſhew them good countenance, & yet notwithstanding ſeek by al policy hee can to fly their felowſhip & company. Noble mens ſonnes knights ſonnes, & gentle mens ſonnes, may not think their friends ſendeth the to þ court, to learn
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new byces, and wicked practises, but to winne them new friends, and obtayne the acquaintance of noble men whose credit and estimation, with the prince may honoz and countenance them, and by theyr vertues and meanes, may after a tyme bee brought into the princes fauoz also, and dayly to ryle in credit and reputation amongst others. Therfor such fathers as will send their children to the court, onles they doo fyrst admonish them wel how they ought to bee haue them selues, ere that they recomend them to to the charge and ouersight of some deare and especiall friend of theirs, that will reprove them of their faults when they doo amisse. I say they were better to lay irons on there feete, and send them to Bedlem or such other like house where madd men bee kept. For if they bee bound there in irons, it is but to bring them to their wits agayne, and to make them wise: but to send them to the court lose, and at lyberty without guyde, it is the next way to make them fooles, and worse then mad men, assuring you, no greater danger nor injury can bee doon to a yong man, the to bee sent to the court, and not comitted to the charge of some one that should take care of him, and looke straightly to him. For otherwise, it were impossible hee should bee there many dayes, but hee must needs runne into exces and foul disorder, by meanes wherof hee should vtterly cast him selfe away, and heape vpon their parents heads (continuall curses, and greefes, during their liues. And therfor theire fathers) supposing after they haue once placed their sonnes in the court, that they should no more carke nor care for them, nor rechen to instruct them to bee wise and vertuous) fynd when they come home to them againe, that they are laden with vices, ill complexioned, worse aparelled, their clothes all tottered and torne, hauing bairly and fondly spent and plaid away their mony, and worst of al forsaken their masters, leauing them displeasid with their seruice. And of these I would admonish the yong courtier, because hee must of necessity accompaigny with other yong men, that in no case hee acquaynte him selfe with vitious and ill disposed persons, but with the honest, wise, and courteous: amongst whome hee shall put vpon him a certaine graue and stayed modesty, sitting him selfe only to ther companies, beeing also apt and disposed to all honest and vertuous exercices, decent for a right gentelman, and vertuous courtier, huming with his best pollicy, the light, foolish, and bayne toys of others. And yet notwithstanding these, my intent and meaning is not to seeme to perswade or teach him to become an hippocrite, but only to bee courteous, honest, and wel beeloued of other yonge gentlemen: winning this reputation withall, to bee esteemed for the most vertuous and honest amongst them, gallant and lyuely in his disportes and pastimes, of few woozds, and small conuersation amongst boasters and backbyters, or other wicked and naughty persons: not to bee sad among those that are mery, nor dumme among those that talke wisely, & of graue matters: nor to beleue hee should bee accounted a trimme courtier, to take his booke in his hands to pray, when others will take the ball to play, or go about some other honest recreation or pastime for exercise of the body. For so dooing, they would rather take him for a foole and an hippocrite, then for a vertuous and honest yongelman. Seeing good reason the child should vse the pleasures and pastimes of a child, yong men, disportes and actes of youth: and old men also graue and wise

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recreacions fyt for them. For in the end doo the best wee can, wee can not fly the morios of the flesh, wherein wee are bozne into this world. These yong gentlemen courtiers must take heede that they become not troublesome, importunate, nor quarelers, that they bee no filchers, liers, bacabonds, and sclanderers, nor any way geuen to vice. As for other things, I would not seeme to take from them their pastyme and pleasure, but that they may vse them at their owne pleasure. And in all other things lawfull and irreprouable, obseruing tyme and howers conuenient, and therewithall to accompany them selues with their fellows and companions. Also the yong courtier that cometh newly to the court, must of necessity bee very well apparelled, according to his degree and calling, and his seruants that follow him well appoynted. For in court men regarde not only the house and family hee cometh of, but marke also his apparel and seruants that follow him. And I mislike one thing very much, that about the court they doo rather honor and reuerence a man braue and sumptuous in apparell being bitious, then they doo a man that is graue, wise, and vertuous. And yet neuertheless the courtier may assure him self of this, that few will esteeme of him, either for hee is vertuous or nobly bozne, if hee bee not al so sumptuously apparelled and well accompanied, for then only will every man account and esteeme of him. Wherefor I durst take vpon mee to sweare, if yt were possible to take oth of our bodies, that they would sweare they needed them not, much lesse desier so large compassed gownes, that euery puff of wynd myght swell them as the sayles of a shippe, nether so long that trailing on the ground they gather dust, and cast it into our eyes. Howbeit I think now adayes these fine men weare then large and wyde, and women long with traynes vpon the ground: because in the court and els where, no man makes reckning of him that spendeth but orderly, and onely vpon necessities to go cleanly withall: but him they set by, that is prodigall, excessive and superfluous. And who that in his dooings and apparell is moderate, and proceedeth wisely: they hold him in court for a miserable and couetous man: and contrarily, hee that is prodigall and lauish in expence, him they count a noble and worthy person. Albeit the courtier come of a noble house, and that hee bee yong of yeares, ritch, and welthy, yet would I lyke better hee should vse rather a certain meane and measure in his apparell (wering that that is comly and gentleman like) then others of most cost and worship. For like as they would count hym a foole for wering that hee could not pay for: So they likewise would thinke him simple, if hee ware not that that become hym, and that hee might easely come by. His apparell should bee agreable with his yeares, that is to say, on the holly dayes some more ritcher and brauer then on the woorkdayes: and in the winter of the whottest furr: in the sommer lyght garments of sattin and damask: and to ryde with, some others of lesser price and more durable. For as the wisdom of man is knowen by his speaking: so is hys dyscretioun decerned by his apparel. Let not the poore courtier fluddy to weare or deuyse any new or strange fashioned garment, for if hee bee of that humour, hee shall quickly vnder

bindooh him selfe, and geeue others occasion also to follow his light and bayne inuention. There are now adays found out so many strange wayes to dresse meate, and so many fashions and paterns of apparell, that now they haue vniuersities of taylers and cookes. What more greater banity and lightnes can there bee then this: that they wil not suffer the mothers gownes to bee made fyt for their daughters: saieing that they are old and out of fashion, and that they vse now a new kynd of apparel & attyre farre from the old maner. And not withstanding these gownes bee it in maner new, good, hole, cleane, ritche, and well made, and without woeme, yet their daughters must needes haue new gownes at their mariadge. So that wee may aptly say, that a new folly, seekes alwayes a newe gowne, namely when they are light persons, without wyt and discretion. And I pray you is it not a goodly sight in y^e court, to see a foolish courtier weare a demie cappe, scant to couer his crowne of his head, to haue his beard marquishottyd, a payr of perfumed gloues on his handes, his shooes cut after the best fashion, a litel cutted cape, his hose faire pulled out, his dublet sleues brauely cut and pinct, his rapier and his dagger guiltd by his syde: and then on the other syde the pestilens of penny hee hath in his purse to blesse him with, and besydes hee is deepe in the marchaunts booke for all those things hee hath taken bp of credit of him. Their nagges foote clothes would not bee so litell and narrow, that should seeme a friars hooe, nether so great and large as the foote clothes of bishops moyles. Also the courtier must see that his foote cloth bee good & hole, cleane, and without spot, not tattered & seame rent. This wee speake beecause there are soome myserable courtiers that haue their foote clothes thred bare, broken and seame rent, foule and durty narro and all digged full of holes with their spurs. And therfore no man deseruith to bee called a right courtier, onles hee bee fine and nete in his apparell hee weareth, & also courteous and ciuill in his wordes and entertainment. And yet touching y^e rest of the furniture of their horse, or gelding, their harness and trappers must bee kept black and cleane, and they must looke that the reynes of the bydel bee not broken nor bntowed, w^{ch} I speake not without cause: for there are a number of courtiers that at primer will not stick to set bp a lest of a. 100. or. 200. crownes, & yet will think much to geeue their pooze horsekeepers twelue pence to by them a payr of capnes. And truly the courtier (in my iudgement) that is content to tye his hose with bntagged poynts, to see his fier smoke whē hee should warme him, to ride with broke reynes, and to cut his meat at the table with a rusty knife, I would think him base bozne, and rudely brought bp. When the courtier will ryde his horse, let him looke euer beefore hee take his back, that hee haue all his furniture fyt for him, his mayne and taile synely comed, his stirrops bright glistering, his stirrop leathers stronge, and his sadell well stuffed, & aboue all let him sitt bpight in his seate, and cary his boddy euen, swarving of nether syde, holding his legges still and keepe his stirrope. For this name to bee called Chiuallier (signifieth in our tongue a rider of a horse) came first beecause hee could ride and manedge his horse wel, And whē hee would spurte his legges to spurte his horse, let him beeware hee stoupe not forwarde with his boddy, and when hee dooth spurte his horse, let him not spurte him low but hye in the flankes, and whether hee will runne or stand still with

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his horse, let him alwaies haue his eye vpon his raines, that in no case the raines go out of his hand. And in geeuing his horse a care, let him not with his body, nor bee to busie in beating or spurring his horse oft. For in his carriage, to know when to spur him, when to geue him heade, or to pull him back againe, and to stoppe him, I haue seene many take yt vpon them, but fewe in deede that euer were skillfull and could do yt wel. Now the courtier beeing mounted on horse or moile, without his rapier by his syde, seemeth rather a phisition that goth to visite his sick patients, then a gentilman of the court that for his pleasure and dispozt rideth abroad through the streets. And if hee were by chaunce intreatid by some noble man to accompanie him or to ride beehind him of pleasure through the streets, euery honest courtier ought not only to doo it, but vnasked to bee ready to offer him selfe to wayte vpon him and go with him willingly. And let the fyne courtier beeware, that in geeuing his hand to a gentylwoman hee bee not gloued, and if shee be a horseback, that hee talke with her bare headed, to doo her the more honoꝝ, and if shee ryde beehind him, and they chaunce to discourse together, let him neuer looke back vpon her to beehold her, for that is a rude maner and a token of ill education. And one comon courtesie there is amonge courtiers, that when they are in talke with ladies and gentylwomen and entreteining of them, they suffer them to doo with them what they will, to reigne ouer them, and to bee ouercomen in argument of them, and they holde yt good maner to doo them seruice, when they haue any occasiō offered to serue them. And when hee shall accompanie any gentylwoman to go a visitation with her, or to walke abroad for their pleasure through the streets, hee must ryde fayr and softly, and if shee should happen to keepe him so long in talke till shee should light, the good courtier must beare yt courteously, and make a good countenance as though it greeued him nothing, syth wee know very wel, that when women beeginne once to talke, it is impossible for them to make an ende, onles they bee ouertaken with night, or preuented by some other accident. Hee that wilbee a courtier, must keepe his shooes black and cleane, his hose straight to his legges, and his garments without plight or wrinkle, his sword fayr barnished, his shirts fynely wrought, and his capp standing with a good grace. For the chiefe thing of court is, that noble men bee rich in apparell, and the right courtiers fyne and cleanly. It is not decent for a man to weare his slippers so long that the soles bee seene, nor his garments till they bee torne, nor furre till yt bee bare befoze, nor shirts till they bee worne out, nor his cappe till the turffe bee greasy, nor his coate till yt bee threde bare, nor his girdell till yt bee halfe broken. For the courtier may not only weare his garments to content himself, but also to like others that shall beehold yt. And after that hee is once determined to go to the court, hee must suppose to go thither well apparrelled, els they will not suer account him to bee a right courtier. For in this case, excuse of pouerty may not bee alledged, for they will think them rather miserable, then poore courtiers. The good courtier may not spare in court, to spend afterwards at home: but hee must pinche at home to bee liberall afterwards in the court. And yet once agayne I retorne to recite, that for a courtier to come into the princes fauor, hee may not any waye bee sparing or miserable, but rather honestly

nelly liberall, and bountifull. For seeldome tymes concurre these thre things together, to bee myserable, and yet with his mysery to attayne to the princes fauor. I remember I saw a frend of myne once in the court were a ierking faced at the collier with martyrns, and they were all bare and greasy, and there was a certayne portugall in the court (a pleasant companion) that came to this gentleman, and asked him properly, what sayr furs they were hee ware about his neck: and this gentillman answered him martyns: marterns sayth the portugall, mee thinkes they are rather like furs of Alwednesday, then of Shrouetewday. And finely this portugall compared Mardi (that is tuesday) to his martyn furs: a so likewise his martyn furs to Mardi. And sure hee had great reason not to prayse them, but greatly to rebuke him for them. For it had been more for his honor and woorthipp, to haue had the collier of his ierking lined with sayr new white lamine, then with those old, stale, durty and sweety marterns. The broodes that our courtier must were in his capp must bee very rich, and excellently wrought, and his deuise or woord that hee will haue about yt such, that though euery man may reade yt, yet few shall vnderstand what yt meanes. For such deuises are euer lightly grounded of baine and fond toyes, and therfor they should bee somuch more secret and obscure. For suer the fault is great ynough in a man to deuise yt, though hee doo not beetray yt. Also his seruants that waittes vpon him must needes go handsomly appparelled, & syne & nete in their appparell. For it is small honor for the master to bee well appparelled, if hee let his seruants goe beggerly. There are many courtiers that haue their men following on them with threed bare clokes, tozne coates, foule shertes, broken hose, and rent shoos. So that these pooze seruing men, if for one moneth they were that their master giueth them, for three other moneths after they were their owne proper flesh. It is no wise mans part, but a mere folly to keepe a greater traine then hee is able. For that courtier that hath alwayes many seruants waiting ou him, and they going tottered and tozne, hauing no good thing to put on their backs, (or at least that they haue is but meane and simple) shal soner buyne the name of a broker, that presereth other men to saruice, then of a master that keepeth seruants him selfe. The good courtier must geene vnto all his seruants that serue him, ether appparell, or wages: for that seruant that serueth only in house for bare meate and drink, shal neuer serue truly while hee dooth serue. And therfor let the courtier looke well to yt, that hee enterteigne no man into his saruice, but that first hee agree with him for standing wages: onles yt bee that hee bee some neww, or kynsman, or some of his deare frends: els in the end, if hee bee a noble man (vntles hee doo so) hee shall find that at the yeares end hee shall spend him more, than if hee gaue him ordinarie wages, and beesids they will not bee contented with him, although yt bee to his greater charge. Also let him consider well, if yt happen that (when hee hath neede of seruants to wayte vpon him) some brother or neighbors chyld bee offerid to hym, whether hee shall receyue him or no. For after hee hath him in his house, ether hee shall bee compelled to beare with his faults, and disorders hee shall doo, or els desirous to rebuke and refozme him, or to send him home againe, hee shall but buyne anger and displeasure of his father, or his

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proper kinsfolks. Suerly such courtiers as take those kynd of men into thei service, haue a greate deale of payne and troble with them. And truly it is too great a cruelty, that the courtier should bee driuen to beare the dishonesty of his man y^e serues hym, when his owne father could not away with his conditions. Some fathers there are so blinded, and sotted with fatherly affection, and difficulte besids to please, that they are not contented that the courtier hath receyued their sonne into his seruice, and that hee entreate him as if hee were his owne kynsmann: but further they would haue the courtier hys master beare withall his dishonesty and lewdnes: and if they can not frame the yong man to thei mynd as they would haue them, yet at lest they would haue his master to pity him, for that hee is but yong and hath no knowlege, and for a while to winck at all his faults, in hope of a better amendment. The courtier may not only see that his men bee well in apparell, but hee must prouyde also that they haue meate enough to put in their bellies. For the seruants that are starued for meate, are wotit to doo small service, and besyds that to complayne much. Let him beware also hee doo not take into his seruice any leud persones busy bodyes, and vnquiet men, cutpurses, Ruffians, quarellers or hoozemongers: if hee find that hee haue any such in his house, let him turne him out of seruice straight: for by keeping such mates in his house, his house shall neuer bee well ordered, there shall euer bee quarrelling and swearing amongst them, and besyds that, the neighbors and comon people shall bee offended. Let the good courtier forsee that hee haue no cards nor dyce in his house to occupy the seruants. For these thriftles seruants that are geuen to play, beginne first to play, and afterwarde they learne to steale. Let the courtier bee well aduised also whan hee chideth with hys seruants that hee bee not too loude; that his voyce may bee hard abroad, as all the hostes and Inkeepers are. For in being too loud hee should bee more dishonored, then blamed, for the ill wordes hee geueth his man. Let him take heede also that hee doo not call his seruants dzonkards, theecus, billeins, Jewes, nor other such like names of reproche. For these and such other like vncourteus wordes are of small correction, and yet they byynge displeasure and disdaigne enough. And if the courtier can not geue bountifullly, and pleasure his officers and seruants that are about him, yet at least (how so euer the world go) let hym not bee behynd with them in payng them thei whole wages due to them: for so yt myght lyghtly happen, that the seruants would beginne to make complainys of hym, and that vnhappely in the end hee myght come to dy with mysery in his enemies hands. There is no enemy in the world so cruell, nor so much to bee feared, as the seruant that is not contented with his master, for as hee is the theefe of the house, so knoweth hee very well what peece of his masters harnes is wanting for his boddy to set on hym, whan hee would in that place haue an arrow for his token. Therfor soon soe as yt cometh to the courtiers eares that any of his seruants complaigne of hym, ether let him geue hym all that hee would haue, or put hym out of his house immediatly. For if hee doo yt not, let him bee assured that that seruant will neuer leaue till hee haue him put in disorde with his friends, and defame with others. And aboue all things

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wee haue spoken of yet, the courtier must cheefly looke what his man is hee trusteth with his honoꝝ: for in this case many are wont not only to bee de-
reyned, but also many tymes scorned. And there are many that will put theyr
goods into the hands and trust of a man, but their honoꝝ, and things of grea-
test waight and importance, they will soner commit to the trust of a yong
foolish, and simple page, then of a wise and stated man. And therfore
how much more his busines is of weight and importance, somuch lesse should
yt bee reueled to the secrecy of a boy. And if hee doo otherwile, I can as-
sure him hee shall soner bee spoken of of euery man, then hee shall haue his
busines dispatched. The courtier must also haue his chamber well han-
ged, and fynely kept, and cleane, and his house and family all in good order,
and euery man quiet. For the cleanes of the house, and ciuility of the seruants,
are a great token and witnes of the nobility of the master. In the court-
iers chamber where hee lyeth, the bed must fyrst of all bee made, and the
cloth before the doore let down, the chamber swept, the hangings and other
stuffe that is there in good order, with some parfumes or other sweete o-
dours, so that it should laugh vpon a man that comes into yt: for there are
some in the court so filthy and so ill furnished of hangings and other stuff, that
if any man come to see theyr chambers, they seeme rather sheepe coates, then
courtiers chambers.

COf the wise maner the courtier should haue to serue and honoꝝ the ladies
and gentil women, and also to satisfy and please the vishers and poꝝ-
ters of the kings house. Cap. ix.

Let the good courtier bee alwayes circumspect that hee seeke not any fa-
uor at the Iustices hands, but that that is lawfull. For if ether hee bee
denied, hee shall retorne with shame: or beeing graunted, hee shall leue
his consciens to gage. In lutes and controuersies betwene men of rely-
gion in the spirituall court, let him in no case deale. For at the fyrst shewe they
seeme very easy to the Iudge, but when they come to vnripping of the mat-
ter, to iudge of them, then they are matters of great charge and consciens.
There were many towres in Iherusalem, to any of which the deuill myght
haue brought Ihesus christ to haue perswaded and tempted him to haue thro-
wen him self downe: howbeit hee would not bring him but to the pynacle of
the church, to let vs vnder stand therby, that hee tooke more pleasure in one
spume doone in the church, or of holy persones then of tenne committed in the
woꝝld, and of woꝝdlings. And notwithstanding the courtier doo not see that
the reason is of his syde that is recomended to him, hee neede neuer passe for
that, to entreate for him, or to charge his owne proper consciens: as for exam-
ple. If any man intreate him to speake to y judge, or to write him a letter. For
many tymes wee see y Iudges make much more account of one only woꝝd
or letter fro him that is in fauor & estimation with y prince, then they woul of y re-
ligio & Iustice of an other man. And alwayes write in this forme. Right woꝝ-
shipfull or honoꝝable, y letters of fauor that shal be requested of you, &c. that by
thos

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those words the sudge may know, that for þ they were requested & besought
and not that yt should seeme you write for affectio, for dooing otherwise, that
that you shal write to him to satisfy others in, hee will think that you doo it, be-
cause either for reason or duty hee should perforce your letters. The like
consideration and modesty a good prince should haue in that hee dooth com-
mā: the like and self same should the esteemed and fauored of the court ob-
serue in his requests hee maketh. For many tymes the requests of the be-
loved in court are with more celerity performed, then the commissions of the
prince are accomplished. Let the courtier alwayes haue in his mynde also,
that if hee meete with any nobleman or knyght by the way, hee doo in
any condition retorne with him, and keepe him compaigny, although the
nobleman or knyght stryue with him, not to haue him goe back with
him, yet let him not suffer him self to bee overcome, to let all men know,
that notwithstanding the noble man or knyght passe him in degree or ap-
parell, yet hee shall not exceede him in curtesy and ciuility. This compaig-
ny is to bee vnderstanded to bee offered the knyght when hee rydeth in to
the city of pleasure, and not whā hee goth alone, and sheweth by his forehead
an vnpleasant countenance troubled in his mynd. Yet the courtier neuer-
thelesse must offer him selfe to accompaigne him, which if hee doo accept, hee
may not then importune or withstand him to doo yt: for wher hee should
think to bee accounted courteous, they would repute him a troublesome man.
When the courtier shall accompaigne any noble man of the court, let him
not then seme to contend with other courtiers for place, and honoz in his
presence, who should bee before, or behynd an other. For this strife co-
mynge to the noble mans eares whome they accompaigny, it myght easely
happen, that that compaignie, that came to wayte vpon him, and to doo hym
honoz and service, should then seeme to dishonoz and offend hym. Lytel kno-
weth hee what honoz meaneth, when in these trifles hee seeketh it. For the
wise and courteous courtier, hath not only to seeke honoz with them, with
whome hee rydeth cheeke by cheeke: but also with those that are beeloued
of the prince. Now when the noble man is accompaigned and that hee
is come hard by the court, you courtiers, bee ready to lyght of your horse
quickly before him, and when hee shall lykewise take his horse agayne,
bee as redy to take your horse back before him. For dooing thus, you shal bee
nere about hym when hee lighteth of on his horse, and afterwards help
him when hee mounteth on his horse againe. If perhappes at the comynge
in of a chamber, the lords seruants want consideration, or that they remem-
ber not to hold open the cloth ouer the dooze, the good and diligent courtier
should sodenly put hym selfe beefore hym, to lyft and holde yt vp. For
many tymes yt is as great an honoz for a courtier to bee accounted one
of good maner and bringing vp in the court, as out of the court it is to
bee reputed a great and famous captaine in warres. And seence the cour-
tier is determined to accompaigne some noble man to the court, hee is also
bounde by the lawes of the court to wayte vpon hym home agayne, which
if hee doo, the noble man shal bee more beeholding to him for the attendance
hee hath geuen vpon him, then for his compaignie to ryde with hym. If a-
ny

ny came to speake with the courtier that were equall with him in degree or
 meaner of calling or condition then him selfe, yt is one of the first and chee-
 fest poynts of ciuility and good maner, not to suffer him to open his lippes to
 speake to him, beefore hee haue his cappe on his head, for one to talke comon-
 ly with the other with his cappe in his hand, is of great auctority and reuerence,
 as from the duty of the subiect to the prince, or that of the seruant to the mas-
 ter. The good courtier must ever speake agayne to him that speaketh to
 him, doo him reuerence that dooth him reuerens, put of his cappe to him that
 putteth of his, and this hee must doo without any respect that hee is his friend
 or foe. For in the effects of good maner, no man ought to bee so much an e-
 nemy, that the enmity should breake the boundes of curtesy and humanity.
 It is rather fyt for comon persons, then for courtlike gentlemen, in so mean
 things to show their enmity. For to say truly, the good courtier should not show
 the enmity of his hart, by putting on or pulling of his cappe, but by taking
 sworde in hand to reuenge his quarel. And yf the courtier were in the church,
 court, or in the chappell of the prince, and set, and an other gentelman hap-
 pely cometh in the same place where hee is, hee must doo him the curtesy to
 geue him his place and seate & to pray him to sit downe, yea and if there were
 no other place fyt for a gentilmā to sit in, and that of courtesy also hee would
 not offer him that iniury to accept yt: yet at the least let the courtier doo what
 hee may to make him take a peece of his stoole, that parting with him his
 seate, the other may also come to part with him his hart. If those that were
 sett hard by the courtier beegonne to talke in secret together, hee should rype
 from thence, or go a litle asyde from them. For in the court they will say hee
 is ill taught and brought vp, and wanteth ciuility and good maners that will
 seeme to harken to any bodys tale or secrets. The courtiers must haue
 frendshipp also with the porters to open him the court gates that are kept
 fast cheyned in, that they bee contented to suffer theyr moyle or soote cloth
 nagge to enter into the vtter court. And the like must bee practised with the
 gentlemen vishers of the chamber, and captaine of the garde, to whome hee
 must doo a thousand pleasures that they may respect his person, & let him come
 in when hee will. And the next way to wyne this frendshipp, and to con-
 uerth them frends and to bee welcome of them, is to feaste them otherwhile,
 sometyne with a dinner, some tyme with a bancket, but especially not to faile
 them of a new yeaes gift on neweyears day, what trille or present so euer
 it bee. That courtier that is not acquainted with the vishers, and dooth
 them no pleasures, may bee well assured that those aboue in the hall, will
 make hym tarry in the vtter court: and those that stand at the gate of
 the cheyne, they wil make him light in the myer. With the vishers of the priuy
 chamber, he must needes deale honozably withall as to come and see them
 somtymes, and to doo them much honoz, in giuyng them some fayre icwell
 or presentyng them with a gowne or coate cloath of silke or veluet. And
 thus hee shall bee assured they will not only let him into the priuy cham-
 ber, but they will also procure hym to speake with the prince euen at his
 best leysure. To make the yemen of the garde also that maketh gentle-
 men geue place, and stand aloofe of from the prince, yet can not bee but
 very

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very profitable for the courtier to haue them his frends. For many tymes they may helpe vs to a tit place to talke with the kynge. yt is such a trouble and charge to get to speake with the prince, that if wee haue not great friendship with these wee haue spoke of, and that wee doo them some pleasures beefore wee come to the court, they will shut the doores against vs, & wee shall come home ashamed of our selues. For a courtier to bee acquainted with the ladies and gentlemen of the court, it is rather of pleasure then of necessity, albeitt it bee true, that the yonge courtier that serueth not some lady or dame in court shalbee rather blamed of his shamefastnes and cowardly hart, then approued for his modesty and grauity. In deede for a yong gentilman that is rich, noble, and free harted, it is an honest and comly entertainment to bee come some ladies seruant of the court: But for him that is pooze, lyuing in disgrace, and out of fauor, let him bitterly fly the loue of courtly dames, and stick to the pooze friendshippe of deuout nonnes. For the property of courtly mystresses is to empty their seruants purses, & y maner of religious nonnes to begge alwaies of him that visites her. The courtier that offerith him selfe to serue any lady or gentilwoman in court dooth bynd him selfe to a straight religion: For some tymes hee must kneele by her of one knee, sometimes hee must stand vpon his feete beefore her, and alwayes hee must haue his cappe in his hand, and hee may not speake to her vnles shee commaund him fyrst, and if shee aske any thing of him, hee is bound to geue yt her straight if hee can, and though shee frowne vpon him, yet hee may not bee angry with her, so that the courtier must needes imploy his hole person, and goods, in seruing of her that hee loues. For the courtier that is married, sure it is not fye for him to loue any other woman then his wiffe, nether is it honest for the woman to bee seruid with any married courtier. For these maner of loues are to no other end, but for him to bee mery with her, and for her to get somwhat of him. Let the courtier bee very wise that hee doo not loue & serue such a gentil woman, whome hee can not obtaine to his wiffe, for otherwise it should bee a great greefe to him, and a more shame, to see an other beefore his eyes enjoy her and eate of that frute, which hee had to his great cost and charges made now a frutefull orchard. And if it happen that his mistresse whome hee serueth bee nobly bozne, very fayr of complection, pleasant of condicion, of good grace and beehaviour in her conuersatio, very wyse and fyne in her dooings: hee may bee well assured hee shall neuer forget this greefe and sorow, and somuch more if hee did loue her withall his hart and vnfaynedly. There is great difference beetweene that wee lose, and that wee haue: For if the hart lament for the losse of that wee haue: yt bee wayleth bitterly to lose that wee loue. Also the courtier must bee aduised that hee tel not to any that his wiffe hath tolde him, or any thing that hath passed secretly beetweene them: For women are of such a quality, that for any thing they doo, they would neuer heare of yt agayne willingly, and those secrets that an other comits to them of trust, they can neuer keepe them secret. There is a lawe comon beetween women and their louers: For if they go abrode, theyr louers must attend vpon their persons: and if they buy any thing in the streete as they go, they are bound to pay for yt: And if they bee to late abrode, they must prouide the

of

of torches to bring them home with, and when the court remoueth from place to place, theyrs is the chardge to defraud their expences by the way: and if any doo them iniury, they are bound to reuenge their quarell: yf they fall sick, they must doo them a thousand pleasures and saruices: yf any challenge bee made in court of tilt, tozney, or barriers, they must bee the first and best mounted and armed aboue others (if they may possible) withall not for getting their Ladies colours and deuise, offering them selues nobly to per-
 forme the challenge, geeuing them to vnderstand, that for their sakes, they ne-
 cher feare to aduenture theyr lyues, nor spare for any chardge to doo them
 all honoz and seruice. Without dout wee may speake yt truly, that hee put-
 teth him selfe to great perill and danger (what so euer hee bee) that serueth
 women. But when the wise courtier is now become a seruant to any la-
 dy in court, hee must beware in any case he enterteigne or serue any other
 then his mistresse: for if hee did otherwise, hee should rayse a mortall
 hate and discorde betweene those women: by reason wherof many slaun-
 ders and broyles might ensue. It is a naturall thyng to all women, that to
 hate any man, a hundred will come to agree in one opinyon: but to loue him
 you shall not find two of one mynde. The good courtier must couet the
 best hee can to bee alwayes at the making redy of the kyng, and at his
 meate, and for two causes: The one for that hee may bee ready to doo him
 saruice, and the other, for that at such a tyme they shall haue an apt tyme to
 create with the prince in any thyng hee will, if hee haue any occasion of
 busines with hym. And when the king is ether at his meate, or that hee bee
 putting on his apparell, let the good courtier bee circumspect hee come not
 to neere the table where hee sitteth, nor that hee touch the kyngs apparell
 hee weareth on. For no man ought once presume to bee so hardy to medle
 with his meate, or his apparell, vnles hee bee thetwer, or chamberlayne.
 And yf in this tyme of repast, or makynge him redy, there were present any
 testers or fooles, that sayd or dyd any thing to make them laugh: The
 good courtier must take heede that hee laugh not to loude, as in such cases
 many are wont to doo. For in such a case the prince would bee better ple-
 sed at the modesty of the courtier, then at the knauery or folly of the foole.
 The honest courtier must not haue a foole his frend nor his enemy: for to
 make hym his frend, hee is to dishonest, and too bee his enemy, hee is to vile
 and cowardly. I wylly the courtier not to bee angry with hym, what so euer
 hee dooth: for many times yt happeneth, that the frendshipp of a wise man
 dooth not somuch benefit or pleasure: as the enmity and displeasure of one of
 these fooles dooth hurt. And if hee wylly geue them any thyng (as hee must
 needes) let hym beeware hee geue hym not occasyon to condemne hys
 consciens, and that hee stoppe theyr mouthes: For the courtier that is a
 christyan, should geue asmuch more to the poore to pray to god for
 hym, as hee should geue to others to speake well of hym to the kyng.
 When the kyng meynes, and that the courtier bee present, hee must
 straght put of his capp, and bowe hym selfe in manner to the ground,
 but

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but for all that hee must take heede hee say not christ helpe you, or god blesse you, or such other lyke. For to do doo any manner of curtesy or honoz, is only pertinent to courtiers: But to say christ helpe, or god blesse you, is the countrie manner. And if the kyng by chaunce should haue any heare, or feather, or slee upon his clothes, or any other filthy thyng about him: none but the chamberlein only should take it away, and none other courtier should once presume to take any thing from his back, or to touch his garment, nether any other person, vnles it were in case to defend him. When the kyng is set at the table, the courtier may not come into the kitchin, nor much lesse leane vpon the surueying boorde. For though hee did yt perhaps but to see the order of the suruey and seruice of the prince: yet yt may bee suspected of some, hee ment some worse matter, and thereby they should iudge ill of him. If the prince haue a felicity in hauking, the courtier must indeuor him selfe to keepe a cast or two of good fabolcons: & if in hunting, then hee must haue good greyhounds. And whan hee is eather a hauking or hunting with the kyng, hee must seeke to serue him so diligently that day, that hee may both fynd him game to sport with, and procure for him selfe also fauor at the princes hand. Many tymes princes are so earnest of their game, and so desirous to kill that they hunt, that they are wont boldly to chase the beasts they hunt, and pursue them so, that oftymes they lose the sight of all the rest. In such a case the good courtier must euer haue his eyes vpon him, and rather seeke to follow the kyng, then to take pleasure in hunting of other beasts. For in that case yt shall bee a better hunting for him, to fynd out the kyng, and to bee with him: then hee should take pleasure in beeing alone with the hart. Yt may happen lightly, that the kyng gallopping his horse vpon the rockye stones, hee might stumble at such a stone, as both the kyng and his horse should come to the ground: and at that tyme it could not bee but very profitable for the courtier to bee present. For yt might so happen, that by meanes of the princes fall, (hee beeing redy to helpe him) hee might thenceforth beeginne to grow in fauor and credit with the prince. The most parte of those that deliight to goe a hunting, are wont comonly to eate theyr meat greedely, and drinke out of measure, and beesids to shoute and make a wonderfull noyse as they were out of their wits: which things the graue and wise courtier should not doo: for they are rather fit for bacabonds, and Idle persons, that letterh not by their honesty: then they are for the honest courtier, that only desireth and indeuoureth by modest & wise beehauiour to becom great, and in fauor.

Of the great paines and troubles the courtier hath that is told in sutes of law,
and how hee must suffer, and beehaue him self with the iudges. Cap. r.

There are in the court also dyuers kynds of men, that bee not courtiers, and princes seruants, but onely are courtiers of necessity, by reason of sutes they haue with the counsell. And these manner of courtiers haue as much neede of counsell, as of helpe: for hee that hath his goods in hazard, hath also his lyfe in ieopardy.

To speak of the dyuers and subtle ways of suffering, it is no matter woorthy to bee written with black ynke, but only with lyuely blood. For in deede if euerie one of these suters, were forced to abyde for his faith and beleue those pains, troubles, and sorowes, that hee dooth to recouer his goods: as much cruelty as tortures shoold Vagliadori, and Grauata haue, as euer had Rome in times past. In my oppinion, I think it a hell to continue a long suter. And surely wee may beleue, yea and sweare to, that the martirs executed in old tyme in the primitive church (which were many in nomber) did not suffer so much, neither felt such grief to lose their life, as dooth now a days an honest man to see him self depriued of all his faculties. It is a great trouble and charge to recouer any thing, but in the end of these two effects, a wyse man suffreth and feeleth more the displeasures hee receiueth, then hee dooth the goods hee spendeth. And in my iudgement to stryue and contend is nothing els, but to bring matter to the hart to sigh and lament, to the eyes to weepe, to the feete to goe, to the tongue to complaine, to the hands to spend, to intreat his frends to fauor his cause, and to commaund his seruants to bee carefull and diligent, and his body to laboz continually. Hee that vnderstandeth not the condicions of contention I wil let him know they are these. Of a rich man, beecome poore: of a mery man, to bee made melancholy: of a free man, a bond man: of a liberall man, a couetous man: of a quiet man, an vnquiet person: and of a hatefull, a desperat person. How is it otherwise possible, but the haples suter must beecome desperate: seeing the iudge looke vppon hym with frowning cheere, his goods to bee demaunded of him wrongfully, and that now it is so long a tyme hee hath not beene at home, and knoweth not yet whether sentence shalbee geueen with him or against him, and besydes all this, that the poore man in his lingring suite hath spent so much, that hee hath not left him six pence in his purse. If any of these troubles bee enough to bring a man to his end, much more shal they bee to make the poore man desperat, and wery of his lyfe. So dyuers are the effects, and succeffe scene in matters of suite, that many tymes there is no witt able to direct them, nor goods to bring them to end. Nay wee may boldly & truly say, that the lawes are so many, and diffuse of them selues, and mens iudgements so simple to vnderstand them, that at this day there is no suite in the world so cleere, but there is found an other law to put that in doubt, and make it voyd. And therfore the good and yll of the suter, consisteth not so much in the reson hee hath, as in the law which the Judge chooseth to geue iudgement of. It is well that the suter beleue and think that hee hath right, but the cheefest thing of importance is, that the iudge also desire y hee haue his right. For that Judge that fauoreth my cause, and desyreth to doo mee iustice, hee will laboz & study to seeke out some law, that shal serue my turne to restore mee again to my right. To contend, is so profound a science, that neither Socrates to the Athenians, nor Solon to the Greekes, nor Numa Pompilius to the Romans, nor Prometheus to the Egyptians, nor Licurgus to the Lacedemonians, nor Plato to his disciples, nor Apolonius to the poets of Nemesis, nor Hiarcus to the Indians, could euer tech it them, and much lesse could they tell how to fynd any way to write it in their bookes of common wealth. The cause why these famous men did not fynd it, was beecause this science could not bee learned

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by fludping of dyuers bookes, noz by traueling through dyuers countreys, but only by framing great suites and processe, and by infinite charge and expence of money. Happy, yea truely most happy were those ages, in whych they neither knew, noz could tell, what strife oz contention ment. For in deede from that tyme hether to, the world hath fallen to decay, and cheefely since men haue growen to quarel and contend ech other with his neighbor.

Plato was wont to say, that in that comon weale where there were found many Philistians, it was also an euident token that there were many vicious people: and lyke wise wee may say that in the city where there are many suters, it is to bee thought it folowes also, that there are many yll disposed people. That only may bee called a blessed and fortunat common weale, where men lyue quietly, and haue not to doo with Iustices noz iudges. For it is a true rule, when philistians are much frequented, and iudges much occupied, that amongst that people there is lyttle health, and lesse quiet. But to returne to the troubles of our suters, I say that the disciples of the famous Philosopher Socrates were not bound to bee sylent in Athens aboute two yerres, but the vnfortunat suters were bound to hold their peace tenne yerres if their suites did continue so long. For albeit the Iudge doo them open iniury, yet they may not seeme to complayn, but rather say hee thinketh hee hath doon him the best iustice in the world. And if for his mishapp, oz plague of his offences, hee woold not so appoyne and speak them, let him bee assured the Iudge will perceiue it by his countenance, and afterwards lett hym know it by his iudgement. Some suters say they are great sinners, and I say they are saints. For of the seuen dedly sinnes that are committed, only of three they are but to bee accused. For in the other iiii. (although they woold) they doo not geue him tyme noz leaue to offend. How can the suter euer offend in Pryde, since hee must poyze man goe from house to house with hys capp in his hand, and all humility to sollicite his cause? How can hee euer offend in Auarice, syth hee hath not many tymes a peny in his purse to by him his dyner, noz to pay for the infinit draughts and coppres proceeding out of the Chauncery? How can hee offend in Sloth and ydlenes, syth hee consumeth the long nights only in sighes and complaynts, and the whole day in trotting and trudging bp and downe? How can hee offend in Gluttony since hee woold bee content to haue only to suffyse nature, and not to desyre pyes, noz breakfastes, noz to lay the table every day? That sinne they most easely and commonly offend in, is Ire, and in deede I neuer saw suter paciēt: and although hee bee angry, wee may not maruell at yt a whit. For if euer once in the end of half a yere hee happen to haue any thyng that pleaseh hym, I dare bee bound every weeke after hee shall not want infinit troubles to torment and vex hym. These men also offend much in enuy, for in deed there is no man that pleades but yseniuous, and thys proceedeth many tymes to see an other man, by fauor dispatched of hys sute, that hath not continued only two moneths in court a suter: and of hys that hath continued aboute two yerres synce yt beganne, not a woord spoken. They offend also in the sinne of backbiting, and mutimuring agaynst their neyghbozs. For they neuer cease complayning of the partiality of the Iudges, of the slouthfulness and tymorousnes of his Counsellor, that pleades hys cause at the barre:

barre: of the litle consideration of þ attornys, of the payments of the notary, and of the small curtisies (oz rather rudenes) of the officers of the Judge. So that it may well bee sayd, that to strue in law, and to murmure, are nere kinfolkes togethers. The Egyptians were in tyme past plagued only wyth tenne plagues, but these miserable & woful suters are dayly plagued w a thow sand torments. And the difference beetwixt their plague & these, is that the Egyptians came from the diuine prouidence, and these (of our pooze suters) from the inuention of mans malyce. And it is not without cause wee say that it is mans inuention, & not diuine. For to frame inditements, to geue delays to the party, to allege accions, to deny the demaund, to accept þ prooffe, to examin witness, to take out proces, to note the declaration, to prolong the cause, alleging well, oz prouing yll, to refuse the iudge for suspect, to make intercession to take out the copy of the plea, and to call vppon it agayn wyth a 1500. Doubles: Surely all these are things that neither god commaundeth in the old testament, neither Ihesus Christ our sauour dooth allow in his holy Gospell. The writings of Egypt, although they were to the great losse and detriment of þ seignory of the Egyptians, yet were they neuerthelesse very profitable for the liberty of the Egyptians. But the miserable playntifes are yet in an other greater extremity, for notwithstanding the plagues and miseries the pooze wretches suffer daily, yet do they leaue their soules buried in the courts of Chauncery, and cannot notwithstanding haue their goods at liberty. And if the plague of the Egyptians was by ryuers of blood, froggs, horse flies, death of cattell, tempests, leprosy, locusts, mist, flies, and by the death of the first bozne childzen: The plague of the plaintifes is to serue the presidents to beare with the auditors, to increat the notaries, to make much of their clarks, to please the counsellors, to follow their heeles that must open their cause, to pray the vsshers, to borrow money, to goe from house to house to sollicite their attornys, all these things are easy to tell, but very hard to suffer: For after they are once proued and tryed by experience, they are enough to make a wyse man contented, rather to lose a peece of hys ryght, then to seeke to recouer it by any such extremity. For hee may bee well assured, that hee shall neuer want fayre countenaunce, sugred wordes, and large promyses: but for good dooings it is a maruelous woonder if euer they meete togethers. And therefore beefore all other thyngs it is necessary hee pray to God for hys own health and preservation, and next to him, for the preservation and long continuance of the Judge, if hee will obteyn his suite. Therefore I aduise him that hath not the Judge for hys frend, to beeware (as from the deuyl) hee doo not commence any suite beefore him. For to dispatch him the better, eyther hee will fynd the means to make his case very dark, oz at least hee will prolong his suite as long as it please. It skilleth not much whether the iudges bee old, oz yong men, for both wyth the one and the other the pooze playntife hath enough to doo. If they bee old men a man shall trauell long ere hee will heare his cause. If they bee yong men, hee shall wayt long also ere hee can informe them of the very poynts of his case. An other great discommodity yet foloweth these old Judges, that beeing euer sickly and of weak nature, they neuer haue strength nor

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tyme in maner to examyn their cases. And as those that haue lost now a great peece of their memoꝝ, only trusting in foꝛe passed expences, they presume to dispatch their lutes as lyghtly (without further looking into them, or thꝛoughly examining them) as if they had already aduisedly studied them. And peraduenture their case is of such impoꝛtaunce, that if they had looked vppon it very well, they could scantly haue told what to haue said in it. And I woold not that when my case shoold bee determined, and iudgement geuen vppon my matter, that the Iudge shoold benefit him self only, with that hee had seene or read befoꝛe. Foꝛ although experience bee a great help foꝛ the Iudge, to geue the better Iudgement vppon the matter, yet notwithstanding hee is to study a new to vnderstand the merits of the cause.

It is also a great trouble, and daungerous, foꝛ a man to practyse wꝛth new Iudges, and to putt their matters into their hands, who only were called to the place of a Iudge, beeing thought learned and fitt foꝛ yt, and so bzought to rule as a magistrate. Foꝛ many tymes these yong Iudges, and new phisicians although they want not possibly knowledge, yet they may lacke a great deal of practyse and experience: which is cause that the one sort maketh many lose their lyues befoꝛe they come to ryse in fame: and the other vndoo many a man, in making him spend all that euer hee hath.

There is yet besydes an other apparaunt daunger, to haue to doo wꝛth these new and yong experienced iudges, foꝛ when they come to sit newly in iudgement, with their other bzethern the Iudges, hauyng the law in their mouth to serue all turnes, they doo but only desire and study to wyne fame and reputation amongst men, and thereby to bee the better reputed of hyz bzethren. And foꝛ this cause only when they are assembled together in place of iudyce to geue iudgement of the ples layd befoꝛe them, they doo then only enlarge them selues, in alleging many and dyuers oppinions of great learned men, and booke cases: So that the heerers of them may rather think they haue studied to shew their eloquence and learning, then to open the decision and iudgement of the cases they haue befoꝛe them.

And foꝛ synall resolution I say, that touching ples and lutes, I am of opinion, they shoold nether trust the experience of the old Iudge, nor the learnyng and knowledge of the yong. But rather I reckon that man wyse, that seeketh by lytle and lytle to grow to an honest end and agrement wꝛth hyz aduersary, and that tarveth not many yeares to haue a long, yea (and possible) an vncertain end. Also I woold exhoꝛt the pooꝛe pleyntyfe, not to bee ouer curious to vnderstand the qualittes of the Iudge, as a man woold say. If hee bee old, or yong, yf hee bee learned or pꝛiueleged, yf hee bee well studied or but little, yf hee bee a man of few or many woꝛds, yf hee bee affected or passioned, tractable or self willed, foꝛ possibly beeyng to inquisitiue to demaund of any of these thyngs, it myght happen though hee dyd it vntowars, yet hee shoold fynd them afterwards all heaped togethers in y^e parson of y^e Iudge, to hyz hynderance & damage in decyptyng his cause. The wise suter shoold not only not seeke to bee inquisitiue of y^e Iudge or his condicions, but also if any mā woold seme to tel him of him, hee shoold geue ne
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no care to him at all. For if it come to the iudges ears hee inquireth after his manner of lyuing, and condition, hee will not only bee angry with him in hys mynd, but wilbee also vnwillyng to geue iudgement in his fauor. The pooer suter shall also meete with terrible iudges, seuerer, intractable, collick, incommunicable, and inrozable, and yet for all this hee may not looke vppon his nature, nor condicion, but only regard his good conscience. For what neede hee care if the Judge bee of seuerer and sharp condicion, as long as hee may bee ascertained hee is of good conscience. It is as needefull for the bpright, and good Judge, to haue a good and pure conscience: as it is to haue a skylfull head, and iudgement in the lawes. For if hee haue this without the other, hee may offend in mallice: and if hee haue that without the other, hee may offend also in ygnorance. And if the suter come to speak wyth the Judge, and hee by chaunce fynd him a sleepe, hee must tarry tyll hee awake, and yf then hee will not, or hee cannot geue care vnto him, hee must bee contented. And yf hee caused his man to say hee were not within (notwithstanding the suter saw him) hee must dissemble yt, yea if the seruants geue him an yll answer, hee must take it in good woorth: For the ware and politike suter must not bee offended at any thyng that is doon or sayd to hym, tyll hee see the diffinitive sentence geuen with him or against him.

It is a maruelous trouble also to the suter to choose his Counsellor. For many tymes hee shall choose one that shall want both law and conscience. And some others shall choose one that though on the one syde hee lack not law, yet on the other hee shall bee without both soule and conscience. And this is apparantly seene, that sometyne for the gayn of twenty nobles hee shall as willingly deny the troth, and goe against his own conscience, as at an other tyme hee will seeke to mayntain Justice. It is true there are many other counsellors also that are both wise and learned, and yet notwithstanding they know the law, they can by no means frame it to his clyents case, wanting deuple and conuepaunce to ioyn them togeether. And so yt happeneth many tymes, that to compare it to his clyants case, hee conueyth him so vnfitly, as of a playn case it was beefore, it is now made altogether a fold of infinite doubts. I graunt it is a great furtheraunce to the clyants, to haue a good & wise counsellor, but it is a great deale more for their profit, yf they can geue a sound and profound iudgement of his case. For yt is not enough for the counsellor to bee able to expound the law, but it is beehouefull for him to apply yt to hys purpose and to apt it to tyme and place, accordyng to the necessity of his cause. I haue knowen counsellors my self, that in theyr charyers and readyngs in their halles, haue seemed Egles, they haue flownen so hygh in their doctryne and interpretations: but afterwards at the barre where they plead, and in the face of the court, where they shoold best shew them selues, there they haue prooued them selues very capons. And the only cause of this is, beecause they haue gotten by force of long trauell and continuall study, a knowlege to know to moote, and read ordinarily their booke cases in their charyers, by common practyse, and putting of them ech to other.

But when they are taken out of that common trade and hygh beaten way, and brought to a lytle path way strayghted to a counsellors roome at the

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barre, to plead his clyants straunge and vnknown case (much contrary to their booke cases beefore recyted) then stript of their common knowledge, and easy seat in chayer, they stand now naked on their feete beefore the iudgement seat, lyke sericeles creatures boyd of reason and experyence. But now to supply these imperfections of our raby counsellors, and to further also our Clyents cause the better: wee will that the Clyent bee liberall, and bountifull to hys counseller, (thereby the better to whet his wytt and to make him also take payns to study his case thzoughly) beeing true, that the counseller geueyth law, as hee hath reward. And that the counseller also bee carefull of hys Clyants cause, and to goe thozow wyth that hee taketh vpon him, and truly to deserue that hee taketh of every man. For els they will say (and who can blame the pooze soules) they are better takers, then good dispatchers: A foule blott to so great a vertue. But well, wee will compare them to their brothers the phisicians, who deale with their sick patients, as the lawyers with their pooze clyants. For if you geue him not a peece of gold or two in his hand, at ech tyme of his visitation, to restore the languishing body: hee careth as lyttle for the preservation of his health, whether hee lye or dye: as the lawyer dooth for his clyants case, whether it goe with him or against him. More ouer my penne ceaseth not to wypte of the great troubles, displeasures, lozneys, expences, and trauels, that the pooze suters haue with their counsellors dayly (as with theyr attornies, Soliciters, clarks, officers, registers, and sealers) for want of matters to wyte on: but only for that they are so odious matters, and so foule examples, that they deserue rather to bee remedied then wytten. Therefore leauing this law discourse, and returning agayn to the pryuate affaires of the courtier, abyding still in court, I say: That the courtier must learn to know the noble men and cheef officers of the Prince. As the lord chaunceller, The lord Treasorer, The lord marshall, The lord Steward, The lord Chamberlain, The lord Priuy seal, The Treasorer, The Controller, The maister of the hofse, The vice Chamberlayn, the Secretary, the captayn of the gard, and the Cofetier. And hee need not force to wey their stock and family, whether they were ritch or pooze, humble or proud, stout or fearfull, nor regard their qualities and complexions, much lesse their persons, saue only their aucthority and office they haue. And to say truly it cannot bee chosen, but wee must come beefore these Iudges and officers sometymes to beseech and pray them, now for our own pryuate causes, then for the myse rule and offence of our seruants, and also for the impoztunacy of our frendes in their matters, to laboz them for iustice and fauor. And for this cause mee thinkes it is a wise part of the courtier to gett into fauor with the counsell, and other officers of Justice, and to obtain their good willes with continuall attendaunce of them, in dooing them seruyce at a neede, and also to entertayn them wyth some small presents to continue their fauour.

For as beefore wee beeginne to trouble them, wee must bee acquainted wyth them, bysit them, and present them wyth some what: For in dede it ys a cold and vnfit thyng to craue fauor at a Iudges hands, whom wee neuer knew, nor dyd any seruyce to.

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The wyse courtier must bee ware also not to importune the noble men and his frends so much, y^e for euery trespasing thyng hee woould haue them goe to the iudges, to sollicite and intreat for hym, which I speak, because I knowe there are some such indiscreet persons, that dayly doo importune the iudges so much, and for such trifles, that afterwards with shame they are repulsed, and denyed, in matters of great waight and importaunce. And there are some also that sollicite their matter with grauity, and others with importunytie, to whom I wyll bee so bold to say, and tell them of it also, that importunacy sheweth the simplicitie of the suter, and grauity, the honesty of the woozshy knyghts & gentleman courtier. It is but well doone and meete for the courtier that is a suter, to bee diligent to sollicite his cause, and to follow yt thozoughly, but yet wythout troubling or importuning too oft the iudges. For if once the iudges know him for an importunate and cumbersome suter, they will not onely not speak with him when hee comes, but also they will not let hym come in at the gate when they see him comming to them. And if hee happen to goe home to the iudges house, and that hee tell his tale to him standing, let him not in no wise care to syt down, and that hys woozds hee speak to hym bee few, and his memorizall hee geue him breefe. For obseruyng this order hee shall at that tyme bee easly, yea willingly and courteously hard of hym, and shall make him think that hereafter also hee will vse the lyke order wyth hym. When hee seeth that the iudge is troubled, and that his head is occupied, let him in no case at that present offer to trouble him, or to speak to hym in his matter. For admit hee were contented to heare you quyetly (though half vnwilling) and to suffer you to tell your tale, yet is it impossible hee should wholly vnderstand your case, his head being otherwys occupied. And it is needefull also to shew you, that though the iudge seeme to bee a lytle melancony, or colerick, yet the suter neede not let for that to speak to him, to open hys case, yea and to seeke to hold in wyth hym sylly: for many tymes wee see the melancony and ill disposed natures, appeased and overcome with the courteous and gentle conuersation. I remember touchyng this matter, I went once to the court, to sollicite the iudge, to praye hym to dispatch my frends matter, and that hee myght haue iustyce. And tooke my frend with mee. And the iudge answered vs both, that withall hys hart hee would dispatch hym, and sware and sware agayn to him that hee should haue iustice, & that with right good wyll hee woould keepe his right all hee could. Nay sir sayd my frend to him whom the case touched, I thank you syze very much that you will dispatch mee quickly, but wheare you say that you haue a great desire to keepe my right and iustice, I biterly appeale from that sentence. For I come not syze, and yt it please you, to folow your heeles and to wayte vpon you to sollicite my cause, to the end you should keepe my ryght, and deteigne yt from mee: but that you should geue yt to mee. For I promys you this syze, if you once geue it mee, I mean neuer to trouble your woozship hereafter wth the keeping of it agayn, but will discharge you quite. And now after al these thyngs we haue spokē, I cōclude y^e who so euer curseth hys enemy, & seeketh reuēge of an iniury doon him, let hun not desire

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to see hym poore and myserable, neyther hated nor ill willed of any other, dead nor banished, but let hym onely beseech god to plague hym wth some ill sute. For a man cannot deuise to take a greater reuenge of his enemy, the to see him entangled in a vile sute to follow the court, or to attend in chancery.

The auctor chaungeth his matter, and speaketh to the beeloued
of the court, admonishyng them to bee patient in
their troubles, & that they bee not partiall in thaffaires of the com-
mon weale.

Cap. xi.

The courtier shall doo well and wysely, and cheefely if hee bee noble, & beeloued to passe ouer the iniuries doone hym, and to beare them patiently, & neuer to geue any woordes to any that shall offend him. For the officers of princes can by no other means so well assuer their offices and authority they haue, as by dooing good continually to some, and to suffer others, no way makyng any countenaunce of displeasure for the iniuries doone hym by others. And yf yt happen (as many tymes yt dooth) that a folower and hanger on of the court, (hauyng spent all that hee hath, and byuen now to seeke a new banck) chaunce to speak dyshoneſt woordes, and frame great quarells against the kyngs officers: in thys case the courtier, and wise officer, should neuer aunſwer him wyth anger and displeasure, and much lesse speak to hym in choller. For a man of honoz, and respect, wyll bee moze greened wyth a dyshoneſt woord that is spoken agaynst him, then hee wyll bee for the denyall of that hee asketh. Those that are beeloued, and beelyked of princes aboue all other thyngs ought to bee very patient, courteous and gentle in all things. For all that the followers of the court, and suters, can not obteyn in the court, let them not lay the fault to the prince that denyed yt them, but onely to the fauored of the prince, and those about him, for that they neuer mooued yt to the kyngs maiesty: nor once thought of the matter, as the poore suters supposed they had. The payns and troubles of court are infynyt and insupportable. For how quyet so euer the courtier bee, they wyll trouble and molest him, if hee bee patient, they wyll bee impatient and in stormes, sayng that such a man spake ill of hym, and seekes contynually to defame hym. Whych things wee wyll the courtier heare wyth paciens, and dissemble wyth wysedome. For the wise courtier should not bee angry for the ill woordes they speak of hym, but onely for the vile and wycked actes they doo to hym. Let not the courtier and beelyked of the prince bee de- ceuyed, in thynkyng that dooing for this man, and for that man, and in shewyng them fauor: that for all hee can bynd or stay their tongues that they speak not ill of hym, and their hearts that they hate them not extremly. For the enemy receyueth not so much pleasure of that the courtier geueth hym, as hee dooth greif and dyspleasure, for that that is beehynd yet in the courtiers

courtiers hands to geue hym . Now in the pallace of prynces it is a naturall thyng , for eche man to desire to aspire , and to creepe into the prynces fauor , to bee able to doo much , and to bee more woorth then others , and to commaund also : and as there are many that desire it , so are they very few in number that by their vertues and demerites obteyn that fauor . It is a thing most suer and vndoubted , that one alone enioying his prynces grace and fauor , shalbee hated in maner of the most part of the people . The more they bee ryche , noble , and of great power , that are beeloued and accepted of prynces , so much the more ought they to bee circumspect , and to lye in feare and doubt of such disgraces and mysfortunes that may happen to them , syth every mans eye is vpon them , and that they are enuyed for that they can doo much , and desire also to take from them that autority and credit they haue , and to spoyle them of such treasure as they possesse , or haue gotten by the prynces fauor . And in this case the beelyked of the court must not trust in the pleasures hee hath doone them , neyther in the fauor hee hath shewed them , much lesse in the fayned frendshipp they seeme to beare hym , and that hee thinks hee hath gotten of them , neyther must hee trust to much bys friends , neighbors , and kynfolks , no noz bys own brethren : But let hym bee assured , that all those that are not in lyke fauor and estimation that hee is , (bee hee of what degree or parentage hee will bee , yea and as neere a kynne as may bee) they wyll all bee in that his very mortall foes . Authority to comaund , being the cheef and hyghest poynt of honor , and whereto every man seekes to aspire , and whych was cause that Pompey became the deadly enemy of Iulius Cesar his father in law , Absalon of Dauid his naturall father , Romulus of his brother Remus , Alexander of Darius , who shewed hym self tofore a father in loue in byrnyng on hym by , and Marke Antony of Augustus Cesar his great friend . So that I say , yt may well bee sayed , that after dysdaine and cankered Ire haue once possesst the deylcat best of man , onely concernyng honor and commaundement , it is neuer thencefoorth recured of that infected soze , neyther by gyfts and promysse , and much lesse by prayers and requests . It is true the accepted of the pryncie may well bee free from all thirst and hunger , colde and heat , warres , plague , and pouerty , and from all other calamities and troubles of this our wretched lyfe , but hee shall neuer bee free from detractions of benemous and wycked tongues , and from spyghfull and enuyous persons . For no lesse ys enuy ioyned to fauor , then is thirst to a burnyng ague . In this case yt is impossible but that the courtier should receyue many tymes displeasure and disgraces in the court , but not to geue eare to these detractors , and yll speakers of men . To remedy these thyngs , the courtier must needes seeme to let them know by his looks and answers , that hee is more offended wth them , that come & tell him these lewd tales : then wth those that in deede did trulyly report the of hym . This coucell would I geue y courtier , y what ill so euer hee heareth spoke of him , I woold wth him not seeme to know it , & much lesse to be agry wth al , noz once to geue a dishonest woord to y reporters therof . For his chollier ouer past , the euil woordes hee hath spoken to them in his anger may tourn hym to more displeasure , then hee hath doone hym hurt that caused

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caused him speak these wordes. And therefore surely to bridle the tongue, is rather a diuine then humayne vertue: and cheefely in that instant, when the hart, is mastered and subdued with cholozick passions. For afterwards yt happeneth many times, that beeing quyet agayn in our mynds, wee are soze for that wee haue spoken in our anger, yea agaynst them that haue angered vs. If the courtier should way every word that is spoken agaynst him, and esteeme every thing that is doon to him, hee should purchase him self a continuall and sorowfull life, yea and out of measure a trouble some and vnpleasant, syth princes courts are euer full of serpent tongues, and venomous harts, and that it lyeth not in mans power to let, that the harts of men hate vs not, and that their tongues speak not ill of vs, I would aduise the courtier to take all the ill that is spoken of him, in sport and myyth, and not in anger. Seneca sayd (and that wysely spoken) that there is no greater reuenge to punish an iniurious word, then to seeme to laugh at yt. For it is a thing moze naturall and proper to weomen, then men to desire to take reuenge of wordes, wyth the lyke wordes agayn: syth the noble hart that esteemeth hys honoz, must not haue his hands in his tongue, but his tongue in his hands. How many haue wee seen, both out of court and in court, the W for no other respect but to reuenge one onely seely word, y touched them not much, would put the selues, their goods, and fame in perill: and yet in the end had not that reuenge neyther they desired, but rather redoubled it gaynst them selues, in losing their fond and bayn attempt. Therefore to conclude those that wylbee great in fauor and estimacion in the princes court, and those also that are now in fauor and credit with the prynce, and that desire to contynue and perseuer in his fauor still, must not make account of any wordes spoken to hym, or offences doone hym: for all that are in fauor haue neede to suffer, and no occasion to reuenge. Tyll this present day I neuer saw any that receyued any hurt or detriment by beeing patient: but beeing impacient I haue seene numbers cast them selues away, you must also know, that in all places, where troupe and company of people bee, there is alwayes euer discord and diuersities in oppynions and iudgements of men. So that it happeneth many tymes in a common weale, yea and yt meeteth sometimes in one house, that all shall bee of one blood and kynred, yet in pryuat willes and affections mortall enemies. And therefore, suer yt is a thing woorthy to be noted, and no lesse to be wondered at, to see the father with the sonnes, the vnckles with the newewes, the graundfathers with the children, the sonne in lawes with their father in lawes, and brothers with their brothers, and sisters, the one to bee as farre different from the other as white and black, and as much frends as the dogge and the catte. And all this is caused onely, for that they are rather wedded to a self wyll and oppinion they haue, then they are addicted to loue and affect that that nature byndeth them to. Wee see also many pong courtiers, that though they bee vertuous and noble (hauing inherited and succeeded in nobility of blood their auncestors) by means whereof they are honozed and reuerenced: and possessyng also the greatnes, and aboundaunce of their goods, and ryches (whych makes them wealthy, and mayntayns them honozably) enioyng the noble parentage for whych they are

are regarded, hauyng many frends and seruants that doo them great seruyce and pleasure. And all in respect of their noble auncetors: and yet notwithstanding all these great thyngs wee haue spoken, they follow their own inuentions and imaginations, which their auncetors knowing would haue fled: and hate and myslike that, that they doubtles beeing alyue & cold haue followed. And therefore it is rather a token of lightnesse then of good wyll, for one to leaue to help and releue his own frends and kynnsfolks, to succour and doo good to straungers, or others, whom hee neuer knew, nor can tell what they are. For I assure you, that one of the greatest losses and myschaps that can come to a noble house, is to haue new frendshyp, and partialty, with straungers and men vnknownen. That gentelman that geueth him self to follow such one as pleaseth hys fantasie best, and that leaueth to lean to those whom hys auncetors heretofore both loued and lyked: shall see those old frends not onely leaue and forsake hym, but clean geue hym ouer to hys wyll, and shortly after shall fynd his substance and faculty consume and wast away, besydes, the honoz of hys house to bee brought to utter decay and oblyuion. And this wee haue spoken, onely to aduise the prynces officers, and such as haue credyt and auctority, that they doo not wyth fauor support and ayd any partiall sect, namely that that concerneth the state and body of common weale. For the esteemed of the prince, more easly, and with lesse occasion doo vndoe them selues, and lose the credyt they haue woone: by reason of their partialities, and factions they mayntayn, then they doo for the dayly benefyts and suytis they importune the prince in. Wherefore the seruants and officers of the kyngs house, although they bee in good fauor with the prince, and that it please him to lyke well of them, yet they may not so hardly support any to doo hurt to others, and so absolutly, as if they were the lords and princes them selues. For albeeyt yt pleaseth the kyng to call them to honoz, and to enrych them with goods and possesions, yet the kyng can not, nor wyll not lyke that they shall bee suborneris of factions, and quarells, amongst their subiects in the common wealth. And yet neuerthelesse it happeneth many tymes, that those that see them selues onely in fauor above others, will presume to doo byolence and wrong to others, trustyng to their great credyt and fauor they are in, that that shall suffice to cloke and hide any fault they shall commyt, which they neuer ought to think nor yet for any respect in the world to doo. For such vnhaply myght bee the cyme they commyt, that although it bee in the prynces power to doo great thyngs for them, yet hee could not at that tyme with his honoz excuse their offence, nor seeme to protect the in their lewdnes, wout great murmur and discontentacion of his subiects. I know very well, that in court the mindes, affections, and oppynions of courtiers are so dyuers, and variable, that notwithstanding the beloued of the prynce endeuor hym self al hee can possible to please & content every man in court, yet of all impossibylities it is a thyng most impossyble euer to attayn to it, to wyne all mens good wylls. Neuerthelesse hee must so trimly and wisely bechaue hym self in all his dooings, that those at least, whom hee can not w all his pollicy & deuise make his frends haue not yet any iust occasion geuen them to bee his enemyes. I see there is no mean, no reason, no deuise or pollicy of man, fauor nor diligence,

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that can defend the honozed and esteemed of court from detraction and enuy. Therefore I will boldly geue him thys aduise with him that in matters of iustice and other publike affaires hee beare him self so bpight, that notwithstanding they repine at his auzority and credit: yet that they haue no cause offered to complayn of him. The courtier is forced to complayn when his own familiar companions and fellow seruants of the prince, in his matters of contention or quarell step beetween them, not to part them, but rather to the contrary to contend with them and ioyne in demaund of that they strue for: which the lucles courtier is very apt to know, although hee dare not discouer yt, for many times hee supposeth yt lesse euill to suffer the persecution of the enemy, then to fall into the disgrace of the beeloued and esteemed about the prince. For he reputed of the prince comonly think they doo much for the comon weale in bearing and fauoring some, and in punishing and persecuting others. For those of great auzority, professing honoz and reputacio, and that feare shame: would rather them selues to bee defamed and reiected, then to see their enemies aduanced, or preferred to the fauor of the prince or of them that bee in fauor and credit with the prince. And the beeliked or officers of the prince may not think, that the fauor they geue to one against an other, can be kept secret, and that it cannot come to light: for in so dooing they are deceyued. For in deede there is no thing so manifest or knowen in the common weale, then the dooings and practises of those that are in fauor and auzority, yea euen to the very woordes they speak. Those that are aggrieved, and haue to complayn of some iniury doone them, or also those that are euen the familiars of the fauored, & that doo but aspire dayly to grow in greater credit wth their prince then others, doo not see any thing sayd or doon to others, he are in better credit then them selues: (bee it in eating, drinking, watching, sleeping, in play, beeing quyet or busye,) but they sodeinly goe and report it, and tell it to some other that ys in fauor, to enter and to encrease alwayes into greater fauor & trust wth them. If there happen any discention or enmity amongst the people in the common weale, or realme, the esteemed of the court must beeware in any case they put in their hand: & if they doo at all, that it bee but to pacify them, & to make the good frends again, & not to discouer them woorse then they were beefore. For if hee doo otherwise, all these quarels in the end shal cease, (they beeing reconciled togethers, and now made parfet frends) and to him they will all shew them selues open enemies. And therefore it beehooneth the fauored of princes to beehaue them selues so wisely towards them that are at discord & variaunce togethers, that both the one syde and the other should bee glad and well pleased, to make him arbitrer beetweene them to decide both their causes: without any suspicion that they haue of him (bee it neuer so litel) of parciality of eyther part. The same day that the fauored of the court shal take upon him to beare any priuat affection to any of the common weale, and that hee rather lean to one party or to an other: the self same day and howe hee shal put in great hasard his person, and not without great daunger to lose his goods) together with the fauor and credit of his prince. And the secret enemies hee hath (through the enuy they beare him) should suffice him, yea rather to much, by reason of his fauor and credit) without seekyng any new enemies, for that hee sayth or dooth. Such as are great with the prince, & flye the

the passions affections, and partialities, of the common weale may bee assured they shall bee beeloued, serued, and honozed of all: but if they shal doo the contrary, they may trust to yt likewise, y^e their enemyes will bee reuenged of them, beecause they dyd pursue them: And their frends also will complayn of them, beecause they dyd not fauoz their cause as they ought. Therefore lee not the beelyked thynk, if hee dare beeleue mee, that by hauyng onely the fauoz of the person of the pynce, it is ynough for hym to gouern and rule the whole realme at his pleasure. For although yt can not bee denyed, that to haue so great a frend as the person of a kyng, it is a great aduantage & commodity, and that hee may doo much: yet wee must graunt also, that many enemyes, are able to hurt vs, and doo vs great insury: And therefore my aduise should bee, that euery wyse man, hauyng one a frend: should bee ware to haue an other enemy.

¶ That the officers and beeloned of the court should bee very diligent, and carefull in the dispatch of the affaires of the pynce and common weale, and in coorrecting and reformyng their seruants, they should also bee very circumspect and aduysed.
Cap. xii.

Surely it is a great seruitude and trouble to lyue in court continually: but it is a farre greater when it is enforced of necessity (by reason of suites and troubles) and yet greatest and most intollerable, when they can not obteyn a shoyt and bryef dispatch according to their desire. For wytyng well the manner and condicions of the court, that suiter may reckon him self happely dispatched, euery time y^e hee is quickly dispatched, although his dispatch bee not according to his mynd. And I speak it not without a cause, that hee may reckon him self well dispatched when hee hath his answer. For without comparyson it is lesse ill of both, for the pooze suiter that attends on the court, to bee presently denyed hys suyt, then to continue hym long wth delays as they doo now a dayes, the moze is the pity. If the pooze suiters (that goe to the court) dyd know certaynly that the delay made in their suits were for no other occasion, but for to dispatch them well, according to theyze desire: although it were not so reasonable, yet were yt tollerable the payng and trouble that they abide. But if the pooze myserable and wretched creatures haue great trouble in trauerling the law, and abyding their orders: obteynyng it neuerthelesse in the end wth great labor and toyle, yea and contrary to their expectacion: haue they not yet matter ynough to row yee to complayn of: yez suer, ynough to make them dispaire. What so euer hee bee therefore that goeth to the court to bee a suiter for any matter of impezt, let him determine and think wth him self hee shal not obteyn his suyt euen as he woold haue it. For if hee shall feede him self wth certayn promisses, made in priuat (a thing common to courtiers, to promis much, and per forme nothing) wth other bayn and foolish thoughts: the great hope hee shall conceyue of their smokes of court, must needes geue him after wards occasion to dispaire whe hee seeth y^e promis vnperformed. The court is a sea so deepe, a pilgrimage so incertain, y^e there wee dayly see nought els, but lambs swymme wth safety in y^e deepest chanel, & elephants drowne in the shalowest foord. To go sue, to serue,
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to trauaile, & to sollicite in the court of princes, may aptly bee likened & compared to those that put in many richiewels to the lottery in open market: in which it happeneth very oft, that hee that hath put in a.100. lottes shall not happen perhaps of one, and another that onely hath put in one, fortune shall so fauor hym, that hee shall neuer after bee made a rich man. The lyke wee may say to hym that hath lyued so long in court, that hee hath not onely got hym a beard, but it is also now become a gray beard: and yet in all this long tyme of his seruice hee hath not gotten him any certainty, or stay of lyving to lyue honestly withal, to maintayn his aged yeares in quyet: and hee may well say, that all the lottes haue been vnfortunat to him which hee put in auenture. It is trew, that to bee called a good & vertuous man, it sufficeth to haue a sharp wytt and good head: but to become rich, hee must onely haue good fortune. And this is playnly seene in the court, that some in fower months wil grow great like a Helone, and some other in forty yeares wil neuer beare but litle fruyt, like a palme tree. Wee haue tolde you all these things. to this end, onely to remember those that goe to the court of princes to folloow any suit, or to continue a courtier still, that in any case they carry a purse wyth them full of money, & a hart armed with pacieng. What ppyty is it euery way to see him that is a suter in the court, to bee long haled with a tedious sute, and in the end not to obteyn any part of his desire, without a litle pleasynge wynd of court. For if hee will haue his sute goe forward, and take good success, & haue it speedely graunted, hee must first buy it of god with bytter teares, & afterwards of the kyng with humble intercession, of the secretaries with promysse, and of the vsshers with presents, & of the beeloued & in authority with infynit seruice: So that to conclude, farre greater is the rewarde they craue, then the balew, of the fauor or benefyt they bee stow. If I haue discoursed to you sufficiently what the vnlucky suters haue doone and doo: you shall further know what they think & doo imagyn, as it falleth out true. The seely soules they passe the nights in watch, deuysing continually, not in what church the next day they may heare diuine seruice, but onely what means they may procure to come to the speach of the fauored of the court, to speak one woord vnto them. The pooze suter (vnskylfull of courtly practyse) beleueth, that when hee hath once exhibited a bill or memoriall of his suit to the master of requestes, or that hee hath spoken a woord or two to any one in fauor with the prince, that straight without further delay hee shall bee dispatched of his sute, and that hee shall not neede to sue any moze. But alas they are deceyued, and preuented of theyre expectacion. For the vnhappy suter shall bee no sooner out of his syght, but they presently forget all that hath been sayd to them, yea and peraduenture his mynd so occupied, that his byll of memoriall is also tozne in peeces, and his suit and bill comynctted to flyng aye. The affaires of the warres are doone by force and necessity, and those of frends by good will, but those of the myserable suters of the court, by money or grete impossunity. So that it followeth that hardly any man obteyneth the end of his suit (bee his ryght neuer so good) without grete diligence and paynfull toyle. And many tymes the pooze suter of the court departeth from his own house, and goeth to the court, on hope and deliberacyon to bee dispatched in two monethes: and after wards the pooze myserable man shall

shall spend aboue syre monethes there without dispatche. But all this ys nothing to the greefe and displeasure hee shall fele in the end, if with better indgement hee measure and consyder, the pleasure and felicity hee might haue had at home, with the troubles and displeasures hee abyde in the court. For making account with his purse, hee shall perhaps fynd all his money spent, ere his suyt in maner bee begoon. I told you but of a lytle woonder, to tell you that al his ill consisted in the emptyng of the purse. For in deede I should haue sayd better, and moze truely, tellyng you that hee had sold his nagge, layd his sweord in gage, baratted his cote & cloke, and of two shirts hee brought, the one hee solde: so that the seely man hath no moze left to chop, nor sell. And yet moze ouer mee thinks I tel you lytel, If I shew you not also, that after he hath consumed all his money hee brought in his purse, sold, chopped, & layd to gage all the apparell that hee had, hee is notwithstanding all this enforced for debt to gage to his hoste all that that remainys behynd, to satisfy hym for his lodging. So that when hee cometh home to his house, hee may say truly, that hee cometh home wery, ashamed, consumed, and all that hee hath at gage. Hee that determineth to bee a suiter at the court, is woont beefore hee goe from home, to make account what hee will spend euery day ordinaryly: but what hee shall spend extraordinaryly, against his will, that hee neuer reckens of. And therefore I woold counsell him for the best, if hee put tenne crownes in his purse for ordinary charges, let him also put tenne moze for extraordinary. For it is impossible hee should euer keepe an order & measure, in so great a disorder. For many times courtiers are copelled for their honor & reputacions sake, to inuite their hostes & owners of the lodging where they lye: & besides the great charges they are at that way, yet come there vnbidden to dinner and supper a company of iesters, players of enterludes, minstrells, & musitians, or other pleasant companions whom hee can not refuse & turn away for honesties sake, but must needes make them eat & drink besides the reward they looke for. So that when hee hath made his account of tenne or xx. shillings charges for his dinner or supper, let him looke in his purse, & hee shall fynd these mates haue pickt vp in rewards as much, as y^e hole charges of his dinner or supper besides. More ouer they are dayly visited of their frends & kinnsfolks, & bitells are so deere & of so excessive price, that to make their prouision at the best hand, they must send out postes & lackeis into all parts to bee their purueiers. And yet are they further recharged that many times their seruants robbe them of all their money & runne their way when they haue doon, & sometimes they must new aray them selues, al w^{ch} things y^e courtier (in respect of his estimacion) is bound to doo thorowly, & with the best maner, or els to sequester & banish him self from court & courtiers life. It is true that a pooze gentleman or other suiter (that of necessitie must follow y^e court) knoweth very well the cause that mooueth him to bee a courtier, & attend on the court, but yet hee shall not know what his charge & expense will bee about the suyt. If hee haue any fauor or credit in the court, hee may happily obteyn a quick and redy dispatch, & so perhaps saue some part of his money in his purse hee determined to spend: without which hee shall not onely bee enforced to borrow, but to send a new messenger to his house for moze money. (the moze is y^e p^{er}ty) how many haue I seen in princes courts spend til that

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ever they brought to the court to follow their suyt, & yet could not bee dispatched in any thing hee came for, save that in steede of their money they consumed, they have purchased them great troubles & displeasures, bewayling their lost time, & vayne expence. And it is to bee considered also, that if it bee a great difficulty to speak to the prince in our matter, to the president of the counsell, to the master of the request, & to the privy counsell, to the marshalls of his house, to his treasurers, to his coffers, to the fouriers & to the favored of his court, it is farre greater & more trouble to enterteigne, & content their servants & officers. For I dare assure you, you shal sooner & more easily winne the love of his master, then you shal obtaine the favor & good will of the servant. Princes are contented if wee obey them: the favored of the court if wee serve them: but his servants are never contented, nor in quiet, if they see wee doo not worship them & entreat the. And surely I wil tel you a true tale, & wil not lye a word to you. In those days when I my self was also a courtier in the court of princes, it stood mee upon many times rather to trouble his masters, then to pray the servants. If perhaps (for penance of his sinnes) the suter shew him self importunate in his affaires, & that hee presume to dare say to him some ruyning or unpleasant word, let him bee wel assured he wil not bee revenged on him, to hurt him wth sword or lance: but onely in holding back his penne, to delay him in his dispatch. For I remember, that once being but a poore priest, I was entreated by the proctor of a province to say him a dozen of masses for a great noble man (& in great favor in the court) that had his matter in his hands, & hee comended mee very earnestly that I should not say them for the health & saluation of his soule, but onely that god would inspire him & put into his mynd to dispatch him quickly of his business. Therefore as wee have spoken of the one, it is reason wee should also speak of the other. And therefore I say that there are some of these officers & clerks of Judges, Magistrates, counsellors, secretaries, treasurers, marshalls, fouriers, and other officers also of the court that are so wise, & men of such honesty, & civility, that the dyscurtesyes & wrongs sometimes their lord & masters doo to vs, they doo the best they can either to take them from vs quite, or at the least to lessen or diminish them. For the contrary also, others there are so proud, & shameles, such tattlers, & vile persons, & so unconscionable with all: of whom as it is a great pleasure for vs to see that they write, and to heare that they can speak so well, & promise so liberally, onely to winne your money, & pick your purse: so it is a great spight to vs, and more shame, reproche, and infamy for them, when afterwards wee see the contrary effects of their faire words, and fained promises, where with they feede vs continually. And adding there to also wee see many times that such a yong courtier, in lesse then fower years that he hath remayned in service with a noble man, or other officer of the kings in his court, hath gotten by his practise & policy a faire moyle of great price, with her harness all gilt, his cofers well fylled, his tent for the feelde with feild bed & other furniture to it, his carpets on his table, his clothes of tapestry over his doores his gowns richly furred for the winter, and those of sattin & damask and tafeta for the sommer: and yet not withstanding all this glory, hee may possibly keepe a curtesan for his pleasure & maintayn her. All which things considered & put together, it is impossible hee should doo it by the gaines of his penne or service,

service, but onely by dishonest means, & robbing of his master. I saw once in my presence a poore suter, offer the clark of a Secretary eight Rials of siluer for to dispatch him of his suter, and hee refused them flatly, and would none of them by no means, notwithstanding the poore man turned him by the bottome of his purse, and showed him that hee had but onely fower rialls left to bring him home withall. So þ poore man came to mee, & intreated mee to speak to this clark for him, to perswade him to take his money hee offered him, and to dispatch him, since hee had no more left then hee showed hym. And I did so. And this woozshipfull clerk made mee this vn honest aunswere, Sir, behold my face and complexion, and you shall fynd that it is all of gold, and not of siluer. For I sweare to you by our blessed lady of Lancet, that yt is more then two pears that I receiued for rewarde of my payns no other but gold, and not siluer layd in my hands. It can not bee but that seruant þ vaunteth him self to haue a face of gold, will one day put his masters face in þ myre. Now albeit wee see the kings officers and others peradventure vnder them to ryde on their nagges with their foote clothes, to bee braue in apparell, to bee rich in iewels, and happely to haue a hundreth crownes in his purse, wee should not maruell of it at all: but if wee haue cause to think any thing yll in them, it is for that many times they play away more money fondly, the would serue any other man to spend in all his necessities. That officer or clerk that hath not aboue a hundreth crownes in his purse, and that in a night playeth away two hundreth crownes, what iudgement shall a man geue of him: but that epyther hee deceyueth others in his office, or hee stealeth & pilfereth from his maister or lord, or els hee exacteth bypon the poore suters, and racks them withall extreamty, without conscience and honesty, and that hee will haue yt on them euen with playn bzatwylng. Pea and though these good felows bee liberall in play (as you haue hard) yet I warraunt you they are not spare of dyet neyther, but if they call their frends at a tyme to their table in the hall, or els byd their curtesans to some garden, you may bee assured they want no deynt meats, nor delycat wines to please their lyking lust: pea peradventure w more coppy, & better meat and drinke then their maisters or lords haue any. Weare could I mate them w like companions to them selues, y marchauntes prentices, w for their laushy expence, their excessiue play, their lusty bankeing and feasting, other while their secret frends in gardens & blynd tauerne, come not behynd them at al in delicacy of fare, and in luptuous expence, but rather goe before, & leaue them farre behynd. And how think you, can these foule ryots & disorders bee bozn by any likelyhood of the prentices own abylyty: nay suer of the maisters cost (as best able) whose purse payeth for y good cheere, though hee good man fare at home but thynly. But wel, sence it toucheth not our matter, I will retorn agayn where I left. All these things notwithstanding, they are dishonest, are sometimes tollerable & to bee bozn, so y these faults they would bee diligent to dispatch men, & easly to talk withal. But alas for ppty, wee see that for al these complaints they heare, & for all the requests & intreaty that may bee made to them, they wil never take penne in hand before the poore suter take his hand out of his purse, that they may feele hym a lile. Wee haue spoken al these things, to admonish, remember, & to beseech the fauored of the pynce, and other their officers, that neither them

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selues nor their seruants vnder them, bee long and slow in dispatching such
 thyngs as they haue in charge, and cheefely of pooze and myserable suiters;
 For if wee consider the qualities and condicions of men, wee see that to ma-
 ny suiters yt were lesse detriment and more profyt, to bee answered quicke-
 ly (though they were denied) then dyspatched slowly (and to haue it graunted)
 to their great charge and long trouble. Truly mee thinks it is a great secret
 of god to know, why all those that are suiters in the court of prynces, & those
 also whom wee sue to are all mortall: And all the suits y^e wee labo^r for, seeme
 (yea to say more truly) are inmortall. And hereof wee see a dayly expe-
 rience, that the suiters dye, and their suits lyue for ever, being neuer deter-
 mined. O excellent art, and fyne deuise of suit that courtiers are woom to
 vse, that are gratefull to prynces, as for familiar example. They fynd a way to
 put in a thousand manner of lets to hynder and delay the suits, because that
 when by tract of tyme they haue more then halfe dyspayred the hopeles sui-
 ters, they then, to reuiue them agayn, and to make their hono^r seeme the gra-
 ter, dispatch them euery in a moment without let or delay, and to the suiters
 whole contentation. It is good reason the prynce haue a regard of the thyngs
 hee geue, and to whom hee graunts them, and like wise of the tyme and
 place. For in receyuing fauor or a good turne at the prynces hand, they some-
 times make more account and estimate of the lyberality, and bountyfull
 mynd of the prynce, then they doo of the gyfts them selues.ouer it ys a good
 thing, and laudable, for those that are continually about the person of
 the prynce, that they bee easy to bee spoken wththall, pacyent to heare, wyse
 in answering, of good fame in their life, and ready to dispatch and doo good.
 For being otherwise, they may bee assured they shall shew the mark and
 whyle for their enemies to shoote their perlyng shaft at, and shall geue the
 suiters also cause to complayn and speak ill of them. And therefore to cutte
 them short, I counsell them, that in those things they are besought, that they
 bee not too hard to bee entreated: and in that they are requested, that they bee
 neuer too straunge, nor d^rawoyng back, much lesse couetous, and in those thin-
 ges that are geuen them, they bee neuer vnthankfull: and with those that
 they are conuersant, that they bee very well aduised and consydered: & those
 thyngs whereof they are aduertised, that they endeuor them selues to keepe
 yt in mynd and memo^ry, and neuer to forget yt. And if they shall doo othe-
 wyse, let them assure them selues, and trust vnto yt, that if they in tyme of
 sute shall shut the doozes agaynst the pooze suiters, that the common people
 also will neuer open their harts once to serue or loue them. Prynces ser-
 uants should so gouern them selues, that though there were found some
 yll persons that dyspised them, for that they might doo much, and were of
 great autoritie: yet that there might bee many others also honest, that should
 praysle and commend them for the great good they doo. That man that is en-
 uied, dyspraysed, defamed, disloued, and ill thought of of al, should think it les-
 ser ill to dye honestly, then to lyue with shame and in disgrace of euery man.
 For to say truly, mee thinks no man could lyue a more bitter and hard lyfe,
 although hee abode many sorowes, sh^e to see him disliked generally of y^e whole
 comon weale. It is an honest and natural thing for men to ind^euor them sel-
 ues by all dyligence and industry to get much, but it should bee farre better,
and

and much more worth, to procure them selues good wil. For in effect nothing dooth more satisfy and glad the hart, and maketh it more quiet, then to think that hee is beloued, and wel accepted of all. It is a most certein rule, that the foes and enemies of the fauored courtiers neuer ioy in frendship wth others, but with those whom they know to bee full of passions and quarels like the selues. Of which detractors if any one happen at times to goe to the house of the honozed of the court, vppon any occasion of sute, and that they cannot presently speak with him: they will not say I warrant you that hee was busy, and could not speak with him, but that hee was so proud and so haughty that hee would not once hear nor see them. Wee are so wylling and forward in wishing well, and so self willed and obstinate in hating, that vppon a very light occasion many tymes wee loue those wee loue, and with a much lesse occasion wee defame and speak yll of those wee hate. Therefore the fauored of princes shall doo great seruyce to God, and much profit to the common weal, if they geue order to dispatch all suites (high or low) speedely: Since it is to the kyng only that they impute the demerall of their suites, but for the delay and prolongation of them, they only lay it to the charge of the fauored and beeloued of princes. And those that are great with the Prince, may not excuse them selues by reason of the nombers of matters they haue in theyr hands. For if hee bee alone, and that it lye in his hands only to dispatch all, and that hee is not able to satisfy them all, yt cannot bee but that some one of his frends will aduertise the kyng that hee cannot doo all, and how the people complain, and the poore suites fynd them selues agreed, whych purchase him great enemies and yll willers, by reason the common wealth ys so altered. So that hee shall not tarry long, but the Prince vnderstanding of these complainys, will ioyne a companion with him to ease hym of some part of his paine. And therefore the good Princes shoold admonish, and warne the officers well (whom they take to help to dispatch matters) that they bee wise and learned men, and of good lyfe, and that they bee not too partiall in their dooings, nor too sharp & rough in their answers. For in many tymes there happen more troubles and sinister chaunces to Princes and noble men, for the vncurtious language of their officers and deputies, then for any yll that they them selues doo commit. And therefore those that are in fauor and auctozity wth y^e prince, must of necessity foresee to choose vnder them such persons, to whom they geue the care and charge of theyr affayrs and busynes, to dispatch mens matters and suites, that they bee liberal of condittion, pleasant in their conuersation, courteous in answers, true in their wytyngs, easy and diligent in their dispatches, very honest and modest in that they geue or take, and sincere and perfitt in all their other vertues if it bee possible: So that they may ener bee more carefull to gett frends for their maisters, then money. For lyke as the lyfe of the maister of the ship consisteth, and dependeth in the only guyde and iudgement of the Pilot, and the consciens of the iudge in hys constitute, the goods of the marchant in his factor, and the victozy of the prince in his Captayn: Euen so likewise dooth the honoz of the fauored consist in those hee hath chosen officers vnder him for the dispatch of mens affayrs. And although the seruant of the beelyked

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bee no partaker with his maister of his fauor with the prince, yet is hee a coadiutor to him to support his credit and fauor, and many tymes also a ready mean vnto to vndo his maister and to dishonor him for euer. The lyke watch and care the good bishop hath ouer his flock, to preach vnto them the Gospell of Ihesus Christ: the self same ought the magistrats and higher powers haue to their officers that are vnder them, in taking heed that they bee not slow and negligent in dispatching such busines as they haue in charge, that they bee not dishonest of lyfe, presumptuous in demanding, and false in their writing. For the least of these fautes sufficeth vnto to vndo the seruant, and also to defame the maister. And therefore so soone as the beloued of the court haue any suspicion in the wo:ld, or ynking (bee it neuer so litle) that his seruant is growen to bee proud, dishonest, and of a naughty conscience, hee ought not only immediately to correct him for it: but to put hym out of his seruyce forthwith, and to thine his coat ouer his ears. Otherwise they will murmur so much at the seruant that dooth all these faults, as at the maister that will not see them, and suffereth them. Therefore the reputed of court must first see, and peruse ouer the writings and dooings of their seruants and secretaries, befoze they dispatch them out of their hands, and to moderate their gape with reason that is due to them. Otherwise their enemies might iustly say, that they keepe not such vnder them to dispatch poore men that sue for their maisters, but rather to spoyle & robbe them. And therefore they were better augment their wages they geue those officers and seruants, then to consent or dissemble with their theft. For so dooing, the seruant can neuer ryle in wealth, but the maister must needs diminish in honor. It may happen many tymes & the extremed of the court shalbee so occupied in thaffairs of the common weal, & hee cannot (though hee woold) geue audience to the suiters. But when they are thus occupied that they cannot in derde, they must then commaund their seruants and officers, that they courteously entreat them, and heare them, and not check or rebuke them, and call them importunar suiters. For it is no reason, & for dispatch of their busines, the poore soules shoud bee laden with inturions woordes.

That the berelings of the court betwene they bee not proud, and hygh mynded,
For lyghtly they neuer fall but through this wicked vice.

Chap. xiii.

WE read that Hieroboham succeeded his father in xii. realmes that were his, although they were but small realmes. Who being requested and exhorted by the graue aged men of his realm, to bee courteous and temperat, and not greedy, nor auaricious in recouering the tributes & subsidies the other realmes gaue him, & mercifull & pittifull in punishing the offences committed, answered them thus. My father beat you only with simple whips, but I will not scourge you with whips, but plague you with scorpions: for my litle finger is greater than was his whole arm. Which hapened very yl to him, & for to chastise & proud & arrogant woordes he spake to the, & to punish him for his wicked doings & enormities committed, they afterwards revolted against him, & took fro him. xi. of his realmes, & al his frends forsook hi: so & as he augmented i great

greatnes of hys syngers, hee diminished as much in hys realms and riches. So gret was hys pride likewise of king Pharao, hys not contented hys god had pardoned him his signes, and with the tenne plagues that hee had sent him, did yet notwithstanding resist and pursue the people of Israell. Wherefore the sea, (that was made a plain passage and high way, for the sauegard of the children of Israell his enemies) was prepared a sepulture for him and hys. Pompey the great also beeing in Asia, when it was told him that hee should leuy his power, and prepare his men to bee in redines to resist hys battell hys Julius Cesar came to geue him: with a great fury hee stamped his foote vpon the ground, and proudly spake these woordes. Next to the gods I fear no man, no not all mortall men, although they all were bent against mee, my power beeing so great, that I am able to destroy Julius Cesar, and all his power comming against mee. And not only the realmes of Asia shall fight for mee, but also I will commaund the ground that I tread on to ryle against him. But what was the fattall end of Pompeies pryde? His captains lost the battell, his children their Realmes and seignozies, and hee in fyne his heed, Rome her liberty, and his frends their lyues. Themperoz Domitian also was so victous in his dooings, and so proud in his thoughts, that hee openly commaunded the gouernozs and magistrats of his realm in all their edicts and proclamations to say these woordes. Domitian our god, & our prince commaundeth that this thing bee doon. But loe the synall end of his pryde, in taking vpon him the name of a god, by consent and counsell of his wicked wife Domitia, hee had seuen deadly wounds geuen him in his bedd wth a dagger. And thus wofully hee ended his gloriozous lyfe. Plutarch recounteth also that king Demetrius was the proudest prince that euer raigned. For hee was not contented to see him self serued of al men like a great & mighty prince as hee was, but hee made them also honoz him as a god. And hee would not suffer any straunge imbassatours to come into his presence, but they should bee appareled lyke priests. Aman was also very familer wth the king Assuerus, and although all those of his realm did him great seruyce, and that straungers had him in great veneration and did honoz him marueously, yet was there a gloriozous Mardocheus, that would neuer doo him reuerence, no: once put of his capp to hym: by reason whereof thys Aman that was in so great fauor, commaunded a gybbet of fyfty yards high to bee set vp for Mardocheus, whom hee would haue hanged on that gibbet, to bee reuenged on him for the iniury hee had doon him. But the diuine will of God was such, & Fortune dyd permit it, that on the same galloes Aman thought to haue putt Mardocheus to death, on the self same himself was hanged. Themistocles and Aristides were two famous men among the Greekes, and because they were both great Princes and Philosophers, and had in great reputation of all those that knew them, there was such a secret emulation and ambition betweene them, the one to raighe ouer the other, that both aspiring eche to commaund other, there folowed great disorders and oppressions of the subiects of their common weal. Wherefore Themistocles moued wth pity and compassion of so great a tyrant, whych for their sakes they common weal indured, one day in the market place beefore all hys people wth a lowd voyce spake these woordes,

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Know you, O you people of Athens, that if you doo not lay hands on my exceeding presumption, and on the ouergreat ambition of Aristides, that our gods wilbee offended, the temples will fall down to the hard foundation, our treasures wilbee consumed, our selues destroyed, and our common weales brought to bitter rypn and decay. Therefore once agayn good people I say, bydle, bydle these our inordinat and unspeakable afflictions beetymes, lest the rypn layd on our neckes wee runne to farre. O golden woozds of a prince, and woozthy eternall fame. Lucanus also when hee would reprove the presumption and pryde of the Romayn princes, sayd, that Pompei the great could neuer abyde to haue any for his compaignon or equall with him within Rome: And Iulius Cesar also woold neuer suffer that there shoold bee any greater in the world then hym self. And therefore to discourse a lyttle of this abhominable and horrible vyce of pryde, wee haue not wythout great reason layd beefore you these approued examples, beefore wee beginne to reprove it. For in all things the examples wee shew you are wont to moue vs more, then the reasons wee seeme to tell you of. For that that I haue seene, for that I haue read, and for that that I haue hard say also of others, I am most assured and resolved thereof, that by the only cause of this wicked sinne of pryde, proceedeth the rypn and bitter decay of all our greatest things and affairs of our lyfe, for by all other sinnes a man may in deede descend and dedlyne from his degree and state of honoz and estimacion, but by this only sinne, hee cannot chole, but hee must fall down flat to the grownd. They fynd out the middest and center of the earth, the depth of the sea, and the highest tops of Riphei mountains, the end of the great mount Caucasus, and the beginning of the great fludd Nile: and only the little hart of man, touching desire to rule & commaund, can neuer fynd end. Thinsatiablenesse is such, that it cannot bee contented with the things wee haue, but only with those wee repyte of lesse price. Lykewise ambition and pryde to commaund cannot bee contained within bonnds, but only by obeying. For neuer no vyce can haue end, if hee that hath it dooth not leaue it, and banish it from him. After Alexander the great had conquered all Asia, and had subdued the great India, hee was one day reproved of the great Philosopher Anacharles, who told him these woozds. Sith thou art now, O Alexander, lord of all the earth, why doost thou weary thy self so much in thy affairs, as no payn seemeth troublesom to thee? To whom Alexander answered. Thou hast told mee many tynes Anacharles, that besides this world there are also three others. And if it bee so (as thou sayst) how great a reproche and infamy were it to mee, that beeing three other worldes, I shoold bee lord but only of one. Therefore I doo dayly sacrifice to the gods, that though they take mee out of the lyfe of this world, yet at least that they wil not deny mee of so glorious a conquest. I confesse that the Scriptures excepted, I haue no woozds so ryse in memory as these, whereby may easely bee perceiued, that to quiet and content a proud hart, the seignory of y whole world is not yet sufficient, and how ended the pryde of this glorious prince: euen thus. Hee that hoped to conquer & bee lord of the three other worldes, dyd not rule this one only aboue. iii. yeres. Wee may boldly say this, & swere it, & may also playnly proue it to any that desire to see it, y hee wanteth both wit & knowledge, that taketh vpō him
to bee

to bee proud, and presumptuous. For the more hee looketh into him self, and considereth and reconsidereth his state and calling, & what hee is, hee shall fynd in him a thousand occasions fit to humble him, but neuer a one only to make him proud and haughty. How great, rich, myghty, noble, and woorthy so euer the parson bee, euery tyme that wee happen to see him, and that wee haue no acquayntaunce of hym. And that wee desyre to know what hee is, wee doo not ask of what element, of what sea, of what fyre, of what planet, of what clymat, of what sunne, of what moone, nor of what aier, but only of what countrey hee is of, and where hee was bozne. For wee are all of the earth, wee liue in the earth, and in the end wee haue to turne into the earth, as to our naturall thing. If the planets and the beasts could help vs wyth the instrument and benefite of the tongue, they woold take from vs the occasions of bayn glory. For the starres woold say, that they were created in the firmament, the Sunne in the heauens, the byrdes in the ayre, the Salamaunder in the fyre, and the fysh in the water: but only the unhappy man was made of earth, and created in the earth. So that in that respect, wee cannot glory to haue other kinfolke neerer to vs, then are the woozmes, the flyes, and horseflyes. If a man did consider well what hee were, hee woold asseertain vs that the fyre burnes him, water drownes him, the earth wearies him, the ayre troubles him, the heate greues him, the cold hurts him, and the day is troublefom to him, the night sorowfull, hunger and thirst makes him suffer, meat and drink fillles him, his enemies daily follow him, and his frends forget him. So that the tyme a man hath to lyue in this wretched world, cannot bee counted a lyfe, but rather a long death. The first day wee see one bozne, the self same wee may make rekening that hee begynnes to dye: and although that parson lyued amongst vs a hundred yeres after in this world, wee shoold not say therefore that hee lyued along tyme, but only that hee tarped a great tyme to dye. Therefore that parson that hath his lyfe tyed to so many trybutes, I call not deuple or think with my selfe why, or wherefore hee shoold bee proud. But now returning againe to our purpose, let vs say, and exhort the seruants and familiers of princes, that they take heede they bee not proud and presumptuous. For it seeldom happeneth, that the fauored of kings and princes fall out of fauor and credit for that they haue, or can doo much, nor for that they craue and desyre much: but for that they are to bold, and presume to much. For in the court of kings & princes there is nothing more hurtfull and lesse profitable, then pryde and presumption. For oft tymes the ouerweening of the courtier, and the foolysly bayne pryde and reputacion hee hath of hym self, brings him to bee in the princes disgrace, and makes the people also to bee offended and angry wyth him. For till this day wee neuer saw, nor hard tell of any that euer got in to the princes fauor and credit, for that hee was proud and high mynded: but only for that hee hath shewed himself an humble, obedient, curteous, louyng, and a faithfull seruant. I woold bee of this mynd, that the courtier that seeth hee is receiued into fauor in the princes court, shoold euer ware better in seruing well, then grow woozle in presuming to much. And I dare boldly say and affirme, that it is a mere point of folly, by his pryde and rashnesse to lose all that good in one day, that by great good fortune hee hath attained

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ned to in many peres. And though that the fauored courtier (subject possible to his fantastical humors) bee sometymes ouercome with choloz, carnal desyre, drawen with auarice, and addicted to the gorge, enuened with enuy, plunged in sloth and ybленeg, or some other vice and imperfection, it shal not sail much, neither bee any great wonder, since all mankynd is subject to those passions: and neither the prince, nor the common weale, will reckon much of that. For of all these faults and vices there can come no greater hurt to him, saue only that that the common people woold murmur against him. But his pryde and peccokes glozy once knowen and espied, every man casteth his eyes vpon him to beehold his princely gate, and curseth hym in woord and deede. Therefore let a man bee in as great fauor as hee can deuise to bee, as woorthy, noble, rich, and of as great power and aucthority as hee desyret to bee: I neuer saw any yll in al my lyfe, if with al these vertues hee were proud and high mynded, but in the end hee was persecuted of many, and hated and enuyed of all. For those that are in greatest fauor about the prince, haue secret enemies enough to hinder their credit, although they doo not purchase them new, to accuse them of their pryde and presumption. And as wee are taught by experience, a burning coal cannot long bee kept alpye, without it bee couered with the whot ymbers. Euen so I mean, that the fauor of the prince cannot bee long maintained, without good bringing by, and ciuile manners, gentle conuersation, and familiarity. The great measure of aucthority about the prince runne estones into great and many daungers: and this happeneth, because they woold not bee reprovued in any thing what so euer they doo, much lesse here any woord that shoold displease them, neyther can they abyde to bee told of their faults, much lesse suffer to bee corrected for them. Neither doo they suffer willingly to bee counselled in any thing, bee it neuer of so great weight and importance, neyther woold they haue any compaygnion with them in fauor and credit with the Prince, but they desire to bee both on the right hand of the prince, and of the left: As yll they only woold bee the fauored of the prince, and none other: aspiring to gouerne them in all their dooings, and to bee thought and reputed the sole and only rulers of the affairs of the prince, and his common weal, and to bee beleued in all things of the prince, and to bee obeyd also of the comon people. Those therefore that are continually resident in the court of princes, and that haue the chiefeest roomes and offices of aucthority in the court, let them well consider, and keepe in memory this one woord that I will tell them. And that is this. That the first day that they take vpon them to bee superintendents and gouernors of the common weal, euen in the self same day they shal come to put in hazard their honoz, fauor, and credit, how great so euer it bee. For with great difficulty are the lest things the prince him self commaundeth, executed or doon in his realm or common weal: and therefore may the fauored of the court see, how much more hard it is for him to rule, (as sole & absolute lord) the affairs of the realme, and to bee obeyed in the common weal: since the kyng him self cannot doo it by his regall aucthority. And therefore the lesse hee shal desire to meddle with the affairs of the people, the more shal hee lyue in quiet and contented. For naturally the common people are so brittle and vncertain in their dooings, bntthankfull of benefitts receiued, and

so ingratefull of a good turne doon them: that the beloued of the court or any other person in fauor with the prince can euer doo any thing for the people, (bee it neuer so well) but they will speak ill, and mislike of him, and fynd fault with some of his dooings. It is impossible that those that will commaund many things in the court of princes shoold alwaies doo their things so, but they shoold sometime tread awry. And admit their faults bee but light, and of small moment, yet they may bee assured there wilbee enow that will both open them to the comon weal, and tell them also secretly to the prince alone. For those that seeke to deuorze the fauored of the court from the prince, doo not complayn or fynd fault for that they are more in fauor with the prince than others, but they will shew they take it in yll part, they haue more auctority, and commaund more then others in the comon weal. Saying that by mean of their place & auctority, & vnder colour of good zeal to minister Justice, they geue comonly foul & iniurious woordes, farre vnfit for the auctority of the person, & woorthynes of the place. So that it cannot bee other wise chosen; but that continuing this disorder, they must needes make the king suspect them, & besides that bring a great discord betwixt the king & those that hee fauoreth, & make him meruelously offended with them. For in the end, princes woold alwaies bee serued, & obeyed, but not ruled, & commaunded. And yt is a most true saying.ouer much familiarity bredeth contempt, w although yt may bee bozne betweene men of lyke degree & equality, yet is it not tollerab le betweene the prince & the beliked of the prince. But rather euery day, howeuer, & moment that the fauored courtier entreteth into the princes palace, or into his priuy chamber, hee ought euer to doo it with as great curtesy, reuerence, humility, & honor, & in speaking to the king, as if hee had neuer spokē w him, nor seene him. So that hee shoold let all men see, that though it please the kings maiesty to make of him, and to accept him into his fauor, yet that hee leaue not to serue him, & doo him that duty that all other seruants doo, & are bound to doo. The suerest and most certain way to maintain those that are sublimed, & exalted in the court of princes, & to raise & bring those to auctority that are low & of base condition, is: that the esteemed repute him self euer a seruant, & that the servant neuer baunt nor boast him self to bee fauored or esteemed. The familiers of princes ought euer to be ware that there come no complaints of them to the princes ears. For as a drop of water, by tyme & continuall fall cometh to perce the hardest stone: so it myght happen that the numbers of complaints, might bee occasion for the prince to rddraw his fauor & loue from the courtier again. If his only seruyces were sufficient to induce y prince to fauor & loue him: so the number of his subiects complaints against him, were occasion enough to make him mislike him, & put him out of fauor clean, changing his loue & fauor, to hate & discredit it. For it a certeyn thing, that when the prince dooth looke well into his own dooings, hee had rather bee beloued of all, then serued of one alone. The honored of the court may not regard so much the honor & credit hee is called to by his prince, as y basenes & pouerty hee was in, when it pleased the king to lyke of him, & that hee came first acquainted with the king. For if hee did otherwise, it myght happen, that like as fortune had brought him to that high estate hee had: So pryde might ouerthrow him agayn, & bring him as low as hee was before.

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For I should haue said more truely a great deal, saying that it woold haue made him fall down right, beeing the right property of fortune, to suffer the baser sort (whom shee had called to honor) only to returne them to their mean estate & call, they were of at the first, & neuer to leaue the fauored of h^e prince, & men of auctority (nor neuer satisfied) till shee haue throwen them down headlong into extreme misery, neuer to rylse againe. Agathocles (first the sonne of a Potter, & afterwards made king of Scicillia) whilst hee liued, hee euer vsed this manner, that in his tresory or iewel house, yea and also at his table, amongst all his cupps and dishes of gold & siluer, hee had some also of earth amongst them: and beeing asked the occasion, why in so great a treasure, and masse of gold & siluer hee had so vyle a thing as earth, aunswered thus. I drinke in golden cupps and eat in earthen dishes, to geue thanks to h^e gods, which of a potters sonne that I was, brought mee to this royall state of a mighty king. And I doo it also to haue euer moze cause to bee hūble, & to fly pryde. For it is an easier thing, and moze lyker for a king to become a potter, then for a potter to attayn to the greatnes and state of a king. These woordes of Agathocles were euer woorthie to bee noted & had in memozy, since wee see plainly, that to geue a man a fall, a little stone sufficeth to make vs stumble and fall to the ground: but to raise vs bp again, wee must needes help vs with power of hands and feete. It may well bee, that this braue courtier & fauored of the court befoze hee came to this degree of honor, was but of a mean house, and basely bozne, and besydes that esteemed of few, for his nobility of blood: of an vnknown contrey, of pooze parentage, of small substance, and no better nor otherwise fauored of fortune in his birth or lynage: of all which things hee hath no cause to bee ashamed, but rather to glozy, and praise god. For hee shall euer bee moze esteemed in the court, & well thought of, to remember from whence hee came, and to regard his first estate: then hee shall, if hee war glorious, and hygh mynded, by reason of the fauor hee is in at this present utterly forgetting his first rysing. Titus Linius reciteth that h^e renowned Romain Quintus Cincinatus, befoze hee came to bee made captain of Rome, hee was taken out of h^e feelds a laboring man, plowing & tilling h^e ground. And this so noble person, being occupied in great affairs of h^e common weal, either in prouisions, or munition, or in expeditions of warre, was woont to sygh befoze all the captains, and say. Alas, who could tell mee now any netes, how my beefes doo in my graunge, my sheepe in the mountains, and whether my seruants haue prouided them of hay and pasture to keepe them the next yere? Surely it is to bee thought, that who so euer speaks these woordes with his mouth, must needes haue lytle pryde in his hart. And vndoubtedly hee proued his woordes true, and shewed that hee spake as hee thought, and in good earnest, about intent of iest: since afterwards hee returned home again, to solow the plough, to plant his bynes, & to see his own things gouerned, leuig behind him a perpetual testimony of his noble & woorthie dooings. And his comon weal also gretly enryched by his famous acts: Saul was king of Israell, & taken for a god, & was anointed of Samuel his father a pooze husbandman of h^e countrey, & hee frō his youth brought bp in that trade to hold h^e plough: & yet when hee was king, hee neuer disdained to plough his ground, to sow his otes, and to dryue hys beastes, now to pasture

pasture them home again. So that the good king did gloze this day to hold the plough, and to mow to syght with his swoord. When fortune therefore sheweth her self enemy to any, and that from great dignity and high call, she overthroweth him, and bringeth him to low and mean estate: it is then that hee hath good cause to complain of fortunes cruelty, and to bewail his wretched happ, ashamed to see his lothsome misery. But when shee woozeth contrarily, and from mean estate brings him to great honor & credit, that must needs bee great honor and gloze to him. Therefore I say let them beware, beware, that bear rule and auctority in the court, that they bee not proud, glorious and high mynded, neither otherwise detected of any kynd of vyce, though the bee neuer so much in fauor and estimation. Sith fortune sheweth most her spight against the proud, and disdainfull hart, rather then to the humble and meeke. To stopp the enemies mouth, there can bee found no better means, then for the desyring of the court not to bee too proud and presumptuous, since no man is found so mad or foolish in the same, as once to dare to say, I accuse this man, because hee is in fauor and estimation: but hee may boldly doo it, when hee seeth in dedde that hee is a proud glorious foole. If wee see the fauored of the court offended one with the other, wee will say it is but heat, if wee see him eat to much, wee will say it is but of a good stomach. If hee ryse late, wee will excuse him, and say it was late ere hee went to bedd, and that hee was wery with watching. If hee play oft, wee will say hee dooth it for pastime: yf hee bee careful in keeping that hee hath together; that hee is wise and pollytike: if hee speak much, that hee is a pleasant man & geuen to bee mery: yf hee speak litle, that hee is wise and modest: yf hee spedd much, that hee is liberal and bountiful: but if hee bee glorious & proud, what shall a man say on him, & with what honest mean can wee excuse him? Surely let others looke, for I know not. Truly for all other faults and errors of men, they may honestly bee excused, save only that of pryde. For though many tymes wee commit other offences, it is but through frailty: but if wee offend in pryde, it commeth of a great folly, & want of discretion. And for the contrary, the lowly & courteous condition of a courtier, doo not only depresse & resist the detractions and murmurings of their enemies, but dooth inforce them against their willes to say wel of the. For god dooth suffer many times that the peruerse nature & condition of one, is subdued & overcome, by a good & gentle blage of an other. Therefore the beloued of court should take great heede, that they shew not them selues proud in their woords, & much lesse in their ceremonies w they vse in the court: as in going by a staires, in entering in at the doores, in taking the stoole to sitt down, & also in putting of his cap. And though perhaps hee that shall read these our aduertisements, will thynk them rather precepts for children, then for men: yet I will answer him neuertheless, that they are very necessary for those that are in fauor in the court, and for all other courtiers, without the vse of which hee may happely noozily a benemous Serpent in his brest. And therefore not without great reason wee haue spoken that wee haue, that of too little heede taking, sometymes there may folow great trouble to the fauored courtier. For many tymes they murmur more against him, in not putting of his capp, when hee is courteously saluted: then they doo, if they deny their fauor when they are requested.

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If one courtier leaue to doo curtesie to an other, they say hee dooth yt not for that hee beareth him yll will: but for want of bringing bpp. But if hee bee great with the king, then they say it is not for want of good maner, but for that hee is too proud. To say truly, it is an vnhappy life, the life of y^e beloued in the court, sith they attribute all their faults and erroz to folly: although they committed them rather thzough negligence, and want of foresight, then of pretended malice, or yll will, as it is taken and thought. Cneus Flaccus a noble Romayn, going in company with other Romains to visit a sick man, and comming also an other romain to see the same sick person lyke wise, and being no place commodious in the chaumber wher the last might sit down, neither any stoole left to sitt downe bypon: they say, hee rose of on his stoole, and gaue him place that came last. The which humanity and curtesy was afterwards published among al the Romains, and after also greatly praysed of the wyters. And the Romains also, beeing very true, graue, curious, and woorthy of great faith and credit in all that they wrote, it is to bee credited, that that act of curtesy was much noted and esteemed, sith they woold wyte it in the most noble and heroycall acts of their common weale. When the fauored courtier is accompanied with knights and gentlemen of the court, that brings him to the court, and it happen any to goe by the degrees before him, hee shoold not passe for that, much lesse shew any token that hee made any rekening of it. For to say troth, it is no great matter for him to goe by befoze him on the degrees of stone, sith hee went befoze all on the degrees of fauor. What matter is it to the fauored or officer of the court, to see an other enter in at the staier dooze befoze him, if afterwards when they shall come where the king is, hee shall goe into the priuy chamber, as one that in deede is in fauor and beloued, and the other shal stand wythout like a sheepe. And to conclude I say, if I were in the number of those that are thus beloued, and fauored of the king, I woold in the kings chamber vse my fauor and credit, and abrod, all curtesy and ciuility.

What it is not fitt for courtiers to bee too conctous, if they mean to keepe them selues out of many troubles and daungers. Cap. xiiii.

Aulus Gelius and Plinie render true testimony in their writings, that the honesty of the Romains was so great in their eating, and their modesty in their maintaining of them selues such, that they did not suffer any romain citezen to haue any moe houses then one to dwell in, nor but one gown to put on his back, one horse to ryde bypon, not aboue two pokes of oren to till his land. Titus Liuius, Macrobius, Cicero, Plutarch, Salust, Lucan, Seneca, Aulus Gelius, Herodian, Eutropius, Trebellius, Vulpitius, and all the other romayn wyters doo neuer cease to praise the auncient romain pouerty, saying the common wealth of Rome neuer lost one tott of her greatnes, & honoz. During the tyme that they went abroad to conquer other realmes and dominions: but only since they began to geather treasoz together. Licurgus the Philosopher (who afterwards was king of the Lacemonians) ordeined in his lawes hee made, that no neighbor shoold haue any more goods then an other: but that all houses, lands, bynes, & possessions, gold, siluer, apparell,

parell, mouables, and generally all other things what soeuer, should bee indifferently holden among them to the common vtilitie of all. And being asked, why hee woold not consent the common weal should haue her own priuate commodities and particulars, answered thus: The payns and trauels men indure in this mortall life, and the great troubles & disorders that come dayly to the comon weal, chaunce not so much for that men haue neede of lyaing to maintain them selues with all, but for that they doo desire to leaue to their heirs and successors. And therefore I haue appointed euery thing in comon amōg subiects, because that during their liues they might haue honestly to maintain them selues wth all, & that they should leaue any thing to dispose by will after their deaths. Herodotus sayth also, that it was decreed by the inhabitants of the Iles Baleares, that they should suffer none to come into their countrey to bring them any gold, siluer, silk, iewels, or precious stones. And this serued them to great profit, for by means of this law, for y^e space of .iiii. C. yeres that they had warres with the Romaines, the Carthagians, y^e French & y^e Spaniards, neuer any of these nations once stirred to goe about to conquer their land, beeing assured that they had neither gold, nor siluer, to robbe or conuey from them. Prometheus that was the first that gaue lawes to the Egyptians, did not prohibit gold nor siluer in Egypt (as those of the Iles Baleares did in their territories) neither did hee also command that all thing should bee common, as Licurgus: but only commanded, that none in all his kingdom should bee so hardy once to gather any masse or quantity of gold or siluer together, & to hoard it vp. And this hee did vpon great penalties: for as he said, auarice is not shewed in buylding of fair houses, neither in hauing rich mouables, but in assembling & gathering together great treasure, & laying it vp in their coffers. And Plutarke in his booke De consolatione saith also, that if a rich man dyed among the Rhodians, leauing behind him one only sonne & no more suruoyning him, they woold not suffer that hee should bee sole heyre of all that his father left: but they left him an honest heritage, & lyaing, to hye state & call, & to mary him well withall, and the rest of all his fethers goods they dissipated among the poore & orphans. The Lydians, that neither were Greekes nor Romaines, but right barbarous people, had a law in their common weal, y^e euery man should bee bound to bring vp his children, but not to bee at charges in bestowing them in marriage: So y^e the sonne or daughter y^e were now of age to mary, they gaue them nothing to their marriage, more then they had gottē wth their labor. And those y^e will exactly consider this lawdable custom, shal fynd that it is rather a law of true philosophers, then a custom of barbarous people. Since thereby y^e childrē were inforced to labor for their lyaing, & the parents also were exempted from al maner of couetousnes or auarice, to heap vp gold & siluer, & to enrich them selues. Numa Pompilius second king of the romains, & establishe of their lawes & decrees, in y^e law of the seven tables wher hee made, hee left them order only, wth way the Romaines might rule their comon weal in tranquility: & put in no clause nor chapter y^e they should make their willes, wherby their children might inherit their fethers goods. And therfore being asked why hee permitted (in his lawes) euery man to get as much goods as hee could, & not to dispose them by will, nor leaue them to their heirs: Hee answered, because wee see, y^e albee it there are some

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children that are unhappy, vicious, & abominable, yet are there few fathers not withstanding this, that will deprive & disinherit them of their goods at their death, only to leaue them to any other heir: & therefore for this cause I haue comended, that al the goods that remain after the death of the owner of the, should bee geuen to the comon weal, as sole heir & successoz of them: to the end that if their children should become honest & vertuous, they should then bee distributed to them: if they were wicked & unhappy, that they should neuer be owners of them, to hurt & offend the good. Macrobius in his booke De somno Scipionis saith, that there was in the old tyme an old and ancient law among the Tuscans duly obserued, & kept, & afterwards taken vp of the Romayns: that in euery place, where so euer it were, (in town or village) within their territories, on new yeres day euery man should present him self beefore the iudge or magistrate of the place hee was in, to geue him account of his manner of lyfe, & how hee maintained himself, & in this examinatioſ they did accustom to punish him that lyued ydelly, & with knauery & deceit maintained them selues: as minstrels, ruffians, dyers, carders, & iuglers: coppers, forsters, colners of men, & spyching knaues, with other loytering bacabods & rogues, that lyue of others swett & toyl, without any pain or laboz they take vpon them to deserue that they eat. I would to god (if it were his will) þ this Tuscan law were obserued of christians: then wee should see how few they be in number, that geue them selues to any faculty or science, or other trade, to lyue by their own trauell & industry: and how many & infinit a number they bee that liue in ydle sort. The diuine Plato in his Timæe sayth, that although an ydle man bee moze occasion of many troubles & inconueniences in a comon weal, then a couetous man, yet is it not alwaies greater: for the ydle mā, & that gladly taketh his ease, dooth but desire to haue to eat: but þ couetous man dooth not only desire to eat, but to bee rich and haue money enough. All the eloquence and pleasant speche that the Oratozs studied in their orations, the lawyers in their law, and the famous philosophers in their doctrine and teaching, was for no other cause, but to admonish and perswade those of the common weal, to take very good heede in choosling of their gouernozs, that they were not couetous and ambitious in thadministration of their publyke affairs. Læcius recytereth also, that a Rhodian iesting wyth Eschines the philosopher sayd vnto hym. By the immortall gods I swore to thee O Eschines, that I pity thee to see thee so poore, to whom he aunswered. By the same immortall gods I swore to thee agayn, I haue compassion on thee, to see thee so ryche. Syth ryches bring but payn and trouble to gett them, great care to keepe them, displeasure to spend them, peryll to hoard them, and occasion of great daungers and inconueniences to defend them: and that that greueth mee most, is, that where thou keepest thy treasure fast lockt vp, there also thy hart is buryed. Surely Eschines woordes seemed rather spoken of a christian, then of a philosopher. In saying, that where a mans treasure is, there is also his hart. for there is no couetous man, but dayly hee thinks vpo his hid treasure: but hee neuer calleth to mind his sinns hee hath comitted. Comparing therfore those things wee haue spokē, w those things wee will speak, I say: that yt becometh þ fauored of princes to know, þ it is lesse seemly for the to bee couetous then others: for þ gretnes of their fauor ought not to be shewed only in being rich, but also in being noble & worthy

Plutarke

Plutark theweth, that Denis the Siracusan commyng one day into the chamber of the prince hys sonne, and fyndyng gret ryches of gold and siluer that hee had geuen hym, hee spake betwixt angerly to hym and sayd, thou hadst beene farre better for a marchaunt of Capua, then to bee as thou art the kynges sonne of Scicilia. syth thou hast a wytt to gather, but not to spend. Which is not fyt, nor laboursome for thee, if thou wylt succede mee after my tyme in my kyngdome. And therefore I doo remember thee, that kyngdomes and hygh estates are not maynteyned with keepyng of ryches, but onely wyth geuynge, and honozably bestowyng them well. And to this purpose also re- cyteth Plutarke, that Ptholomeus Philadelphus was demaunded, why hee was so sloke, and with so great difficulty receyued the seruices of others: and was so liberall and noble in geuynge, and grauntyng fauours: hee answered. I wil not get reputacion amongst the gods, nor good renowne amongst men for beeyng rich, but onely I wil bee praysed and esteemed for makynge of others, rich, and haupyng vnder mee rich subiects. These woordes that Tholomee sayd to a frend of his, & those that Denis spake to his sonne, mee thynks the beloued of the court should not onely bee contented to read them, but to seeke to keepe them styll in mynd, syth by them wee may manifestly see, y^e ry- ches are ever more profytable for a man that oweth them, and geueth them bountifullly: then to haue them, and with couetousnes to hoord & lock them vp in their coffers. And the fauored of prynces should not bee enuyed, for the goods that they can get by their fauor and credit, but onely for the good that thereby they may doo to their frends and kynsfolk. For they are those that wyth others goods, make the people slaues to the. What greater nobility can there bee in this world, then to make others noble: what greater ryches, then to make others rich: and what more liberty, then to make others free: The glozy y^e the princes, and those that they esteeme and haue in their fauor ought to haue, should not consist in getting together much goods, but in win- nyng many seruaunts and frends. Great are the priuileges that the noble and lyberall men haue, for their chyldren are obedient to them, their neygh- bors loue them, their frends doo accompaigne them, their seruaunts serue them faythfully, straungers vsyt them, and the enemies they haue, dare not speak against them: for although they spight at their greatnes and fauor, yet they dare not once presume to rebuke or reprove their lyberality. Phalaris the Agrigentine, Denis the Siracusan, Catelyne the Romaine, and Iugurth the Numidian: These fower famous tyrants dyd not mayntayn their states and roial kingdoms with the vertues they had, by ony but force & ample gifts they gaue. So that wee may well say, that in y^e world there is no stone so phy- losophicall, nor hand so liberal as treasor & riches: syth that in geuynge it, good men become great, & tyrants thereby are supported. I would those y^e are princes familiars woold note wel this woord, that is, that great fauor ioined wth much couetousnes is a thing impossible to contynue long in any. For if hee mean to keepe him self in fauor, he must needs flye auarice: and if hee wil needs lye to auarice, hee must of necessitie lose his fauor. There is no better means for hym that seekes the princes fauor, to get into fauor: then to serue him dily- gently, and to trouble him seldomly. The kyngs officer that serueth him in his house, m^{ost} endeuor to make the kyng know y^e hee serueth him more for the loue hee beareth him, then for any gayn or profyt he hopeth at his hands.

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For in dooing so, y^e king will not only wth his fauor & benefitts bestowed on him, treat & handle him as one hee loueth & maketh account of, but also loue hym as if hee were his own sonne. It is most iust, y^e beloued of the prince, loue & honor y^e prince wth al his hart, sence hee loueth him, & needeth not. Those y^e are beloued, made of, & fauored in princes courts, should make great account of y^e, & therefore they shal^d serue willingly. For the loue wee beare to princes, cometh comonly rather of the necessity wee haue of them, then of our own proper willes. But the loue of princes to vs, cometh of meere good will, & not of necessitie. If any man doo company mee, speak to mee, & serue mee: yt ys onely in that respect that I euer geue him, & for that hee hopeth I wil geue him in tyme to come. And to such a man I might truely say, hee rather flaterith then loueth mee. The esteemed of the court must note if it please the, that though the prince haue others about him, whō hee fauoreth & loueth as well as him self, y^e hee bee not therefore offended nor displeased a whit. For els all those hee seeth accepted into fauor wth y^e prince, hee wold make the his enemies, & because they may auoid this incoueniēce, they must take it in very good part. For albeit y^e prince geue his fauor to one alone, yet hee imparteth his gifts to diuers. Those that newly begun to rise in y^e court, & to doo much: may not euen vpon a soden shew them selues to bee rich, but onely study dayly to increase in fauor. For every time that the courtier dooth assure mee hee dooth not diminish in fauor, I will bee bound to him hee shal neuer bee poore. The way they must obserue in the court to bee great, & to bee able to doo is this: That is, to visit oft, to suffer, to present to p^{re}uer, to bee beloued, & to continue in the princes fauor: Which I assure you, is a great secret, & right alchimyke of court, sodeinly to rise in fauor, and to bee rich, & al in short time. By this I inferre, that the wise man euer desireth first to bee in fauor, before hee couet to bee rich: but the foole & Ideot desireth first to bee rich, & then in fauor last. Not few but many wee haue seen in princes courts, wth though fortune in short time hath exalted to y^e first degree of riches & made the cheefe in fauor, yet wth in short space after, thee hath made the also lose their riches, & fal from y^e top of their honor. It is most certain, y^e if one haue enemies in the court, onely for that hee is in fauor, hee shal haue as many moe, if bee in fauor, hee bee also rich. For wee are al of so ill a condicion, in things that touch our particula^r profyt, that all that wee see geuen to others, wee think sodeinly taken away from our selues. Wee haue heretofore sayd, y^e it is not fit for the courtier, and those y^e are in fauor, to comaund for his profit al that hee list, neither al that y^e hee may. And wee now at this present also aduise them to take heede, y^e they doo not accept & take al that is offered & presented, although they may lawfully doo it. For if hee bee not wise in comaūding, & moderatin taking, a day might come y^e he should see himself in such extremity, y^e hee should bee inforced to cal his frends not to counsell him, but rather to help & succor him. It is true, y^e it is a natural thing for a courtier that hath 20. crownes in his purse, to desire sodeinly to multiply it to a. 100. from a. 100. to 200. fro 200. to a. 1000. fro a. 1000. to 2000. and from 2000. to 10000. So y^e this poore wretched creature is so blinded in couetousnes, y^e hee knoweth not, nor feeleth not, y^e as this auarice continually increaseth & augmenteth in him, so his life dayly diminisheth and decreaseth, besides that that every man mocks & scoznes him, that thinketh the true contentacion consisteth in commaūding of many, & in the faculty of possessing much

much riches. For to say truly it is not so, but rather disordinat riches troubleth & greueth the true contentation of men, and awaketh euer in them dayly a moze appetite of couetousnes. Wee haue seen many courtiers rich & beloued, but none in deede that euer was contented, or wearied wth commaunding, but rather his life should faile him then couetousnes. Oh how many haue I seene in the court, whose legges nor feete haue ben able to cary them, nor their body strong enough to stand alone, nor their hands able to wyte, nor their sight hath serued them to see to read, nor their teeth to speak, neither their inuies to eat, nor their eares to heare, nor their memozy to trauaile in any suyt or matter, & yet haue not their tongue sayled them to require presents and gifts of the prince, neither deepe and fyne wit, to practyse in court for his molt auaille and bantage. So incurable is the disease and plague of auarice, that hee that is sick of that infirmity, can not bee healed neither with pouerty, nor yet bee remedied with riches. Sence this contagious malady and apparant danger is now so commonly known, and that it is crept into courtiers, and such as are in high fauor and great autoritie by reason of this vile sinne of auarice, I would counsell him rather to apply him self to bee well thought of, and esteemed, then to endeuor to haue inough. Albeit Queene Semiramis was wife to king Belus, and mother of king Ninus, and although by nature shee was made a woman, yet had shee a hart neuer other wise but balaunt and noble. For after shee was wyddow, shee made her self lord by force of armes of the great India, and conquered all Asia, and in her life time caused a goodly tombe to bee made where shee would lye after her death, and about the w^{ch} shee caused to bee grauen in golden letters these woozds.

*Who longs to swell with masse of shining gold, This stately tomb let him in haste vnfold,
and craves to catch such wealth as few possesse: where euyles bepes of hatefull coyne doo rest.*

Many days and kings reignes past before any durst open this sepulker, but till the comming of the great Cyrus, who commaunded it to bee opened. And beeing repoorted to him by those that had the charge to seeke the treasure, that they had sought to the bottomles pytt and wolzds end, but treasure they could fynd none, nor any other thing, saue a stone wherein were grauen these woozdes.

*A haples knight, whose high distraughted mynd that secret tombs the carcas could not bynd,
by follies play abused was so wyche: but show wouldst reane them vp for to berich.*

Plutarke and also Herodotus which haue both wryten this history of Semiramis doo shew & affirm, y^t Queene Semiramis got great honoz by this gest, & byng Cyrus great shame & dishonoz. If courtiers that are ryche, think & beleue that for y^t they haue money inough & at their wil, y^t therefore they should bee farre from al troubles & miseries, they are farre deceiued. For if y^t poore soul toyle & hale his body to get him only that y^t hee needeth, much moze dooth y^t rich mā torment & burn his hart, til he bee resolved w^{ch} way to spend y^t superfluous hee hath. Ihesu what a thing is it to see a rich man how hee tormenteth him self night & day, imagyning & deuising w^{ch} him self whether hee shal w^{ch} that money y^t is left, buy leases, mills, or houses, annuities, vines, or cloth, lāds, tenemēts, or pastures: or some thing in fee: or whether he shal erich his sone w^{ch} y^t thirdes or fifts, & after al these vain thoughts, gods wil is to stryke him w^{ch} deith sodenly,
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not onely befoze he haue determined how hee should lay out or spend this money, but also befoze hee haue made his will. I haue many times told it to my friends, yea & preached it to them in the pulpit, and wytten yt also in my booke, that it is farre greater trouble to spend the goods of this world wel, and as they ought to bee spent: then it is to get them. For they are gotten wryth sweet, and spent wryth cares. Hee that hath no more then hee needeth, it is hee I knoweth wel how to part from them, & to spend the: but hee I hath abundas & more then needeful, dooth neuer resolve what hee should doo. Whereof follo weth many times, that those wh in his life time were enemies to hym, shall happē to bee heires after his death of all the goods & money hee hath. It is a most suer & certain custome among mortall men, I commonly those I are ryche men (while they are alive) spend more money bawly in things they would not, & that they haue no pleasure in, & where in they would least lay it out: and after their death they leaue the most part of their inheritance to those, whom they loued least. For it happeneth many times, that the sonne which hee loued woost, inheryteth hys goods, and that sonne whych hee loued best, and made most of, remayneth poore. Therefore contynuyng styll our matter I say, that I know not the cause why the fauored of the court desire to bee so ryche, couetous, and insatiable, syth they alone haue to get the goods where afterwarde to spend them, they haue neede of the counsell and aduise of many. Let not those also that are in fauor w the prince, make too great a shew openly of their riches, but if they haue aboundaunce, let them keepe it secret. For if their lurking enemies know not what they haue, the woost they can doo, they can but murmur: but if they see it once, they will neuer linne til they haue accused him. To see a courtier buyld sumptuous houses, to furnish them wryth woonderfull & rich hangyngs, to vse excesse & prodigallitie in their meates, to haue their cubberds maruellously decked wryth cups, and pots of gold and siluer, to see infinit presents brought into his house, and to bee greedy of mony in taking, and to haue a great trayn of seruants to wait vpon them: all these are things not onely to make them murmur & repine at, but also what tyme and place serueth, to condemne and accuse them, to the prince. And this were but lytle to murmur at them, and accuse them, so that they dyd not defame them, and diminish their honor and reputacion. For they tell yt abroad afterwarde, eyther that they are corrupted wryth presents, or that they doo robbe and steale from the prince their maister. And therefore I returne once agayn to aduomish them, and specially the officer of the court, that they shall not neede, neyther is it requisit they make any ostentacion of their riches, if they bee wise at least. For besydes that every body will murmur agaynst hym, they wyll not spare to bring it to the princes eares quckly, so that by myffortune yt myght happen to him, that the kyng would doo that wryth his seruant the hunter dooth oft wryth his beasts hee taketh, that many tymes hee cheeriseth hym and geueth him meat to eat, not to bring him vp, but to fatte hym, and kyll him for his owne eating.

¶ That the fauored of the court should not trust too much to their fauor and credyt they haue, nor to the great prosperity of their life, a woosthy chapter and full of good doctrine. Cap. xii.

What

What reputacion Paul the apostle had amongst the christians, the like had the great Cato the iudge, among y^e Romains, who in y^e progression of his life proceeded so honestly, & in the government of the publike weale was so iust, that hee deserued that this Epitaphe should bee w^ritten tppon his pallace gate,

*O Cato great, whose euermlasting fame
Amid the earth still liues with honor dew,
was nere none, could the oppresse with shame
for iudgement wrong, whereby the gillies rue.*

*VVas nere none, durst presse to thee with suits,
or fill thy hands with bribes, or flatter thee
wherby thou shouldst not shew the woorthy fruits
of iustice zeale, as iudges all should bee.*

Among all the noble and renowned Romains, hee onely would neuer suffer stature or Image of his, to bee set vp in y^e high Capitoll. Whereat diuers maruelling, and imagynnyng dyuersly what was his meaning, hee beeyng one day in the senat sayd to them these woordes openly. I will they shall seeke the good woordes I haue doon, by which I did deserue that my Image should be erected in the Capitoll: then to geue them cause to goe search & inquier what lynage I was of, & what was my life, w^{ch} intent to pull down my Image. For yt happeneth many tymes, that those whom vnconstant fortune fro mean and low estate hath rayled to high degree and steppes of hono^r, doo become afterwards by the same occasion rather defamed, then praysed. For there are many that are reuerenced, and honozed openly, by reason of their hono^r and dignitie they haue at this present, of whom they make a iestyng stock afterwards when they see them fall. Lucan sayeth, that Pompeius woold say many tymes, whan hee woold speak of these wooldly things, my frends, I can tell you a trew thyng, whereby you may know the lytle occasion wee haue to trust humayn felicityes. Example you may see in mee, whych attayned to the Romayn Empire, without any hope I had euer to come vnto yt: & afterwards also not mistrusting any thyng, euen sodeinly it was taken from mee, and I dep^rued of yt. Lucius Seneca beeing banyshe^d from Rome, wro^te a letter to his mother Albuina, in which hee did both comfort her, and him self, and wro^te thus. O my deere mother Albuina, I neuer in all my life beleueed or trusted vnstable fortune, although there haue been many peaces and leagues made betw^x her and our house. For if at a tyme the trayteresse consented that for a space I should bee quyet and at rest, shee did it not of good wyll shee had to leaue to pursue mee, but to geue mee a more cloked security. For whē shee seeth wee think our selues assured, then w^{ch} al her force & fury shee geueth vs the assault, as if shee came to assault y^e enemies camp. And I tel thee further yet (good mother) y^e al the good shee wro^ught in mee, and the hono^r shee heaped on mee, & al the faculties & aboundaunce of riches shee brou^ght to my house, shee told mee shee gaue mee them freely, but I alwayes aunsw^red her I did accept them in way of imp^rest, & not of gift. Her promisses therefore she offered mee, y^e hono^r shee layd vpon mee, & y^e riches shee gaue mee, shee layd the vp in such a corner of my house, y^e e^{ch}er by day or by night shee might at her pleasure when she woold take them al from mee, w^{ch}out y^e shee should trouble at al therefore my iudgement, or y^e shee should sorow to my hart awhit. And because thou shouldst know how I did esteeme of fortune, I tel thee, y^e I euer thought it good neuer to let any thing come w^{ch}in mee, nor into my hart, but only neere vnto mee: & so I was contented to esteeme it, & kepe it vnder good

sa^fe, but

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but not that I therefore applyed and gaue all my affection and mynd to ye: I was glad to haue fortune my frend, but if I lost her, I was neuer sozry for her. fynally I conclude, that when shee came to assault mee & to robbe my house, shee might well conuey all that was put in the arke, but not that shee could euer cary away y^e least sigh of my hart. They say y^e kyng Phillip father of Alexander the great beeing aduertised of thre great victozies happened in sundry places to his army, kneeled down on both his knees, and holding hys hands vp to y^e heauens sayd. O cruell fortune, O mercifull gods, O my good luck, I beseech you most humbly, that after so great a glozy and victozy as this, you haue hitherto geueen mee: you will moderate your cozection and punishment, which after this I looke for that you will geuee mee, that you punish mee with pyty, and not with vtter destruction and ruyn. And yet hee added this furder to his woordes. Not without cause I confute thee O fortune, & doo beseech you immortal gods, that you will punish mee fauozably, but not to bndoo mee: because I am assured, that ouermuch felicity and prosperyty of this life, is no moze but a prediction and pzealage of a great calamity & ill ensuyng happe. Truly al the exampls aboue recited are woorty to bee noted, & to bee kept alwayes beefore the eyes of our mynd, sith by them wee come to know, that in the prosperity of this our thzawled life there is litle to hope for, & much to bee afrayd of. It is true wee are very frayle by nature, since we are bozne fraile, wee lue frayl, and dayly wee fall into a thousand fraptries: but yet notwithstanding wee are not so frayl, but wee may if wee will resist vice. And all this commeth onely, because one sort of people foloweth an other, but one reason seeldome foloweth an other. If wee fall, if wee stamble, if wee bee sick, if wee bzeak our face, are wee sur (that seruing as wee doo y^e world) that the world will recure & remedy vs: No sure, it is not so. For the remedy the world is woont to geuee to our troubles, is euer notwithstanding greater trouble then the first. So that they are like to searing yrons, that burn y^e fleshy and heale not the wound. For the world is full of guile & disceyt, & subtil to decieue, but very slow to geuee vs remedy. And this wee see plainly. For if it perswade vs to reuenge any iniury receyued, it dooth it only in reuenging of that, to make vs receiue a thousand other iniuries. And if sometimes wee think wee receiue some comfort of the world, of our payns and troubles of y^e body, it afterwarde ouer lodeth our mynds, with a sea of thoughts & cogitations: So that this accursed and flattering world maketh vs beleue, and perswadeth vs the right & perfyt way, & in the end wee are cast into wares into the nettes of all wickednes, priuily layd to snare vs. How great so euer a man bee in fauor with the kyng, how noble of blood, how fyne of boyt, & how ware so euer hee bee, let every man bee assured that practiseth in the world, hee shall in the end bee deceyued by him. For hee colteth vs very deere, & wee sell our selues to him good cheap. I told you but litle, to tell you wee sold our selues good cheap, for I should haue sayd better, in saying wee haue geueen our selues in pray wholly to him, without receiuing any other recompence. And in deede they are very few, and rare, that haue any rewarde of him: & infinit are they that serue him, without any other recompence, moze then a foolish and bayn hope, O trayterous world, in how short a time doost thou receiue vs, and afterwarde with a glimse of an eye sodeinly doost put vs from thee,

thee, thou gladdest and makest vs sozofull, thou callest vs to honoz and abasest vs, thou punishest vs, & doost vs a thousand pleasures. And synally I say thou doost make vs so bile, and poysonest vs with thy bile laboys, that wythout thee, wee are yet euer with thee: and y that greues vs woost of all ys, that hauing the theefe in the house, wee goe out of the house to geue him place, and make him owner. When the world knoweth one once that is proud and presumptuous, hee procureth him honoz: to another that is conetous, riches, to an other that is a glutton, good meates: to an other that is carnall, the commodity of women: to an other that is idle, quyet and ease: & all thys dooth the traterous world, to the end that after as fylly whom hee hath sed, hee may lose the net of sinne vpon vs to catch vs in. If wee would resist the first temptation y world offereth vs, it is impossyble hee durst so many times assault vs. For to say truely by our small resistance, increaseth his ouer great audacity. I woold these louers of this world woold but tel mee a litle, what rewarde or what hope they can hope of him, why they should suffer so many incomberg byolles and troubles as they doo. To think the world can geue vs perpetual life, it is a mockry, and extreame madnes to hope of it. For wee see when life is most deere to vs, and that wee are lothest to leaue the world, then arriueth death in an vnhappy hower to swallow vs by, and to depriue vs of all thys worldly felicity. To hope that the world will geue vs assured mirth, this ys also a madnes. For the days excepted wee must lament, & the due hours allotted out to toplain, alas wee shal see a small surplus of time left, to laugh and bee meery. I can say no moze, but exhort enery man to looke well about him what hee dooth, and that hee bee aduised what hee thinketh. For when wee thynk, and beleue wee haue made peace with fortune, euen then is shee in battell against vs. And I doo assuredly beleue, that that I now prepare my self to speak euen presently, shalbee read of many, but obserued of few: and that is, that I haue seene those come out of their owne propre houses, moorning & lamenting that had spent and consumed all their time in laughing and making good cheere, & seruing this miserable world. Which is but on ly a geener of al euels, a ruyne of the good, a heap of sinne, a tyrant of vertues, a trapoz of peace and warre, a sweete water of ferroys, a riuier of bices, a persecutoz of the bertuous, a combe of lyes, a deuiser of nouelties, a grane of the ignorant, a cloke of the wicked, an ouen of lechery, and synally a Caribdis, where all good and noble harts doo perish, and a right Silla, where all noble desires and thoughts are cast away togethers. For it is most certayn, that this worldling, that is not content with this world, and that leaueh his fyzt state, and that taketh vppon him a new manner of life, and chaungeth from house to house, and contrey to contrey: hee shal neuer notwithstanding content him self, nor quyet his mynd. And the cause heereof is, that if a worldling depart out of his house, neuer to come agayn into it: there are yet at hand sinne diatly other tenne licentious persons, that doo but watch to enter into his house. Speaking moze particulerly I say, that in the court of prynces they account them happy, and fortunat, that bee in fauor with the prynce, y haue great affairs in court, that bee rich and of power, that bee serued and honozed of enery man, and that take place and goe beefore enery man. So that it may bee sayd, that the common people doo not call those fortunat, that

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Deserue to bee fortunate: but onely those that haue inough. But the ancient phylosophers were not of this mynd, and much lesse are the wise men & vertuous men at this day: For wee see that in the court of prynces many rather lack fauor, then lyfe: and others lack both fauor, and lyfe together: and others not onely their lyfe and fauor, but also all their goods and faculties. So that, all that that their fauor and credit haue geueen them in many yeares and by sundry greefes and troubles, they come afterwards to lose them euen vppon a sodeyn, and in short time. I graunt notwithstanding that it ys a great honor, profyt, and furtheraunce, for the courtier to bee in his prynces fauor, but neuertheles hee cannot deny mee, but that it is a dangerous thing also. For naturally a great familiarity, bringeth also a great enuy wth yt, syth the beloued of the pryncer is commonly ill willed of the common weale. And that, that is yet most dangerous is, that to obtrayn the fauor of hys pryncer, hee must so behaue him self, & his seruice must bee more rare, better, and exquisite, then all others: and otherwile, to fall in disgrace, and to make the pryncer forget all the good seruice hee hath doone hym hys whole life tyme, hee neede but the least displeasure and fault hee can commit. Eulenedes was maruelously beloued wth Tolomey, who after fortune had exalted and brought him to honor, and that hee was growen to great wealth, sayd one day to Cuspides the phylosopher these woordes. O my frend Cuspides tell mee I pray thee, of thy sayth, is there any cause in mee to bee sad, syth fortune hath placed mee in so great auctoryty and honor, as thee can deuise to doe, and that the kynge Tolomey my lord hath now no more to geue mee, he hath already beene so bountifull to mee: To whom the phylosopher answered, saying. O Eulenedes, yf thou wert a phylosopher, as thou art a beeloued seruant, thou wouldest tell mee an other tale, then that thou tellest mee now. For although kynge Tolomey hath no more to geue thee, knowest not thou that spyghfull fortune hath power to take away from thee many thynges: For the noble hart feeleth more greefe, and displeasure, to come down one staire, or step, then to clymme vp a hundred. Not many days after these woordes passed betweene Cuspides, and Eulenedes, yt happened that one day kynge Tolomey found Eulenedes talking waleman or curtesan of hys whiche hee loued deere, whereat hee was so much offended, & hee made her straight drinke a cuppe of poyson, and caused him to bee hanged before his own gates. The emperour Seuerus had one in so great fauor and credit which was called Plautius, & hee loued hym so extremely, & trusted hym so much, that hee neuer read letter, but Plautius must read it, and hee neuer graunted commissyon or lycence to any man, but it must passe vnder Plautius seale: neither dyd hee euer graunt any thyng, but at the request of Plautius, nor dyd make warres or peace, without the counsell and aduice of Plautius. The matter fel out so, that Plautius entering one night into the emperours chamber armed with a priuy cote, his yll hap was such, that a litle of his brest before was open, whereby was spred the maple, which Babbian seying, being the emperours eldest sonne sayd vnto hym these woordes. Tell mee Plautius, doo those that are the beloued of prynces vse to come into theyre bed chamber at these howers, armed with Iron coate: I sweare to thee by the Immoztall gods, and let them so preserve mee in the succession of the Empire, that syth thou

thou comest armed with Iron, thou shalt also dye with Iron. Which presently tooke place. For before hee went out of the chamber, they strake of his head. The Emperoz Commodus (that was sonne of the good Emperoz Marcus Aurelius) had a sernaunt called Cleander, a wise and graue man, old, and very pollytyck: but with all a litle couetous. This Cleander was oft times requested of the pretoryne compaigny, that is to say of the whole band of souldiours, that hee woold commaund they might bee payd their pay dew to them: and to perswade him the better to pay it, they shewed him a bill signed from the Emperoz, to which bill hee answered. That he Emperoz had nothing to doo in the matter. For although hee were lord of Rome, yet had hee not to deale in the affaires of the common weale. These discourteous, and vnseemly wordes related to the emperoz Commodus, and perceiuing the small obedience and respect of duty that Cleander shewed to him, hee commaunded forthwith hee should bee slayn to his great shame, & that all his goods should bee confiscat. Alcimenides was a great renoumed kyng among thee Greekes, as Plutark writeth of him, and hee fauored one Pannonius entirely wel, to whom only hee did not commit his person, his trust, but also the whole affaires and dooings of the comon weale, & hee might dispose of the goods of the kyng, at his wil and pleasure, without leaue or licence. So that al the subiects found, they had moze benefit in seruing of Pannonius then in pleasynge of the kyng. Therefore the kyng & the beloued Pannonius playing at the balle together, they came to contend vppon a chafe, and the one sayd it was thus, the other sayd it was contrary, and as they were in this contention, the kyng commaunded presently those of his gard, that in the very place of the chafe where Pannonius denied, they should strike of his head. Constantius the Emperoz also had one whom hee lyked very well, and made much of, called Hortentius, who in deede might well bee counted a princes derling, for hee dyd not onely rule the affaires of the common weale, of the pallace, of warres, his goods, and person of the emperoz: but also hee was euer placed aboue all the Ambassadours at his table. And when the emperoz went in progresse, or any other iorney, hee euer had him to his bedfellow. Thus things beeing in this state, I tel you, it happened that one day a page geuing the emperoz drinke in a glasse, the glasse by myshap fell out of the pages hand and brake in peeces, whereat the emperoz was not a litle displeased and offended. And euen in this euil & unhappy hower came Hortentius to the kyng to present hym certayn bylles to signe of hasty dyspatch (which was a very vnapt tyme chosen) and the emperoz contented yet to signe yt, could neither the first nor the second tyme, because the perine was ill fauoridly made, and the ink so thicke that yt would not wyte: whych made the kyng so angry, that euen presently for anger hee commaunded Hortentius head to bee stricken of. But to the end wee may come to the knowledge of many things in few wordes, I wyll shew you how Alexander the great slew in hys choller hys deere accounted Cratherus, and Pirthus kyng of the Epirotes, Fabatus hys secretozy. The Emperoz Bitillion hys greatest frend Cincinatus, Domitian the emperoz, Rufus of his chamber. Adrian the Emperoz hys onely fauored Ampromae, Dioclesian hys frend Patritius, whom hee loued as hym self, and alwayes called hym frend and compaignion. Diadumeus, Pamphilion hys great treasorer. For whose death hee

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was so sorowfull, that hee would haue made him self away, because hee caused him to bee so cruelly slayn. All these aboue named, and innumpt others also, some were maisters, some lords, some kyngs, and some of great autority and fauor about princes, by whose tragicall histories and examples wee may plainly see, that they did not onely lose their goods, fauor and credit, but also vpon very light occasions were put to death by swoord. Therefore moztall men should put no trust in worldly things, syth that of lytle occasion they become soone great, and of much lesse they sodainly fall, and come to woorse estate then befoze. And therefore kyng Demetrius askyng one day Euripides a philosopher, what hee thought of humayn debility, and of the shortnes of this lyfe answered. Hee thinks O kyng Demetrius, that there is nothyng certain nor suer in this vnstable life: syth all men liuing, and al things also that serues them, indure dayly someclipse: and hereunto replied sodainly Demetrius as he sayd. O my good Euripides, thou hadst sayd better that all things begittne, and sensitiue, and ech other liuing thyng dooth not onely feeble the eclipses efforce, and chaunge from day to day, but from hower to hower, and minute to minute. Meaning kyng Demetrius by these woordes hee spake, that ther is nothing so stable in this world, bee it of what state or condicion yt will bee, but in a twyngling of an eye, is ready to runne into a thousand dangers and perils: & albeit wee bee all subiect (of what state or degree so euer wee bee) to sundry & diuers thzales, & mishaps, yet none are so neere neighbors to them, as those that are in highest autority, and greatest fauor with princes. For there are many that shoots to hit down the white of their fauor, but few that (being down) will once put it vp agayn and restore yt to his place. For to lyue a contented life, a man had neede to want nothing: neither to haue any occasion to trouble him. But y things that trouble vs in this vale of misery, being so many and of such aboundaunce, and those things contrarily so few, & rare to come by, that wee neede and want: wee may iudly account this life woollfull, and myserable aboue all others. For sure farre greater are the greenes and dyspleasures wee receyue, for one onely thing wee want: then the pleasures are great wee haue for a hundreth others, whereof wee haue aboundaunce. Besides that, the familiars of princes cannot think them selues so mighty and fortunat, that any man may presume to cal them blessed or happy. For if some serue and honoz them, others there are that persecute them, and if in their houses they haue that flatter them, and make much of them, there wait not in the court others that murmur at them, and speak ill of them. And yf they haue cause some times to reioyce that they are in fauor: so haue they likewise continuall trouble and feare that they shal fall, and bee put out of fauor: And if they glozy to haue great treasure, they sorow also to haue many enemies. And if the seruices and company they haue doo delight them, the continuall buylines they haue doo vex them: So that wee may say of the, as of plastersing of houses, which are neuer so faire, but they become black with some spot in time, and woozmes and other vermine do eat and wast them. If there bee none that dare once admonish these great men in authority, and tell them their faults by woord of mouth: yet I will take vpon mee to doo yt wyth my wytyng, and say, that they speake nothyng but it is noted, their steps they

they tread are seene, every morsell of meat they eat ys marked, they are accused for the pleasures they take, and all thyngs that they haue are obserued, All the pleasures that is doone them is regystrred, and all ill that that they know by them is published: And synally I conclude, that the fauored of prynce, are a game at tables, wherent every man playeth: not woth dyce, nor cardes, but onely with serpents tongues. And therefore I haue sayd it, and once agayn I returne to say: That all those that are accepted of prynces must lyue continually very wisely, and aduysedly in all their dooings, for it is trew, and too trew, that every mans tongue runnes of them, and much more yf they had tyme and opportunity, like as they defame them wth their tongues, so would they offend them with their hands. Wee doo not speak thys so much that they should looke to defend their lyfe: but to foresee that they may preserve their honoz, and goods from perill, and to geeue them by thys precept a good occasion to looke about them. For to put them in disgrace woth the kyng, all the days of theyre lyfe (to their bitter vndooyng and ouerthrow) the kyng neede but onely geeue care to his enemies.

The authoz admonisheth those that are in fauor, and great wth the prynce, that they take heede of the deceipts of the world, and learne to lyue, and dye honorably, and that they leaue the court befoze age ouertake them.

Cap. xvi.

When kyng Alderick kept Seuerine the Romayn consull prisoner, othertwise named Boetius: that consull complayned much of fortune. Saying alas fortune, why hast thou forsaken mee in my age, since thou dydest fauor mee so much in myne youth, and that I had serued thee so many years, why hast thou left mee to the hands of myne enemies. To which complaynts fortune made aunswere thus. Thou art vnthankfull to mee O Seuerius, sith I haue bled my things with thee in such maner, as I neuer bled the like with any other Romayn. And that this ys trew I tell thee. Consider, O Seuerius, that I made thee whole, and not sick: a man and no woman: of excellent wyt and vnderstandyng, and not grosse and rude: ryche and not pooze: wyse, and not foolyshe: free, and not bond: a Senator, and no plebeyan: noble and valyaunt, and not cowardly: a Romayn, and no barbarus, or straunger boyn: in great, and not mean estate: a graue man, and no light nor bayn person: fortunat, and not vnlucky: woth thy of fame, and not obliuion: to conclude I say, I gaue thee such part in the common weale, that thou hadst good cause to haue ppty of all others, and all others cause to haue spight and enuy at thee. Agayn replyed Seuerius to this aunswere and sayd. O cruell and spightfull fortune, how liberall thou art in the things thou speakest, and resolute in the things thou disposest, sith alway thou doost what thou wilt and seldome that thou oughtst. And thou knowest there is no such mynchap, as to remember a man hath once been rich, and fortunat in his tyme: and to see him self now brought to extreame mysery. Heare fortune thou oughtst to know yt, yf thou knowest yt not, that hee that neuer was rich, scant knoweth his pouerty. But alas for ppty, hee that

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was rich, and had once all pleasures and ease, dooth sorrow much for the present extremitie and bewaileth the forepassed felicity. And I tell thee also, and thou oughtst to beleue mee, that wee repute them more happy whō thou neuer exaltest nor gauest honoz to: then wee doo those whom thou hast called to high honoz, and afterwards hast ouerthrowen them, and brought them lower, and in worse state then before. And as for mee, O fortune, I tell thee truely, I think no man fortunat, but him that neuer knew what good fortune ment. And this was the discourse betwixt fortune and the consul Seuerius. By which wee may perceiue and comprehend, that truely none may bee thought vnfortunat and miserable, but such as haue bene before in great honoz and reputation: and hee cannot bee thought abased of his state, or countenance, if hee were not before in prosperitie, and fauored of fortune. So that wee may well say, that neuer no man in this world was so free, as hee that neuer suffered fortune to enter into his gates. I haue bene desirous to tell you of these thyngs, because that such as are in fauor and credyt with princes, should not reckon too much of their fauor: neyther that those that are not in fauor with them, should bee sorry for it a whyt. For the great auctoritie and credyt that a man hath by the court, is in thys mortall lyfe in the end nothyng els, then as a lytle woorme in an apple, a wyuell yn the corne, and a maggot in pease: which wythout seeme very good, and within they are all rotten and eaten. Princes auctoritie aboue all others ys most supreme, for they are not subiect to the Censors and iudges, to reprove them of their wordes and sayings, neither to magistrates, to whom they should render any account of their dooings, whereof proceedes, that as they haue free will to loue, so haue they a free libertie to hate, and absolute power to punish. Therefore those that are in fauor in court, and that shall read these writings of mine, must wel consider what wee mean by all those thyngs wee haue spoken: whereby they shall easely know, that princes are no lesse apt to hate him to day they loued yester day: then to loue him to morow, whom they hated y other day. The first and cheefest thing the courtier ought to haue, is to feare god, and to follow the profession of a good christian. For in thend they lyue in court with moze safety, hauing a good and pure conscience: then wyth all the great credit and fauor they can haue. And therefore let euery courtier beleue mee, as well in fauor as out of fauor, that it is the best and surest way to get the goods of this world, as also for the preseruacion of their soules, to esteeme and make account of the scriptures and gods commandements. And if hee doo other wise, it shall happen many times vnto him, that in the dispatch of his weightyest affaires, and needefull busines, euen when hee thynks his matter brought to a good end, and that it is wythout al doubt of dispatch: then steppes in crooked fortune w her wanted popson agaynst hym & eyther makes him in maner beegyme his suit anew agayn, or at least utterly ouerthroweth yt quite. For there are in princes courts many tymes certeyn suites, that haue a good and better end then looked for: and contrarily many others that are at the point of dispatchyng, and yet by synister accident clean ouerthrowen, and succeeding contrary to their assured expectation. And yet notwithstanding it seemeth to the suter, that y cause hereof cometh

commeth, eyther through the solicitors negligence and default, and litle care to follow it, or els through the malice and yll will of the fauored of the court, that tooke vpon hym the suite: and yet neyther the one, nor the other was cause of the disorder, but only the diuine prouidence of God, to admonish vs that in all our actions and dooings it litle preuaileth vs to mooue the kyng, or his officers in all our matters, if wee doo not deserue at gods hands to obtain it. And therefore sayd the diuine Plato in hys Timcon, that these that haue honoz and prosperity in this lyfe, haue as much neede of good counsell, as the pooze afflicted creatures haue, of help and remedy. And surely it was wysely and profoundly spoken of hym. For as neede and misery in this wretched lyfe bringeth men to despair: So lyke wise wee see prosperity induce men, to forgett them selues, and theyr state. And that that I haue hitherto spoken of, and that I hope yet to speak: none can vnderstand nor conceiue, but such as once in their tyme, in theyr nauigation had a fortunat and lucky wynd, and after ward turnyng contrary, even at shoure syde haue cast them on rockes, and bitterly perished them. To thend that those in readyng these my wrytings, may yet lament and moorne for pity: where the other can but only read, and goe no further. If wee compare and put together the ryche with the pooze, the fortunat with the vnfortunat, the fauored with the banished, the vertuous and noble, with the vicious and defamed: wee shall fynd without doubt the number of those farre greater, that could ryle agayn being down, and had taken a fall: then those that could keepe them selues in the auctorizy and fauor, that fortune had brought them to. I haue not said it a few tymes, but euery moment I woold return to say it agayn, that this trayterous world in all hys dooings is so deceiptfull, and Fortune in all that shee promyseth so doubtfull, that they make them beleue whom they make ryche, beloued, and raple to hygh estate, that they doo it but to honoz them: and afterwards contrarily they spinne a thousand deceptys and trumpyes, to make them sooner fall to the ground. Surely I haue seene but few, and I remember I haue read of none, to whom Fortune euer shewed her self so benygne and curteous, that euer putt a man in hys cheefest topp of prosperity & fauor, but in few days after shee tooke his lyfe fro hym, or at least in y end of his iorney shee made him runne into some secrete disgrace or mishap. And therefore I woold that the courtier that obtaineth fauor in the court, and ryches in the common wealth, that hee shoold reckon and esteeme them as lent him, not geuen him, and that hee shoold so gouern the things of fortune, as hee woold that man, whom hee trusted not at all. For as Seneca sayth. No man is afflicted with fortune, but hee only y trusted to her, without fear or suspect at all of her. For courtiers and those that are in great fauor and auctorizy ought to know, that lyke as in the deepest seas, soonest perish the shippes: and as in the hyghest mountains the Sunne hath alwayes least force and power, and as in the greenest bowes is soonest hid the fowlers little nett, to katch the self byzds: And as with the fullest bayts of meat the fish are soonest taken, and that with great force the wynd dooth blow on hyghest trees, and as the most prouid and statey buyldings

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buyldings, the earthquake dooth most hurt, and soonest ouerthrow them :
 euen so by this I mean, that fortune neuer stroue to throw down any,
 but such as shee had made great in honoz and fauor. For I doo not take
 yt for no great good luck, (though all thyngs succede to bee fauoured
 of the court better then hee looked for) noz to see them brought by their fren-
 des, to great estate and honoz. For albeit fortune for a tyme dyssemble
 with him, it is not for that shee hath forgotten him, but afterwards to geue
 him a greater punishment. Those that will maruell at that I will speak e-
 uen now, it proceedes of nothing els, but wantyng witt, and capacity to vn-
 derstand yt. There is no greter sickness in this world, then to bee in health:
 No greater pouerty, then neuer to haue neede of any thing. And there ys
 no greater temptation, then to bee neuer tempted: For there can bee no
 greater sadness, then to bee alwayes mery: For greater daunger, then ne-
 uer to bee in daunger. For many tymes it so happeneth, that where a man
 thinketh to passe ouer a daungerous flood safe enough, his horse falleth o-
 uer head and eares, and drowneeth his maister, or hee escapeth hardly.
 Socrates beeing one day demaunded which was the most sure and certayn
 thyng of this lyfe: answered thus. There is nothing more certayn in thys
 lyfe, then to account all things vncertayn hee hath: noz among ryches any
 greater, then to haue lyfe and health: But if the lyfe bee doubtfull and vn-
 quiet, what surety or certaintie may bee found in it? Surely none. Kyng
 Agesilaus beeing requested of certain of his Grecian captains, to goe see the
 Olimpiade in mount Olympus, where all the Philosophers byd assemble to
 dispute, and where all the rich men of the countrey came to bye and sell a-
 ny thing, hee answered them. If in mount Olympus they sold and exchaun-
 ged sorow for myrth, sickness for health, honoz for infamy, and lyfe for death,
 I woold not only goe to see yt, but I woold also spend all that I am woorth,
 and that I haue: But since the byer is mortall, and the thyng also hee by-
 eth condemned to death, I wil buy nothing in this lyfe, since I cannot carry
 yt with mee into my graue. Yet is there an other deceit whych the poore
 courtiers falleth into dayly, and that is: that in lyuing many peres, they
 thynk and assuredly beleue in the end to lyght of a tyme, when they hope to
 haue ease and rest, whych is a mockry to thynk it, and an extreme madness
 to hope for yt. For if their peres grow by ownc and ownc, their sorowes
 and troubles increase by pounds. Who can deny, but that mple that is kept
 many dayes dooth corrupt and becometh sharp and sower: Pea the gar-
 ments that are now very old, and haue beene long woone, (without that e-
 uer moth byd touch it) dooth in the end also become rags and dust. By thys
 therefore I doo inferre, that if it bee a most certeyn thyng for yong men to
 dye quickly, much more shoold old men bee assured that they haue no long
 tyme to lyue. And there are many in the court of Princes also, that fynd
 them selues so laden with sinnes and wickednes, that they think assuredly,
 that in changing their age, tyme, and fortune, they shal not only leaue their
 byces, but shalbee discharged also of many grieues and troubles. Which
 wee see afterwards happen contrary to them. For there is no way so playn
 in this world, but there is some ascent or discent for vs to goe by to the toppe,
 or some

oz some ryuer for vs to passe ouer, oz some terrible mountayn to fear, oz some crooked yll sauored way to lose vs in, oz some caue oz hole to fall into. Those also that thynk certeynly that the sunne cannot lose hys lyght, noz that the moone can bee Eclipsed, noz that the starres may bee darkened, and that the earth shall not cease to bring forth, the seas to flow, the water to runne, the fyre to burne, and winter to bee cold, let them also bee assured, that man cannot bee excused to suffer and abyde much. For sure it is impossible hee should passe one day without some trouble oz sinister happ of fortune. And the greatest trompery and deceit that courtiers for the most part are abused in, is, that the more they wax in yeres, the more they enter dayly into greater affairs and busines: with a bayn hope and assurance they haue to dispatch them, and bring them to such end, as they list oz desyre. But afterwards when they come to looke into their matters, it is the wil of god, and their deserts doo procure it, that the pooze old men fynd (when they think to goe home to their houses) that they see death appoach neere them, and they afterwards are caried to bee buryed in their graues.

How many are there in court that beecome aged men, by long seruing in court, wpyth a bayn hope afterwards in their age to depart from the court, and to repose their aged yeres in their own houses, in quiet and tranquility; which abuseth them very much: So that they may bee called Christians in name, and thoughts, but right wordlings and courtiers in dooings. And therefore many tymes I reprooued dyuers old courtiers my frends, for that they dyd not leaue the court when they myght haue left it, wpyth honoz, and commoditie: tellyng them it was more then tyme now they should depart from the court, since age had stollen vppon them. Which could not tell how to aunswer mee, noz what to say, more then that they woold within a short tyme goe home to their houses, wpyth deliberation and intent to take theyze ease at home, for the better health of their persons, which they had not tyll then: and so to seclude them from all dooings, saue only in the morning when hee ryseth, to goe to the church and serue god, and from thence to goe to the hospitalles, to visite the sick and diseased, to seeke out the pooze orphans and wyddows amongst his neighbors, to make peace betweene neyghboz and neyghboz, and to releue the pooze. And albeet they haue told mee thys tale many a tyme and oft, yet I neuer saw any of them put it in execution wpyth good wyll. And I saw once an honozable and rich courtier, that was so old, that for very age hee had neuer a black hear on his head, noz any teeth in hys mouth, neither any children, sonnes, oz daughters to inherit his goods, who notwithstanding was of so foolysch and fantastical opinion (brought to that madness by his sinnes) that hee sware to mee, that for discharge of his conscience only hee woold neuer leaue oz geue up by his office hee hadd in court, to chaunge that seruile trade of lyfe for quiet rest at home. Thinking assuredly, that enioying rest at home in his own house, hee myght easely bee damned, and abyding the payns and seruyce of court, hee beleued vndoubtedly hee should bee saued. Surely wee may aptly say, that thys old courtier was more then a dotard, and that hee had mard the call of his consciens, since hee beleued it was a charge of conscience to depart the court.

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The ambition to doo much, & the couetousnes to haue much, maketh þ miserable courtiers beleue that they haue yet tyme enough to lyue, & to repent them when they will. So that in the court, thinking to lyue two yerres only in their age good men, they lyue fifty and thre score yerres wicked & naughty persons. Plutarch in his Apothegmes saith, that Eudonius, that was Captain of the Greekes, seeing Xenocrates reading one day in the vniuersity of Athens, hee being not of thage of epghty fyue yerres, asked what that old mā was: & it was answered him, that it was one of the philosophers of Greece, who followed vertue and serched to know wherein true philosophy consisted. Whereuppon hee answered. If Xenocrates þ philosopher tell mee, that hee being now epghty fyue yerres old, goeth to seeke vertue in this age, I would thou shooldest also tell mee what tyme hee shoold haue left him to bee vertuous. And hee said moze ouer, in those yerres that this philosopher ys of, it were moze reason wee shoold see him doo vertuous things, thā at this age to goe and seeke it. Truly wee may say the very lyke of our new courtier, that Eudonius said of Xenocrates the philosopher, the which if hee did look for other thre score yerres, or thre score yerres and tenne to bee good, what tyme shoold remain for him to prooue and shew that goodnes. It is no maruel at al, that þ old courtiers forget their natie countrey and bzinging bp, their fathers that begat them, their frends that shewed the fauor, & the seruants that serued them: but at that þ I doo not only woonder at the, but also it geueth mee cause to suspect them, is, that I see they forget them selues. So that they neuer know noz consider that they haue to doo, till they come afterwards to bee, that they would not bee. If the courtiers, w in princes courts haue been rich, noble, & in auctority, would counsel with mee, or at least beleue my writing, they shoold depart from thence in tyme, to haue a long tyme to consider befoze of death, least death bniwares & sodeinly came to take executio of their liues. O happy & thise happy may wee call þ esteemed courtier, whom god hath geuen so much wit & knowledge to, that of him self hee doo depart fro þ court, befoze fortune hath once touched him w dishonor, or layd her cruell hands vpon him. For I neuer saw courtier but in the end did complain of þ court, & of their yll lyfe that they lead in court. And yet did I neuer know any person þ would leaue it for any scruple of conscience hee had to remain there, but peradventure if any did depart from þ court, it was for some of these respects or altogether, that is to say. Either that his fauor & credit diminished, or that his money failed him, or that some hath doon him displeasure in the court, or that hee was driven from the court, or that hee was denyed fauor, or that his syde & faction hee held with, had a fal, or for þ hee was sick, to get his health, hee went into þ countrey. So that they may say hee rather went angry & displeased with him self, then hee dyd to lament his sinnes. If you ask ppyuately euery courtier, you shal find none but will say hee is discontented w the court, either because hee is poore, or afflicted, enuyed or yll willed, or out of fauor, & hee wil swere & reswore again that hee despyzeth nothing moze in the world, then to bee dismissed of this courtiers trauel & painfull life. But if afterwards perchaunce a lytle wynd of fauor bee put stirring in the entry of his chāberdoze, it wil sodeinly blow away al the good & former thoughts fro his mynd. And yet that, that makes mee wonder moze at these vnconstant courtiers

courtiers & vnstable bzains, is, that I see many buyld goodly stately houses in their countrey, & yet they neither dwel in them, nor keep hospitality there. They graffe & set trees, plant fruits, & make good gardeins, and orchyards and yet neuer go to enioy them: they purchase great lands and possessions, and neuer goe to see them. And they haue offices and dignities geuen them in their countreys, but they neuer goe to exercise them. There they haue their friends and parents, and yet they neuer goe to talk with them. So that they had rather bee slaues and drudges in the court, then lords and rulers in their own countrey. Wee may iustly say that many courtiers are pooze in riches, straungers in their own houses, and pilgrimes in their own countrey, and banysht from all their kindreds. So that if wee see the most part of these courtiers, bakbyte, murmure, complayn, and abhorre these vyces they see dayly committed in court. I dare assure you that this discontentation & dysliking proceeds not only of these vyces and errors they see committed, as of the spight and enuy they haue dayly, to see their enemies grow in fauor and credit with the prince. For they passe lytle of the vyces of court, so they may bee in fauor as others are. Plutarch in his booke de exilio sheweth, that there was a law amongst the Thebans, that after a man was fyfty yeres of age, if hee fell sick, hee should not bee holpen with phisitians. For they say that after a man is once arpyed to that age, hee should desire to lyue no lenger, but rather to hast to his iorneyes end. By these exâples wee may know that infancy is till vii. yeres. Childhood to. xiii. yeres: youth, to. xxv. yeres: manhood till. xl. and age, to threë scoze yeres. But once passed threë scoze, mee think it is rather tyme to make clean the nets and to content themselves with þe fish they haue til now, then to goe about to put their nettes in order again to fish any moze. I graunt that in the court of princes all may bee saued, and yet no mā can deny mee, but that in princes courts there are no occasions to bee damned then saued. For as Cato the Censor saith, the apt occasions bring men a desire to doo yll, though they bee good of them selues. And although some do take vppon them and determyne to lead a godly and holy lyfe, or that they shew them selues great hypocrits, yet am I assured notwithstanding that they cannot keepe their tongue from murmuring, nor their hart from enuying. And the cause herre of proceedeth, for that there are very few that followe the court long, but only to enter into credit, and afterwards to waxe rich, and grow in great aucthority. Which cannot bee wythout bearing a lytle secrete hate and enuy against those, that doo passe them in this fauor and aucthority, and wythout suspect and fear of others, which in this are their equals & companions. It were a good counsel for those that haue lyued in þe court of princes til they bee growen o'd & grey headed, that they should determine & liue þe rest of their yeres as good christians, & not to passe them as courtiers, so that though they haue geuen þe world the meal, yet they should in the end geue the brian to Iesus Christ. I know every man desireth to liue in princes court, & yet they promise they wil not dye in court. And since it is so, mee thinks it is a great folly & presumption for such men to desire to liue long in such state, where they woold not dye for al þe gold in þe world. I haue liued in court many yeres, & at this present I haue forsake it quite: wherfoze I dare boldly say, that if once
a man

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A man come to enjoy a quiet life and reposed rest, I am assured hee would for ever hate and dislike to bee a courtier longer. But alas, like as these seccles courtiers remember not the lyfe to come, but only account of their baine & courtly lyfe present, reputing that the most blessed and happy of any other: So god seeing their folly and fond addicted mynd to the vanity of court, to plague them with all, and scourge them with their own rodd, dooth graunt them no other noz better rest, then that they only inioy in princes court, and so feedes them with their own humoz. And therefore it is truely said. That rest & contentation neuer entreth into a sinners house. O you woorthy and noble courtiers, O you beloued, and sauored courtiers, I wil remember you, yea and again remember you, that you presume not to cutt oz pull of þ wings of tyme, since you neither shall haue tyme noz mean to pluck one feather from him: much lesse the least knowledg how to doo it. And therefore it is sayd. Yll cutteth the knife if the edge bee broken: and yll can hee gnaw bones that lacketh his teeth. And if it seeme good vnto you and mee also, that to day it is tyme to gather the fruit of the byte of our youth, let vs goe now again to seeke it about by the means of our amendement. And if the pye oz cake where in wee shoold put our wyne bee fustie, with the malignity and perversnes of our wicked dooings: Let vs season them with new and better wyne of good and holy desires. And now to conclude if to sequester them selues from court, it bee a holsom counsell for courtiers: much moze holsome and necessary it is for such as bear sway and reputation about the prince. For other courtiers dayly lyue in hope to enlarge their countenance, and credit, & to grow into fauor and auctority: but these darlings, and belyked of princes, are continually afrayd to fall, and bitterly to bee put out of fauor.

¶ Of the continency of sauored courtiers, and how they ought to shonne the company & conuersation of vnhonest women, and to bee carefull quickly to dispatch all such as sue vnto them. Cap. xlii.

Titus Liuius and Plutarch wyrteth, that the Romans had in such veneration those men that lyued chaste, and those women also that professed virgins life, that they erected statues of them in the senat house, carrying them thorough the citie in triumphant chariots, recommending them selues to their deuout prayers, and geewing them great giftes and presents: and finally adozed them as gods. And this was their reason in that they honozed them as gods: for that they being of flesh, & lyving in flesh, did leave to vse the woorks and instinct of the fleshy: which they held a thing moze diuine then humayne. Filostratus sayth, that Appolonius Thiancus was borne without any payn oz grief to his mother in all her travell. And that the gods spake to him in his eare, that hee raised the dead to lyfe, healed the sick, knew the thoughts of men, diuined of things to come, how hee was serued wryth princes, honozed of the people, and folowed of all the philosophers: & yet they dyd not make so great a woonder of all these things spoken of him, as they did for that hee was neuer married, and moze ouer neuer detected with the knowledg of any woman liuing, much lesse suspected. Whylest Carthage was emironed with seege one eche syde, a virgin of Numidia taken prisoner, was presented

presented to Scipio, and shee was very faire: which Scipio notwithstanding would not only not deflower, but set her at liberty, and married her very honorably. Which act of his was more appressed of the romayn writers, the was his conquest of Numidia, the restoring of Rome her liberty, the destruction of Charrhage, the socour and relife geuen to Asia, and the enobling of his common wealth. For in all these enterprises, hee still fought against others: but in the effects of the flesh, hee fought agaynst hym selfe. And therfor he must needs bee maruelous wise and of good iugement, that can subdue the desires and motions of the flesh. For wee doo as much couet to follow these carnall desires, as wee are apt to our meate when wee are a hongred. Cruel and bitter are the assaults of the flesh to the spirit, and wonderfull is the payn the spirit abiderth, to resist the motions of the same, which by no meanes can bee overcome, but by eschewing the occasions therof. As in brideling the desires, punishing the flesh, liuing with spare diet, increasing learning, geeyng hym selfe to teares, and altogether shutting the gates of our desires. O, yf this vice of the flesh came of aboundance of heate, or rage of blood, wee might soone remedy yt with letting our selues blood. Yf it wer by any sickness of the hart, yt should bee cured by interioz medecines: Yf of the lyuer, wee would refresh it with oynments. If of melancony humoz, wee would wash away al the opilations. If of choler, wee would procure esy purges. But alas it is a disease so farr from pittie, that it misliketh wee should call for phisitions, and cannot abide wee should offer it any remedy. It cannot bee denied but that ciuil warre is most greuous and dangerous in a common wealth: But much more perillous is that at home betwixt the husband and the wyfe: but most ieopardious of all is, that a man hath with hym selfe. For wee cannot reckon any other our enemy, but our owne desyers. I remember I saw once written in a courtiers house these wordes, which truly deserued to bee written in golden letters: and the wordes were these.

*The dreadfull wars, that I alas sustaine against my self, perforce my self dooth straine
where blind desire, becomes my mighty foe the wreckfull gods, vouch saue it doo not so.*

Surely hee that wrote this for his word, mee think hee was no foole, nor euil christian, syth hee nether sought for mony, nor by slyght of wytt procured to deceyue or begyle, nether hee called his frends to help hym to withstand his enemies, but only craued remedy, against his vn honest and baine desires. And vndoubtedly hee had reason. For a man may easely absent hym selfe fro his enymys, but to fly from hym selfe, it is an impossible thing. And therfor mee thinkes it is a thing more to bee lamented then writtē, to see that a multitude of corporall enymes, cannot banquish and overcome vs: and yet notwithstanding when wee are alone, and think nothing of it, this only vice of the flesh doth not alone make vs stumble, but fall downe ryte on the ground. For nether to become religious, a priest, a fryer, nor to dwell in churches, nor to bee shut vp in cloysters, to sequester our selues from y^e world, nor to chaunge state and condition: For all this I saye, I see none of all these things helpe vs mortall mē, to defend vs from this vice and sinne. But the further wee seeke to fly from yt, the more danger wee find to fall in to it. And albeit to auoide o^rther vices and synnes it shall suffice vs to bee admonished: yet against that alone of the flesh, it behoueth vs to bee armed. For ther is no synne in y^e world but

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but y there are meanes for me to auoid it: this only excepted of the flesh, where with all wee are ouercome, and taken prysoners. And to proue this true it is aparant, thus. Where rayneth pryde, but amongst the potentates, where enuy, but amongst equals: anger, but amongst the impatient: glotony, but amongst gourmants: auarice, but amongst the rhyche: slothe, but amongst the idle: And yet for all these the synne of the flesh generally raigneth in al men. And therfore, for not resisting this abhominable vice, wee haue seene kings lose ther kyngdoms, noblemen ther landes, and possessiōs: the married wiues their auowed sayth: the religion nonnes, their professed birginitie: so that wee may compare this synne, to the nature and condicion of the venomus serpent, which beeing aliue bings vs, and after hee is dead, offendeth vs with his noysome stink. Examples by Dauid, who for all his wisdom could not preuayl against that synne: nor Salomon, for al his great knowledge: nor Absolon for al his diuine beuty: nor Sampson, with his mighty force: which notwithstanding y great fame they had for their renowned vertues: yet thorough this onely defect they lost al, accompaniing with harlots a licentious weomen. Into w shameful felowship fel also, Holofernes, Annibal, Ptholomeus, Pirrhus, Iulius Cesar, Augustus, Marcus Antonius, Seuerus, and Theodorus, & many other great princes, with these aboue recyted: the most part of the which wee haue seene deprived of their crownes, and after wards them selues haue come (to their vtter shame & dishonour) on their knees to yeeld them selues to the mercy of these their infamed louers, crauing pardō & forgeeuenes. Many graue writers of the Grecians say, y the imbassadors of Lidia comming one day into the chamber of Hercules, upon a sodein to speak with him, they found him lying in his curtisans lap, shee pulling his rings of on his syngers, hee dressed on hys head with her womenly attier: & shee in exchange on hers beedect with his royal crown. They write also of Denis y Siracusan, that albeitt of nature hee was moze cruel then the wilde beast, yet hee beecame in the end so tractable, & pleasant, by the meanes of a curtisan his frend called Mira, y shee onely did confirme al the prouisions, & depeches, of the affaires of the weale publike, & hee onely did but ordein and appoint them. And if the histories written of y Gathes deceyue vs not, wee fynd that Antenaricus the famous kyng of the Gathes, after hee had triumphed of Italy, & that hee had made hym self lord of all Europe, hee beecame so farre in loue with a louer of his called Pincia: that whilst shee combd his head, hee made clean her slippers. Also Themistocles, the most famous captain of the Greekes, was so enamored of a woman hee had taken in the warrs of Epirus, that shee beeing afterwards very sick: when shee purged her self, hee wolde also bee purged with her: if shee were let blood, hee would also bee let blood: & yet that that is woozt to bee lyked is, that hee washed his face with y blood that came out of her arme, so y they might truly say, though shee were his prisoner, yet hee was also her slaue & subiect. When kyng Demetrius had takē Rhodes, there was brought to him a faire gentlewoman of the cpty, which hee made his frend in loue, & this loue beetwixt them by tyme grew so great, y shee shewing her selue bpō a time to hee angry w Demetrius, & refusing to sit nere him at y table, & also to ly w him: Demetrius vtterly forgetting him self, & a royal estate, did not only on his knees pray her to pardō him, but also imbrasing her, coueighed her in his armes to
his

his chamber. Myronides the Gretian, albeeit hee had made subiect to hym the Kingdome of Boetia, yet was hee not withstanding made subiect with þe loue of Numidia his louer. Hee enflamed thus with loue of her, & shee likewise stricken with couetous desire of his goods, in fine they agreed, that hee should geue her all the spoyle hee had wonne in the warres of Boetia: & þe shee should let him lye with her in her house, onely one night. Annibal made warres seuenteen yeares wth the romains, & in all that time hee was neuer banquished, till that hee was ouercome with the loue of a yong mayden in the City of Capua, which proued a most bitter loue to him, sith thereby it happened, that where as hee had so many yeares kept in subiection all Italy, hee now was made a subiect at home in his own country. Plutarke in his booke De republica writeth, that Phalaris the tirant woold neuer graunt a man any thing hee desired, nether euer denied any thing þe a dissolute woman requested. No smal, but great disorder happened to the comon weale of Rome, by þe occasion of the Emperoz Calligula, who gaue but 6000. sesterces onely to repaire the walls of Rome: & gaue otherwise for surring one gown alone of his lemans, a 10000 sesterces. By al these exāples aboue resyted, wee may easely vnderstand, how dangerous a thing it is for the courtier, to haue frendship & acquaintance wth weomen of so byld a faculty. For the woman is of like quality, that a knot tyed of cordes is: w^{ch} is easely tyed of sundry knots, and very hardly afterwards to bee vndoone agayn. Heretofore wee haue becsought courtiers, & þe fauored of princes, that they should not bee so liberall in commaunding: & now once agayn wee pray them to beeware of fornication & adultry, for albeeit this sinne of þe flesh bee not the greatest in fault, yet is it the most dangerous in fame. There is no king, prelat, nor knight in this woorld so virtuous, and dishonest of life, but woold bee glad to haue honest, vertuous, & wel condicioned seruants, so that it is impossible therefore for the fauored courtier (lying dishonestly) to cony nue any long time in fauor wth his prince. For wee haue seen many in prynces courts, & common weales also, þe haue lost their honoz, fauor, & ryche, not for any pryde they shewed in the selues, nor for Enui þe they had, nor for any treasurie nor riches that they robbed, nor for any euil woordes þe they should speak, neither for any treason that they comitted: but only thorough þe euill fame þe went of them for hauing the cōpany of naughty weome. For weomen bee of the right nature of hedgehogges, w^{ch} without seeing or knowing what they haue in their hart, doo not wthstanding draw blood of vs with their pricks. And let not any man deceaue him self, hoping þe if hee do comit a fault thorough þe flesh that it shall bee kept from the prynces ears, or that it shall not bee blased abroad in the court. For this sinne is of such a quality, that though it may bee hidden within curtains, yet it cannot bee kept silent with tongues. How uise and slye so euer a woman bee, yet at all times when shee geueth eare vnto mens requests, euen at that present shee resolueth to impart the whole wth some frend of hers. For these weomen doo glozy more, to bee the frend of a courtier: then to bee a trew wyfe vnto their husbands. I haue my self seen in prynces courts many weomen, very humble, courteous, piteful, patient, charitable, wise, deuout, & otherwise maruelous honest, & yet amongst al these I neuer found any one secret. And therefore that a man will haue published to þe

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world, let him hardly tell it a woman in great secret. I maruell how it should come to passe, that wee see dayly weomen cary vpon their heads a Forrest of heares, a corse, a hood, gümmeus hanging at their eares, partlets vpon their shoulders, smocks on their bodies, petticoates, gownes, kirtels, hose, clokes, bardingales, hattes, cheyns, bracelets, ryngs, plumes of fethers in their hands, & many other trinkets not named, all w^{ch} they cary lightly vpon the & think it no burden: and yet they cannot abide in no case to keepe or cary one secret in their brest. Alas what pity is it to see these affected courtiers, what meanes they vse to winne a ladies fauor, what pleasant purposes & discourses they put forth vnto them, what bitter sighs they let fall, what seruice they offer them, what iewels they geue the, what castles in the ayre they promise the, what sozowsthey sayn, and what lyes they make them beleue: & these seely weomen (by nature proud, & foolish) are w^{ch} a few gifts ouercome, and with a few flattering wordes beguyled. Now let this courtier & his lady continue in this mutual friendship between them, one, two, three, fower, or fīue yeares, though perhaps not fully these yeares complete neither many months also, & you shall see in the end vndoubtedly a maruelous breach, & hate betwixt them. For this amorous courtier, w^{ch} so dearly seemed to loue his lady, will now make court a frend to others, & dislike that heretofore hee loued, and fly from her w^{ch}om erst hee folowed, abhorring w^{ch} hee, once dellyted in, mistyking the tast of those meates that once were sweete & pleasant to him: and cannot abide her face now, whose Image before hee had ingraued in his mynd. So if hee before had spent three yeares seruice in making her his mistress, hee spendeth now six other yeares in w^{ch} forgetting of her. And therfore these noble courtiers, & beloued of princes, must beware they make not these yōg and dishonest loues some in euery place. For the sweete & fragrant rose w^{ch} they seeke to gather, continueth scanty one hotter: but w^{ch} pricketh & plagues of the perling thorn, resteth hydden in their flesh, their whole life time after. A mā erreth in nothing more in this world, then in taking to his charge a dishonest womā. For if hee will bring her w^{ch} him to w^{ch} court, shee shall shame him, put him to an vnreasonable charge, besides w^{ch} burde of his conscience. And if after wards hee would put her away fro him, shee wil not depart for any thing: & if hee would copel her to it, ere shee depart it wil bee al w^{ch} court ouer: so what thigs haue past betwixt them two alone in secret, shall after wards bee knowne of euery man a broade. And therfore wee haue not causeles told you, that it must needs bee a maruelous expence to w^{ch} courtier, to bring his louer w^{ch} him to the court. For hee must alwayes bee at the charges to keepe a page, mayd or gentle woman to waight vpon her. Hee must content w^{ch} hostie of his house to lodge her secretly, please w^{ch} marshal to seeme not to know of it, the harbinger w^{ch} hee prepare him a good lodging, the page that hee bee diligēt, & at her hand: & her self also must haue to liue w^{ch} al, so w^{ch} the expēce & charge hee shall bee at w^{ch} her, must needs farre exceede all the benefites and commodity hee hath by court. Besides that hee may assure him self, that this their lewd and fond loue cannot long endure, neither can care also of her self bee kept secret. For either his hostes w^{ch} lodged her, or w^{ch} baron that procureth their meeting, or w^{ch} page that bringeth commendacions & messenges betwixt them, or w^{ch} neighbors that seeth him frequēt w^{ch} house, or the seruant that shall suspect him, or the mother that sold her to hym,

In þe end will beewray their secret practise & frendship. Wherof springeth afterwards disdain, & fro disdain, to defame eche other: so þe oher extreme louers they were first, thei afterwards beecome mortal enemies. And therefore þe wiuel is not so hurtful to þe cozne, nor the locust to þe otes, nor þe woozmes to þe vines, nor maggots to þe fruyt, nor the moth to þe garments, as the woman is to a man, þe once was his frend, & now become his enemy. For like as in time of her loue, shee robbed & spoiled him of al his goods: so likewise in þe time of her hatred, she deuoureth al his good fame & reputaciō. But what shal wee say of þe man þe contenteth not him self w one frēd alone, but like an insatiable leacher taketh vpo him to keepe an other. Cruelly I cannot tel what to say of this man, but þe it had been better for hi hee had neuer been bozne, the to haue kept cōpany with such byle & cōmon weomē. For hee shal neuer appease þe sicc neither w anger, nor flattery: nor humble her w ptesēts nor cā expel her hate w pmisses, neither please her w cherishing of her & much lesse shal ouercōe her w threttes. The Ocean sea is not so dangerous, nor þe sweozd of þe tyrāt so cruel, neither lyghtnyng so fodein, nor earthquakes so horrible, & fearful, nor serpēts so benymus as a harlot: whē shee dooth but suspect her frend loueth another beside her self, for shee reaseth not to defāe him, ato follow þe other, to rayle a sleaūder amōgst her neyghbors, to cōplaine to his frēds, to beuoy þe matter to þe iustice, to quarel w of ficers & alwayes to haue spies for hym in euery place, as if hee were one of her mortal enemies. ¶ I woold to god þe courtier woold as much esteeme of his cōsciēs, as his louer maketh accōpt of his parsō: happy were hee. For I dare assure him if he know it not, þe shee spieth out al þe places hee goth to, & cōūts euery morsel of meat hee eateth, & becometh ielous of al þe hee dooth, & of all those whose cōpany hee frequēteth, yea shee deuileth & imagineth all þe hee thinketh. So þe hee þe seeketh a cruel reuēge of his enemy, cannot doo better the pswade & induce him to loue one of these wel cōditioned womē. Now let him think þe hee hath great warres, þe by his euil hap hath made her his enemy, w heretofore hee so etierly loued. For any mā þe exteemeth his honoz, & reputaciō, dooth rather feare þe euil tongue of such a womā, the þe sweozd of his enemy. For an honest mā to strue, & cōtēd w a womā of such quality, is euē as much, as yf hee woold take vpon him, to waly an asses head. Therefore hee may not let me to make accōpt of those iniuries doon him, or euil words shee hath spoken of him, but rather seeke to remedy it þe best hee cā, that shee speak no moze of him. For womē naturally desire to enioy þe persō they loue, wouth let or interruption of any, & to pursue to þe death those they hate. I woold wysh therefore þe fauored of pnces, & such as haue office & dignity in þe court, that they beware they incurre not into such like errors. For it is not sitting þe mē of honoz, & such as are great about þe pnce shoold seeme to haue moze lyberty in vice the any other, neither for any respect ought þe beloued of þe pnce to dare to keepe cōpany, much lesse to haue frēdship w any such cōmō & defamed womē, lyth þe least euil þe can cōe to the, they cannot bee auoied. But at þe least hee must charge his cōsciēs, trouble his frēds, wast his goods, cōsume his pson, & lose his good fame, ioyning w al these also, his cōcubine to bee his mortal enemy. For there is no womā liuig þe hath any measure in louig, neither end in hatig. Oh how wareli ought al mē to liue, & specially wee þe are in þe court of pnces, for many womē (vnder þe coloz of their aurozity & office) goe oft tymes to seek the in their chābers, not only as humble suiters, to sollycyte theire causes, but also liberally to offer the theire psons.

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so by þ colour to cōclude their practises & deuyles. So þ þ decisio & cōclusio of proceſſe w they ſaun to ſolycite, ſhal not goe w him þ demaunds there goods of thē, but rather w him þ deſires but their parſōs to ſpoile thē of their honoz. Now þ princes officers muſt ſeeke to bee pure, & cleue frō al theſe practiſes of theſe comō ſtrūpers, much moze frō thoſe þ are ſuteys to thē & haue maters bee fore thē. For they ſhould highly offend god, & comit great treaſo to þ king, if they ſhould ſend thoſe weome frō thē that ſued vnto thē rather diſhonored & defamed, thē honeſtly diſpatched of their buſineſs. And therfore hee bindeth him ſelf to a miruelous inconueniēce, þ ſallieth in loue w a woman ſuter. For euen frō þ iſtant hee hath receued of her þ ſweete delights of loue, eue at þ preſent hee by. ideth him ſelf to diſpatch her quickly, & to end a! her ſutes, & not wout great greefe. I ſpeake theſe woordes. There are many women þ come to þ court of princes to make vnrreaſonable & diſhoneſt ſutes, w in þ end not wſtāding obtaine ther deſire: And not for any tyght oz reaſo they haue to it, ſaue only they haue obtained yt thorough þ fauoz and credit, they haue won of þ fauored courtier, oz of one of his beloued. So as wee ſee it happē many tymes, that þ vnjuſt fornication, made her ſute juſt & reaſonable. I ſhould lye, and doo my ſelfe wrong mee thinks, yf I ſhould paſſe ouer w ſilence a thing þ happened in the emperors court touching this matter, in the w I went one day to one of the princes cheefe officers, & beſt beloued of hym to ſolycyte a matter of impoꝛtance w an hoſtes of myne ſhould haue befoze him. And ſo this fauored courtier & great officer, after hee had hard of mee þ whole diſcourſe of þ matter, for full reſolution of þ ſame, hee axed mee yf ſhee were yong & ſayre: & I anſwered hym þ ſhee was reaſonable ſayre & of good fauoz. Well than ſayth hee bed her com to mee, & I wil doo þ beſt I can to deſpatch her matter w ſpeade: for I wyl aſſure you of this, þ there neuer cā ſayre woman to my hands, but ſhee had her buſineſs quickly diſpatcht at my hāds. I haue knowne alſo many womē in þ court ſo vnhoneſt, that not contented to ſolow their owne matters, would alſo deale w others affayrs, & gaine in ſoliciting their cauſes, ſo þ they w their ſyne woꝛds & franke offer of their parſons obtayned that, w many tymes to men of honoz & great autoꝛity was denyed. Therfor theſe great officers, & fauored of pꝛices ought to haue great reſpect, not only in þ cōuerſatio they haue w theſe womē, but alſo in þ honeſt order they ought to obſerue in hering their cauſes. And þ to bee done in ſuch ſort, that what ſo euer they ſay vnto thē may bee kept ſecret, pꝛouided alſo the place where they ſpeake with them, bee open for other ſuteys in like caſe.

That the nobles & beloued of princes exceede not in ſuperfluous fare, & that they bee not too ſumptuous in their meates. A notable chapter for thoſe þ vſe too much delicacye and ſuperfluity.

Chap. xviii.

One of the greateſt cares and regard þ nature layd vpon her ſelf, was, þ men could not lyue wout ſuſtynāce: ſo that ſo long as wee ſee a mā eat (yea if yt were a thouſād yeares) wee might bee bold to ſay that hee is certainly alyue. And hee hath not alone layd this burde vpon me, but on brute beaſts alſo: For wee ſee by experience, that ſome feedeth on þ graſſe in þ ſyelds ſome liues in the ayre eating flyes, others vpon þ woꝛmes in carin, others w that they fynd vnder the water. And finally eche beaſt lyueth of other, and af-

terwards þ woymes feede of bs al. And not oly reasonable mē & brute beaſts lyue by eating, but þ trees are nourished therby, & wee ſee it thus þ they in ſede of meat, receyue into the for nutriture þ heate of þ ſunne, þ temperature of þ ayre, the moyſture of the earth, and dew of heauen. So that the ſuſtenance for men is called meate, and that of plants & trees, Increate. This beeing true therefore that wee haue ſpoken, wee muſt needes confeſſe that to lyue wee muſt eat: and yet with all, wee muſt vnderſtand that the ſynne of gluttony conſiſteth not in that that wee eat for neceſſity, but onely in that that is eaten with a diſordiſat appetite and deſire. And ſure now adays men ble not to eat to content nature, but to pleaſe their lycozous and deinty mouthes. Vee that geeueth him ſelf ouer to the deſite of the throte, dooth not onely offend his ſtomack, and diſtemper his body, but hurteth alſo his conſcience. For al gluttons and dronkards are the childezen of the brothers of ſynne. And I ſpeak but lytle to ſay that the mouth & ſinne are coſyn germayns togethers: for by theyre effects and operations ince thinketh them ſo knyt and combined together, as the father and the ſonne: Syth burning leachery acknowledgeſ none other for her mother, but onely the inſatiable and gurmard throte. And the dyuerſity of meats is but a continual & importunat awaking of diſhoneſt thoughts. Doo wee not read of ſaint Jherom, that albeit hee remayned in þ wildeernes, burned of the ſunne, his face dyed bp and wrinckled, barefooted and alſo bare headed, clothed with ſackcloth, his body ſcourged with bitter ſtripes, watching in the night, and faſting in the day, continually exerciſing his penne, and his hart in contemplacion, and yet for all this greuous penance, hym ſelf confeſſed, that in his ſleepe hee dreamed and thought hee was among the courtiſans of Rome. And ſaint Paule the apoſtle, who was a man of rare and exquisite knowledge, and deſerued to ſee the very ſecrets of paradise, neuer heretofore ſeen, trauiſing in his vocation more then any other of the apoſtels, did not hee get his living with his own hāds, and alſo went a ſoote preaching through all the world, bringyng inſynit barbe rous people to the ſayth of chriſt, being beaten in the day tyme by others, for þ hee was a chriſtian, and in the night tyme hee beat him ſelf for that hee was a ſinner, puniſhing the fleſh, to make it ſubiect to the ſpirit. And yet neuer theles hee ſayth alſo of hym ſelf, that hee could not defend him ſelf from diſhoneſt thoughts, W did cuer let him to preach and pray with a quiet mynd. Saint Auſtin rectteth of him ſelf in his booke de confeſſionibus, that al þ while hee inhabited in the deſerts hee eat little, wrote much, prayd oft, and ſharply chaſtiſed his body, with continual faſts, and greuous diſciplines. But yet perceauing that notwithstanding all this his diſhoneſt thoughts ſuppreſſed bys holy deſires, hee beganne to crie with a lowd voyce thorough the deſerts, & rocky hills, ſaying. O lord my god, thou commaundeſt mee to bee chaſt, but this frayle and accuſed fleſh can neuer keepe yt. And therefore I humbly beſeech thee fyrſt to indue mee w thy grace to doo that thou wilt haue mee, & then commaūde mee what ſhall pleaſe thee: otherwiſe I ſhal neuer doo yt. If therefore theſe gloriouſ ſaints with their continual faſts and contemplacions, and extreame puniſhing of theyr bodyes, could not defend them ſelues from the burning motion of the fleſh; how ſhall wee beleue that a company of dronkards, and gluttons, can doo yt, which neuer lynne bibbyng and eatyng. Wee may bee aſſured that the leſſe

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lesse wee pamper and feede our bodies with delicacy & idleness, the more wee
 shall haue them obedient, and subiect to our willes. For though wee see the fier
 neuer so great & flaming, yet it quickly wasteth, & is brought to ashes, if wee
 leaue to put more woode vnto yt. Excesse is not onely vnlawful for the boddy
 but it is also occasion of a thousand dysleases, both to y^e body & y^e soule. For to say
 troth, wee haue seene more ryche mē dye through excesse, the poore mē of neces-
 sity. And in my opiniō, mee thynkes y^e sinne of Gluttony neede not to bee other
 wise punished by diuine iustice, syth y^e of yt selfe yt bringeth penance enough.
 And to proue this trewe, let vs but require these gluttons to tel vs, vpon theyr
 othes, how they fynd the selues in tēper beeyng ful paunched: & they wil confesse
 to vs y^e they are worse at ease the yf they had fasted: That their mouth is dry,
 their body heauy, & y^e disposed, y^e their head aketh, their stomack is colde, & that
 their eyes are slepy, & their bellies ful, but yet y^e they desire to drinke styll. And
 therefore Diogenes Cinicus, derpyding the Rodians, sayd these wordes. O you
 drunken & gluttonous Rodians, tell mee I beseech you, what occasion mooues
 you to goe to y^e church, to pray to y^e gods to geue you health, wbe at al tymes,
 keeping sober diet, you may keepe yt wth you. And more ouer hee sayd vnto the
 also, & yf you wil bee ruled by my counsell, I tel you, you neede not goe to y^e chur-
 ches to beseech y^e gods to graūt you health, but onely to pray to them to pardon
 you your synnes & iniquities you dayly comit. Also Socrates y^e philosopher was
 wot to say to his disciples, of y^e vniuersity of Athens: Remēber O you Atheni-
 ans, y^e in y^e wel gouerned pollicies, mē lyue not to eat, to glut the body: but doo
 onely eat, to lyue & sustayn y^e body. O graue sayng of y^e good philosopher, & I
 wold to god euery good christian wold cary this lesson in mynd. For if wee
 wold but let nature alone, & geue her lyberty & dispositiō, of her self, shee is
 so honest, & of such temperaūce, that shee wil not leaue to eat y^e that shall suffice
 her, neither wil also trouble vs with that y^e is superfluous. Yet an other foule
 offence bringeth this vice of Gluttony, & that is, that many put them selues in
 seruice to waite on others, not somuch for the ordinary fare that is commonly
 vsed in their house, as for the desire they haue, to fylle theyr bellies with dainty
 and superfluous meates. And in especiall whē they know they make any ma-
 riages, or feasts for their frends, then they geue double attendance, not con-
 tented alone with that themselves haue eaten, but further in remembraunce of y^e
 worthy feast, committeth to the custody of his trusty cater (hys great hose) per-
 haps a two or thre dayes store of those rare & dainty dishes, which I am asha-
 med to write, and much more ought they to bee ashamed to doo yt. For that mā
 that professeth to bee a mā, ought to inforce himself neuer to engage his liber-
 ty for that, that his sensual appetite incyteth him to: but onely for that that rea-
 son byndeth hym to. Aristippus the philosopher, washyng lettysle one day wth
 his owne hāds for his supper, by chaunce Plautus passing by that way, and see-
 yng hym sayd: If thou wouldest haue serued kynge Dionisius, woe should not
 haue seene thee eat lettises as thou doost now: Aristippus answered him again,
 O Plautus, if thou wert content to eat of these lettyses that I eat, thou shouldest
 not serue so great a tyraunt as thou doost. The excesse of meates ys greater
 in these days, both in quantity, and in dressing of them, then in tymes past.
 For in that golden age, which the philosophers neuer cease to bee waille, men
 had no other houses but naturall caues in the ground, and apparelled onely
 with

with the leaues of trees, the bare ground for their shoes, their hands seruing them in steede of cuppes to drinke in, they drinke water for wyne, eat rocks for bread, and fruyts for flesh: and finally for their bed they made the earth, & for their couering the sky, being lodged alwayes at the signe of the starre. When the diuine Plato returned out of Cicill into Greece, hee sayd one day in his colledge, I doo aduertise you my disciples, that I am returned out of Cicill maruelously troubled, and this is by reaso of a monster I saw there. And beeing asked what monster it was, hee told them that it was Dionisius the tyrant, who is not contented with one meale a day, but I saw him suppe many tymes in the night. O diuine Plato, if thou wert alyue as thou art dead, and present with vs in this our pestilent age, as thou wert then in that golden tyme: how many shouldst thou see, that doo not onely dyne and suppe wel, but beefore dinner breake their fast with delycate meats and wynges, and banquet after dymner and supper also beefore they goe to bed. So that wee may say, though Plato saw then but one tyrant suppe, hee might see now euery body both dyne and suppe, and scant one that conteteth hym with one meale a day, in which the brute bests are moze moderatt, the reasonable men. Syth wee see that they eat but somuch as satiffyeth them: and men are not contented to eate inough, yea till they bee full, but moze then nature wyl beare. And brute beasts haue not also such diuersity of meats as men haue, neither seruants to wayt on them, beddes to lye in, wyne to drinke, houses to put their heads in, money to spend, noz phisitions to purge them as men haue. And yet for al these commodities, wee see men the most part of their tyme sick. And by these things recyted, wee may perceyue, that there is nothing preserueth so much the health of man as labor, & nothing consumeth sooner then rest. And therefore Plato in his tyme on spake a notable sentence, and woorthy to bee had in mynd, and that is this. That in that city where there are many phisitions, yt must needes folloow of necessity that the inhabitants there of, are vicious, & ryotous persons. And truly wee haue good cause to carpe this saying away. Syth wee see that phisitions commonly enter not into poore mens houses, & trauell and exerciseth thei body dayly: but contrarily into the rych and welthy mens houses, which lyue cotinually idly, & at ease. I remember I knewe once a gentleman (a kynsman of myne, and my very frend) which having taken physyk, I came to see how hee did, supposing hee had beene sick, and demanding of hym the cause of his purgacion: hee told mee hee tooke it not for any sickness hee had, but oely to make hym haue a better appetite agaynst hee wot to the feast, which should bee a two or three days after. And with in fyve days after I returned agayn to see hym, and I found hym in his bedde very sick, not for that hee had fasted too much, but that hee had ingluttred hym self with the variety of meats hee eat at the feast. So it happened, that where hee purged hym self once onely to haue a better stomack to eat, hee needed afterwards a dozen purgacions to discharge his loden stomack of that great surfet hee had taken at the feast, with extreme eating: And for the sower howers hee was at the table where this feast was, hee was lodged afterwards in his chamber for two moneths, to pay blesy for that hee had taken, & yet yt was the great grace of god hee escaped with lyfe. For if it bee yll to synne, yt is farre worse to seeke and procure occasions to synne. And therfor by conse-

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quent, the synne of Gluttony is not only dangerous for the consciens, hurtfull to the health of the body, and a displeasing of god: but it is also a woyme that eateth, and in fine consumeth wholly the goods, & faculties of him that bleseth yt. Weespyds that, these gurmmands receyue not so much pleasure in the eatyng of these dainty mozells, as they doo afterwards greefe and displeasure, to heare the great accounts of their stewards, of their excessyue expensis. It is a swete delight to bee fed daily with dainty dishes, but a sower sawore to those delicate mouthes to put his hand so oft to the purse. Which I speake not without cause, syth that as wee feele great pleasure and felicity in those meates that enter into our stomack, so doo wee afterwards think that they pluck out of our hart that mony that payeth for those knacks. I remember I saw written in an Inne in Catalogia these woordes. You that hoste heere must say, when you sit down to your meat, *Salve regina*, yea & when you are eating, *Vita dulcedo*, yea and when you reckon with the host, *Ad te Suspiramus*, yea and when you come to pay him, *Gementes, & flentes*. Now yf I would go about to describe by parcells the order and maner of our feasts and banckets, newly invented by our owne nation, there would rather appeare matter to you, to lament and bewaile, then to write. And it had been better (by way of speech) to haue inuented dyuers fashions of tables, formes, and stooles, to sit on, the such diuersity of meates to set vpon the tables, as wee doo vse now adayes. And therefore by good reason did Licurgus (King of Lacedemonia) ordeyne & comaund, that no stranger comming out of a strange country into his, should so hardy bring in any newe customes, vpon pain, that if it were knowen, hee should bee streight banished out of the coutry, and if hee did vse and practise yt, hee should bee put to death. I will tell you no lye. I saw once serued in at a feast ciii. sortes and kyndes of meates in seuerall dishes: In an other feast of diuers sortes of the fishy caled Tunny. And in an other feast, beeing fleshy day, I saw dyuers fishes broyled with lard. And at an other feast where I saw no other meate but Troupes, and Lampereis of dyuers kyndes of dressinge. And at an other feast, where I saw only, vi. persons agree together to drinke ech of them .iii. pottels of wyne apiece, with this condition further, if they should bee. vi. howers at the table, and hee that drank not out his part, should pay for the whole feast. I saw also an other feast, where they prepared iii. seuerall tables for the bidden guests, the one boord serued after the Spanishe manner, the other after the Italian, and the third after the fashion of Flaunders: And to euery table there was serued xxii. sortes of meates. I saw also at an other feast such kyndes of meates eaten, as are wont to bee seene, but not eaten: as a Horse roasted, a Cat in gely, litel Aspars with whot broth, frogges fryed, and dyuers other sorts of meates which I saw them eate, but I neuer knew what they were till they were eaten. And for gods sake what is hee that shall reade our writings, and see that that is comonly eaten in feastes now adayes, that it will not in maner breake his hart, and water his plants. The only spices that haue been brought out of Calicut, and the maner of furnishing of our boords brought out of Fraunce, hath distroied our nation utterly. For in the old tyme, they had no other kinds of spice in Spaine, but Saffron, Comyn, Garlick, and Onyons, and when one friend inuited an other, they had but a peece of beefe, and a peece of beale, & no more

more: and yt was a rare and dainty matter to adde to a herne. Oh mischappes of worldly creatures, you embrace not now the tyme that was, for now if hee bee an officer, or popular person of any like condicion, and that hee mynte his frend or neighbour, hee will not for shame set beefore him lesse then vi. or vii. seuerall dishes, though hee sel his cloke for hit, or fare the worse one whole weeke after, for that one supper or dinner. Good lord yt is a wonder to see what sturr there is in that mans house that maketh a dinner or supper. A. ii. or iii. dayes beefore, you shall see such resorte of persons, such hurly burly, such flying this way, such sending that way, some occupied in telling the cookes how many sortes of meates they will haue, other sent out to prouide a cater to by their meat, and to hyer seruants to wayte on them, and other poore folkes to looke to the dressing bp of the house: brawling & fighting with theyr seruants, commaunding their maydes to looke to the buttry, to rubbe the tables and stooles, and to see all things set in theyr order, as fyt as may bee, and to tast this kynd of wine and that kind of wyne: so that I would to god they would (for the health of their soules) but imploy half this care & paines they take in preparying one dyner, to make cleane their consciences, and to confesse them selues to almighty god. I would fayn know, after all these great feasts, what there remaineth, more, then as I suppose, the master of the house is troubled, the stewards and caterers wried, the poore cookes broyled in the fyre, the howse al soule, and yet that that is worst of al, sometymes the master of the feast cometh short of a peece of plate that is stollen. So that hee can not choose but bee sorry for the great charges hee hath been at, becsyds the losse of his plate and vessell stollen, and the rest of his implements of house mard, and in maner spoyled: And peraduenture also the inuited not satisfied nor contented, but rather will laugh him to scozne for his cost, and murmur at hym beehind his back. Marcus Tullius Cicero was once bidden to supper of a couetous Roman, a citizen borne, whose supper agreed with his auarice. So the next day it chaced this couetous citizen to meete with Cicero, & hee asked him how hee did with his supper, betwixt wel said Cicero, for it was so good a supper, that yt shall serue mee yet for all this day. Meaning to let him vnderstand by these wordes, that his supper was so miserable, and hee left with such an appetite, as hee should dine the next day with a better stomack at home.

The authoꝝ continueth his purpose.

Yt is now more then tyme wee doo bring you apparant proofes (aswell by scriptures, as profane autoꝝ) that there was neuer made feast or banquet but the diuell was euer lightly a guest, by whose presence alwayes happeneth some mischeeffe. The first Banquet that euer was made in the world was that the deuill made to Adam and Eue with the frute of terrestiall paradys: after which followed a disobeying of gods commaundement, the losse that Adam had of his innocency, and a soden shame and perpetual reproche to our mother Eue, mang nature presently brought to al synne & vice. So that wee may wel say they eate the frute, that set our teeth an edge. Did not Rebecca likewise make a feast to her husband Isaac, in w^{ch} Esaw lost his heritage, and Iacob succeeded in the same blessing Isaac (through fraude) y^t some hee tooke for Esaw, & all through the counsell of his mother Rebecca. Thee hauing her desire and purpose as shee wished, Absalon, did not hee make an other to all his breethren after

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after which followed the death of Aman one of his brothers, and by one of the other bretherne their sister Thamar was defamed, and their father King David very sore grieved and afflicted, and all the realme of Israell slandered: King Assuetus made another of so great and foolish expence, that hee kept open house for a hundred and fourscore dayes, and it followed, that Queene Vasti was deprived of her crowne, and the sayr Hester inuested in her rone, many noble men of the city of Hul were murdred and hewen in peeces, by meanes wherof the Ebrues came into great fauor and credit, and Aman, the cheefe in authoritie and fauor about the prince, deprived of all his lands, and shamefully executed vpon the gallows, & Nardocheus placed in his roome, and greatly sublimed and exalted. Also the xiiii. children of the holy man Job (which were. vii. sonnes and so many daughters) beeing all feasted at their eldest brothers house, beefore they rose from y^e boord, were they not all slayne? Also Balcezar sonne of King Nabucodonosor made a banquet to all the gentle women and his concubines within the city, so sumptuous and rich, that the only vessell hee was serued withall, and the cuppes they dranke in, were robbed out of the temple of Jerusalem by his father: and this followed after his great banquet. The self same night the King with al his concubines dyed sodenly, and his realme taken from him, and put into the hands of his enemyes. It had been better for all these I haue recited, that they had eaten alone at home, then to haue dyed so sodaninly accompanied. Now let al these gourmands and licentious mobothed people marke what I shall say to them, and cary yt wel in mynd, and that is this: that y^e sinne of Gluttony is nothing els but a displeasure, great perill, and a maruelous expence. I say that it is a displeasure: for the great care they haue continually to seeke out diuersities of fine and curious meates: great petill, because they plöge their bodies into many diseases: and in vnnmercifull charge, for the curiosity and numbers of dishes. So that for a litel pleasure, & delight, wee take in the sweete tast of those deinty meates, beeing but a satisfaction to the mind for a short tyme: wee after wards haue infinite griefes, and troubles, with a sower salwe, to oure no final payne. And therfor Aristotell mocking the Epicuriens sayd, that they vpon a tyme went all into the temple togethers, beseeching the gods they would geue them necks as long as the cranes and herens, that y^e pleasure and tast of the meates should bee moze long, beefore yt came into the stomack, to take the greater delight of their meate, complayning of nature that shee had made their necks so short: affirming that the only pleasure of meats consisted in the swallowing of yt downe, which they sayd was so soone. If wee saw a man euen vpon a sodein throw al his goods into y^e sea or riuer, would wee not imagine hee were mad, or a very foole? Yes bindoutedly. Euen such a one is hee that prodigally spendith al his goods in feasting and banquetting. And that this is true: doo wee not see manifestly that all these meates that are serued to noble mens boordes to day, and to morrow coueighid into the priuy from the eaters by their page or seruāt? Suerly mans stomack is nothing els but a gutt or tripe fozled with meate, bread, and wyne, a pauemēt hyld with wyne lees, and a vessell of stincking oyle, a recept of corrupt ayre, a synke of a kitchen, and a secret place, wherinto wee cast all our goods and faculty as into the ryuer. And therfor Esay sayd, that all these noble cityes of Sodome,

and

and Gomorra, by this only curse did incurre into such execrable sinnes, for w^h afterwards they were destroyed: and this was euen through excesse of eating, and drinking, and to much ydlenes: and it is no maruel, for it is an infallible thing, that where ydlenes and glottony reigneth, there must needes come some yll end to that man. The Greekes, the Romans, the Egiptians, & the Scithes, although they were detected of many other sinnes and vices, yet were they alwaies sober & temperat in eating & drinking. Iustin that wrote of Trogus Pompeius reciteth, that among the Scithes (w^h were the rudest and most barbarous that came into Asia) bled to reprove those that let go wind, & to chastise & punish those that vomited, saying, that breaking wynd & vomiting, came only of too much eating & drinking. Plutarche in his Apothegmes sayd, that there was a philosopher in Athens called Hyppomachus, that was so great an enemy to Gluttony, that hee bled in his colledge such & so great an abstinence, that his disciples by that were knowen amongst all the other philosophers. And not for no other thing, but to see them buy their cates & provision to lyue with all: for they neuer bought meats to fatten them & keepe them lusty, but only to susteyn nature, & that but lyttle. The Romans made dyuers lawes in y^e old tyme to expell out of their cities dronkards & Gluttons; whereof wee wil recite some vnto you, to shew that those that shall read our present writings, shall both know, and see what great care our forefathers tooke to abolishe this horrible vyce of gluttony. First ther was a law in Rome called Fabian law, so called, because Fabian the consull made it, in which it was prohibited that no man should so hardy in the greatest feast hee made, spend aboue a hundred sesterces, which might bee in value a hundred pceces of vi. pence, salets & all other kynds of fruit not comprysed within the same. And immediatly after that, came out an other law called Messinia, which the consull Messinius made. By which they were also inhibited in all feastes to drink no strange wyne, w^h only were permitted to bee geuen to those that were diseased. After which folowed also an other law Licinia, made by y^e consull Licinius, forbidding in all feasts all kinds of sauces, because they incite appetit, & are cause of a great expence. An other law Emilia, of Emilius the consull also, commaunding the Romans should bee serued in their bankets but only w^h s^uch sorts of diuersities of meats, because in them there should be sufficient for honest refection, & no superfluity to fill the belly. And then was there the law Ancia made by Ancius the consull, charging al the Romans to indewour to learn all kynd of sciences, except cookry. For according to their saying, in that house where there was a cooke, those of y^e house became poore quickly, their bodies diseased, their mynds bitious, and altogetheer geuen to Gluttony. After this law there came forth an other called Iulia, of Iulius Cesar, commaunding all romains, y^e none should bee so hardy to shut their gates when they were at dinner, and it was to this end, that the censors of the city might haue easy accesse into their houses at meal tyme, to see if theyr ordinarie were respondent to their ability. And there was also an other law made afterwards called Aristimia, of Aristimius the consull, by which it was enacted that it should bee lawfull for euery man to inuite his friends to dinner to hym at noone, as they liked, provided that they supped not together y^e night. And this was established thus, to cut of the great charge they were at with theyr

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Suppers: For the Romayns exceeded in superfluity of dayntie & fyne meates, and moze ouer they sat to long gulling & eating at their suppers. Of all these labors heretofore recited, were auctors Aulus Gellius, and Macrobius. And for this was Caius Gracchus well reputed of, of the Romays, who not withstanding hee had been consull in diuers prouinces (and that many tymes) & was a man of great grauity & auctority in Rome, yet hee woold neuer keepe cook in his house, but when hee was at Rome, his wife was his only cooke: & traveling, his hostesse of his house where hee lay dressed hys meat. Marcus Manlius in tymes past, made a booke of diuers ways how to dresse meat, and an other of the tastes, sauces, & diuers maners of seruing of them in at the bankets, and a third booke how to couer the table, sett the stools in order, order & cubberd, & also how seruants shoold wayt & geue their attendance at & table: which three bookes were no sooner imprinted and published, but presently & publiksly they were burned by the senat of Rome, and if his aucthor had not quickly voided Rome, & fled into Asia, hee had accompanied his bookes in the fyre. The auncient writers neuer sealed to reprove enough Lentulus, Cesar, Scilla, Scauola, and Emilius: For a banket they made in a garden of Rome, where they eat no other meates but black byrds, tortises, mallard, nettles, pigs brayns, and hares in sawce. But yf the Romain writers wrote in these days, I doo not beleue they woold reprove so simple a banket made by so noble & famous persons as they were. For now a days they doo so farre exceed in variety of dishes at noble mens bours, that neither they haue appetite to eat, nor yet they can tell the names of the dishes. But now returning to our purpose, I say the intent why wee haue layd beefore you these forepassed examples, was only to this end, to admonish the fauored of princes to looke into them selues & they auoyd this fylthy sinne of gluttony, Breeing a foul blott in a courtier, to bee counted a greedy gutt, & Carmarant at hys meat, & being one, whose maners & behauior euery man marketh. For sure it is moze sitting for the to bee moderat & sober, in eating & drinking then others, a good reason why. For as they are moze noble then others, so haue they many that sue vnto them, & they haue also & weightiest matters of gouernment, passing vnder their charge: by reason whereof if they surcharge them selues wth excessse, they are then very vnapt to dispatch any matters: for much eating causeth sleepe, & much drinking deprieth them of their iudgement, & senses both. Is it not to be wondered at, yea & to bee reprooued also, to see a magistrat or counseller set in his chair to heere pooz mens causes & lutes, & & suter opening his cause vnto him, hee sitteth nodding wth his head in his bo-
 lom ready to sleepe: Euen so doo I say like wise, that it is a great reproch to & beloued of the prince, & great damage to the comon wealth, that it shoold bee spoken amongst courtiers & luters, that to day hee was of this opinion, & to morow hee is of an other. So that the courtier or suter shoold haue hope to dispatch that to morow, hee could not doo to day. King Phillip, father of Alexander the great, although hee was a prince, noble & fortunat, yet was hee noted & rebuked for drinking of wyne, wherof folowed that after hee had geuen iudgement vpon a tyme against a pooz wydow womā, shee answered straight shee appealed. The noble men that were present, heering what was said by the king, asked her to whom shee woold appele, since & king in person gaue sentence

sentence offer, & no other: And this was her answer shee made them. I ap-
 peal to king Philip Whis now drunk: that when hee is sober, hee returne to
 geue sentence. And as þe historiographers say, that writeth his history, this
 poore woman was not deceived in her appellation at all: for after king Philip
 had reposed & slept a little, hee reuoked & repealed that sentence that hee had
 befoze geuen against her. And therefore concerning this matter, I say, that
 howe world or tame so euer a beast bee, hee still continueth a beast in his kind,
 only man except, who very oft through too much excesse of meat and drinke,
 strayeth so farre from reason, forgetting him self, that neither he him self, nor
 any other knoweth wel, whether hee bee then a man, or a beast. Those that
 are the fauored of princes must bee very circumspect, & they bee not too sump-
 tuous, & prodigall, in their feasts & banquets, for that they haue many eyes at-
 tendant of them. And some will say, that they make not these great feasts of
 them selues, but by þe gyfts & presents of others: others will not stick to say, þe
 they make it w^hat they haue robbed of others. I w^{ill} them in this case that
 they should not hope to excuse them selues by saying, that they only feast their
 kinsfolks, & famelier friends. For the enuy that commonly one beareth against
 þe power & auctority of a man, is so great, & extreme, that it spareth not frends,
 remembreth not kinsfolks, neither maketh account of the benefits receyued:
 but rather as soon as þe bidden guests are departed fro his house that had the,
 they goe talking among them selues, & murmuring amongst others, saying
 many tymes that it is more woorth, that is lost by the bayn & launty expences
 of the fauored courtier: then that þe is comonly serued to þe princes own boord.
 Also I counsell the belyked of princes, that they take heede whom they trust,
 & whom they inuite to their tables. For many tymes if they bee but fower þe
 are bidden, one of them sure goeth to eat & banquet, & the other three to fleere,
 & mock, & to mark all that is brought in, & the maner of the seruyce. And the
 woord is yet, that hee shall many tymes bring such to eat w^h him, that would
 more willingly eat his flesh, then his meat. These reputed courtiers must be
 wel aduised, that though they be too delicat & superfluous in their meats, yet
 at least that they bzidle their tongues. For they may bee assured, that as the
 guests they had goe full paunched from them, so carry they away with them,
 all the superfluous & bayn woords they hard at the table. Besydes that, that
 what so euer the courtier said at þe boord, reporting it other where, they w^{ill}
 not say that hee spake yt of him self, but that the king him self told it him. And
 yet is there a farre greater danger & peril then this wee haue spoken of, and
 that is: that they will not simply tell that they hard of þe beloued courtier, but
 will adde to it of their own heads, what they think best, & what was his mea-
 ning in speaking of it. So that wee may say, that ther are not so many com-
 ments vpon the byble, as they make gloses vpon the same reports (by the
 rally iudgements and fond interpretations) which they did descant, vpon one
 only woord spoken vnwares perhaps, by some at the table of this fauored
 courtier. It is a general custom, amongst all estates & conditions of people:
 that where there are sumptuous tables, and aboundance of dishes, there the
 interrupted sitt long at their meat, & are liberall to speak euill. Which sure such as
 are in fauor with the prince, neither ought to doo, nor suffer it to bee doon by
 others at his boord. For the good and honorable feast, ought only to bee ser-

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ued, with good and dainty meates: but in no wise marred with the defaming of his neighbor. How many feasts & banquets are made in princes courts, where without all comparison there are more detractions vsed of their neighbors, then there are diuersities of dishes to eat. A pernicious thing doubtles, and not to bee suffered nor abidden: for no man hurteth the reputation of another with his tongue, but with the self same hee condemneth his own conscience: and therefore let men bee aduysed of their spech, and what they speak of others. For it is alwaies an easy matter to detract and hinder the fame and reputation of a man, but very hard afterwards to satisfy the party. Therefore I counsell, & admonish these courtiers, that they doo not oft feast others: but also that they doo not accept to goe to others tables where they are bidden. For they may bee assured, that they are beloued of few, and hated of all: and besides that it might so happen, that others should bee at the charge of the feast, and that they should lose their lynes. Also let not the fauored courtier trust those to much, that come ordinarily to his table, & that doo rebvdd him again to theirs, yea though they seeme euento bee wholly his to dispose, and possible as it were his right hand, & that they be those whom hee happely too hath doone much for, in dispatching their affairs. For lightly in such lyke feasts, treasons & poisonings are not practised wth the maister of the feast, but only with him that waiteth at h^e table to geue drink, or els by the cooks that dresseth the meat. Also let not h^e courtier trust too much those whom hee hath been in company with all at dyuers feasts (where hee neuer had hurt) much lesse know any little occasion to suspect yll of them, touching any trespasment towards him. For so at a tyme when hee suspecteth least, hee may be in most danger, & find him self deceived. And therefore by my counsell hee shall not easely bee intreated to euery mans boord, vnlesse hee bee first well assured of the company that are bidden as also of the seruants that wait. For the holes & spaces of the french rydles (with which they dust their cozne) sometimes is euen stopped with the very graines of the same cozne, and letteth the cleere passage of all the rest. One of the greatest troubles (or to terme it better) one of the greatest dangers I see the fauored courtiers in, is this: that al h^e courtiers, and in maner all the citizens, desire to see them out of fauor, or dead, by some means. For euery man is of this mynd, that with h^e chaunge of things, by his fall or death hee hopeth hee shall rise, to some better state, or happely to wach some part of his offices, or lyuings. An other mischief & inconueniēce yet happeneth to this fauored courtier, by haunting others tables, & that is: that many times it chaunceth, vnseemly & vn honest woozds are let fall at the table, & perhaps quarel rise vpon it, wth though hee bee present, yet hee can neither remedy, nor appease it. And because these things were done & spoken in the presence of the esteemed of the prince, hee that spake them hath credit, and those that heard it discried it. Yet ys there an other disorder that cometh by these feasts, that is, that hee that maketh the feast, and biddeth guests, dooth it not for that they are of hys acquayntaunce, his kinsfolks, or his faithfull friends, nor for that hee is bound and beeholding to them, but only to obtayn his desyre in his lutes that hee hath in hand: for they are few that seeke to pleasure men, but in hope to bee greatly recompenced.

Therefore

Therefore those that are in fauor & auctoritie about the prince, & that accept others bydding, sure one of these two things must happen to them. Either that hee must dispatch his busyness that inuetyeth him, yea although it be unreasonable, & so vniust & damnable, that obtaining it, both hee & the fauored courtier goe to the deuyl togethers for company, for þ wrong & iniury they haue doone to an other: or on the other syde refusing to doo it, the bydder is stricken dead, & repenteth his cost bestowed vpon him. Aboue all things, I chiefly admonish the courtiers, and officers of princes, not to sell change, nor engage their liberties as they doo, þ same day that they begin to follow such feasts, or to receiue gyfts or presents, or to lynk them selues in straight friendship with any, or to deal partially in any cause. For by these fore said occasions, they shall oft bynd them selues to doo that that shal not bee fitt for them, besydes the losse of their liberty they had beefore, to doo that was most honest, and commendable.

¶ That the fauored of princes ought not to bee dishonest of their tongues, nor enuious of their wordes. Cap. xij.

A Naxagoras the philosopher, disputing one day of the cause why nature had placed the members of mans body in such order as they are, and of the property and complexion of euery one of them, and to what end they had been so orderly placed by nature, eche member in his place: falling in the end to treat of the tong, said thus of it. You must vnderstand my good disciples, that not without art & grete mystery nature gaue vs ii. feete, ii. hands, ii. eares, & ii. eyes, & yet for all this but one tongue, whereby shee shewed vs, þ in our going, feeling, smelling, hearing, and seeing, wee may bee as long as wee will: but in speaking wee should bee as sparing, & scant, as coold bee: alleging further that not without great reason also nature suffered vs to goe open & bare faced, the eyes, the eares, the hands, the feete, & other parts of the body bare also, except the tongue, which shee hath enuironed with iawes, & mured with teeth, and also shut with lips: W shee did, to geue vs to vnderstand, that there is nothing in this present life that hath moze neede of gard, & defence, then hath this our vnbypoled tong. And therefore said Pithachus þ philosopher, that a mans tong is made, lyke the poynt of a launce, but yet that it was moze dangerous then that: for the point of þ launce can but hurt the flesh: but the tongue perleth þ hart. And truly it was a true saying of this philosopher. For I knowe not that man how vertuous or patient so euer hee bee, but thinks yt lesse hurt, the bloody sword should perce his flesh, then that hee should bee touched in honor, with the benymous point of þ serpentyn tong. For how cruel so euer the wound bee, time dooth heal it, & maketh it well again: but defame or infamy, neither late nor neuer can bee amended. We see men refuse to goe by water for fear of drowning: not to come too neere the spere, for fear of burning: not to goe to the warres, for fear of killing: to eat no yll meates, for being sick: to clym by a high, for fear of falling: to goe in þ dark, for fear of stumbling: to auoid þ yll ayer, & rapyn, for fear of retome: and yet I see very few, or none, that can beware of detractors, & yll tonges. And that this is true I tell you, I doo not think that in any thing a man is

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in such perill and daunger, as when hee lyueth accompanied with men dishonest in their dooings, and vyle and naught in their tongues. I haue also read touching this matter, that Aformius a philosopher, being asked what he ment to goe the most part of his tyme amongst the desert mountains, in hard euery howe to bee deuoured of wyld beasts, answered thus. Wild beasts haue no other weapons to hurt mee, but their horns & nayls, & their teeth to deuour mee: but men neuer cease to hurt, and offend mee, with al their whole members. And that this is true, behold I pray you how they looke at mee wth their eyes, spurne mee with their feete, torment mee with their hands, hate mee with their hart, and defame mee with their tongue. So that wee haue great reason to say, that a man lyueth with moze security, amongst wyld beasts: then among malignaunt and enuious people. Plutarcke in his booke De exilio saith, that the Lydians had a law, that as they sent the condemned murderers to row in the gallyes, so they consyred those that were detractors, and yll tongued men, into a secrete place (farre of from all company) the space of half a yere. In so much as many tymes these lewd mates chose rather to row in the galley iii. yeres, then to bee exempt from company, and speaking with any, but s^{ix} moneths. Much lyke vnto this law dyd Tiberius the emperoz make an other, and condemned a great talker and rayler of hys tongue, and commaunded straightly that hee shoold neuer speak woord, the space of a whole yere. And as a history saith, hee remayned domme, & neuer spake during the whole terme: but yet that hee did (with hys dommes) moze hurt wth nods, & signes with his fingers: then many other woold haue doon with their yll tongues. By these two exammples wee may see, that sith these naughty tonges are not to bee repressed by silence, in secret, nor to entreat them as frends, nor by doing them good, nor by sending them to gallyes, nor to make them hold their peace, and to bee as domme men: by my aduyce, I woold haue them banished (by generall counsell) out of al colleges, counsels, chapters, towne, and common wealths. For wee see daly by experience, that let an apple haue neuer so lyttle a bzoole, that bzoole is enough to rott him quickly, if hee bee not eaten in tyme. Demosthenes the philosopher was of great auctority for his person, graue in maners, & condicion, & very sententious, & profound in his woords: but with these hee was so obstinate, & toylfull, & such a talker in all his matters, that all Greece quaked for fear of hym. Whereuppon all the Athenians one day assembled in their hall, or common house, & there they appointed him a great stipend of hys goods of the common wealth, telling him that they gaue him this, not that hee shoold read, but because hee shoold hold his peace. Also this great and renowned Cicero, that was so balpant & politike in martiall affairs, so great a frend to the common weal of Rome, & moze ouer a prince of eloquence for hys latin tong: though hee was cruelly put to death by Mark Antony, it was not for any fact committed against him, neither for any wrong or iniury hee had doon him, saue only for that hee enuied against him, and spake euyl of him. Also the noble poet Salust, and famous orator of Rome, was not hated of strangers, and not beloued of his own neighbors for no other cause, but for hys hee neuer took pen in hand to wyrite, but hee ener wyrote against the one, & neuer opened his mouth to speak, but hee alwaies spake euil of hys other. Plutarcke touching this matter rectifyth

reciteth in his booke de republica y amongst the of Lidia, in their publick weal
it was holden an inuiolat law, y they should not put a murderer to death for
killing of any, but y they should only execut, & put him to torture, that would
defame his neighboz, or in any one woord seeme to touch him in honoz or es-
timation. So that those barbarous nation thought it more execrable to defa-
me a man, then to kill & murder him. And therefore I say, hee that burneth
my house, beats my person, & robbeth mee of my goods, must needes doo mee
great damage: but hee y taketh vpon him to touch my honoz and reputacio
wth infamy, I wil say hee offendeth mee much, & that so greatly, as hee may
well stand in feare of his life: for there is not so litle an offence doon to a ma
of stout courage, but hee carieth it euer after imprinted in his hart, till hee ha-
ue reuenged the villany doon him, euen so in princes courts there is the more
quarells, & debates, through euil tongues, & dishonest reports, then there
dooth for any play or shewd turnes y are doon. I know not what reason
they haue to strike of his hand, y first draweth sword, & sauozeth & leaueth him
vnpunished, that draweth blood wth his ill tongue. O what a happy good turn
were it for the common weale, if (as they haue in al towines & well gouerned
policies penal lawes prohibiting to weare or cary weapon) they had like lawes
also to punish detraictiue & wicked tongues. Surely there ca bee none so great
a blot or vice in a noble man, knight, or gentleman of honest behauior & coun-
tenance, as to bee counted & reputed a tatler of his tongue, & there wth a de-
tracter of others. But let not such deceiue them selues, thinking y for theyre
countenaunce or estates sake they bee priuiledged aboue others, at their willes
and pleasure to enlarge their tongues on whom they list in such manner, but
that their inferiours farre, will as liberally speak of them, yea and as much to
their reproche, as they befoze had doone of them: reputing as much of their ho-
nesty and credit for their calling (being inequiualent in estate or degree to the)
as they doo of their dignitie & reputacion. At that tyme when I was a cour-
tier, and lyued in princes court, there dyed out of the court a woorthy knight,
whom at his noble funeralls was recommended of vs all, and prayd in hys
lyfe to bee a noble, valyaunt, woorthy, and wise man, and a good and deuout
christian, & cheefely aboue all his noble & heroycall vertues, hee was only
lauded and renoumed, for that they neuer hard him speak ill of any man. So
one of the company that was present, hearing this great prayse of him, tooke
vpon him to say this of him. If hee neuer spake ill of any, then did hee neuer
know what pleasure those haue that speak ill of their enemies. Which woords
des when wee hard, though wee passed them ouer wth silence, yet was there
none but was greatly offended at them, and good cause wthhy. For to say true-
ly, the first degree of malignitie is, for a man to take a felicity in speakyng ill
of his neighboz. Kyng Darius being at dinner one day, there were put forth
of the weighters and standers by, certayn arguments of the acts and doo-
ings of Alexander the great: in whych dispute, one Mignus (a Captayn of the
kyngs, and greatly in fauor wth him) was very earnest against Alexander,
& went too farre in speech of him. But Darius perceiuing him thus passioned
sayd to him: O Mignus hold thy tong, for I doo not bring thee into y warrs
wth mee that thou shouldst infame Alexander, (and touch his honoz wth thy
tongue, but y thou shouldst wth thy sword overcome him. By these examples,
wee

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wee may gather, how much wee ought to hate detraction, & ill speaking, syng
wee see that the very enemies the selues can not abide, to here their enemies
ill spoken of in their presence: and this is alwayes obserued of the honorable,
graue, and wise men that are of noble myndes. For euery noble hart dy-
daigneth to bee reuenged of his enemy wyth his tongue, for his iniures doon
hym: if hee cannot bee reuenged on him with his sword. It is sytting for
all ingenerally to bee modest, and honest in their speech, but much more yt
is due for hym that embraceth the fauor and credit of his prince. For it is hys
profession to doo good, to help euery man and to speak ill of no man. They ha-
ue such Centinells of spies vpon them continually (which are officers in court
and about the prince) to mark what they speak and doo, that treading once a-
woy (how litle so euer it bee) it is straight blowen into the princes eares, and
they perhaps accused of that that they neuer thought, delighting and ta-
king great pleasure to tell openly what they hard them say. Such therefore
as are dayly courtiers, attending vpon the prince, and in fauor wyth him,
must (if they mean to continue that fauor and credit) bee gentle, and cour-
teous in their wordes, and bountifull to those that stand in neede of them. Al-
so the esteemed courtier must beeware hee doo not onely speak ill of no man,
but also that hee be not too great a talker. For commonly these great talkers
besides that they are not esteemed, bee also reputed of small iudgement, and
of simple counsell. Pithias, that was the great gouerner, and Duke of the A-
thenian nation, was a noble prince, beloued and feared, hardy and valyaunt,
and yet in the end as sayth Plutark, the aboundaunce of wordes, obscured
the glory of his heroicall deedes. Although these great talkers, and men too
full of wordes, bee of noble byrth or woorthip, wealthy in possessions, and o-
therwise of auctority and estimacion, yet neuerthelesse all that time they spend
in speaking too much, others that here them, occupie the same in deriding &
scoorning of them. I beseech you what greater reproche could a courtier ha-
ue, then to bee called a babler, a prater of his tongue, and a lyer? For when
hee thynks euery man is attentive, and listening to hym, it is quyte contra-
ry: for euen at that instant doo they laugh him to scoone, and yet this is no-
thyng to the shame they doo him afterwards. For those that talk to hym,
whilst hee is thus babbling, pors at him wyth their mouthes behind his back,
nodde with their heads, holds down their eyes, and soother him in all that
hee sayes, and all this not to prayse or commend hym: but to bee meere after-
wards at the matter, when they are together. And it is a sport to note, and
here one of this great talkers, if any man talk of warre, of the liberall scien-
ces, of hunting, or of husbandry, hee will straight leap into the matter, al-
though hee bee vtterly ignoraunt in the thing preponed, taking vpon hym
to reason of the matter, as if hee were very skilfull, or maister of the facul-
tie. And to make the hearers beleue that, that is trew hee sayeth hee byn-
geth in an example, saying that hee hath seene yt, read yt, or hard yt, and all
perhaps a stark lye, that hee neither saw yt, read yt, nor hard yt of any, but
onely deuised of hys own head, on a sodeyn, vnder the colour of troth to ma-
ke a false lye. Acaticus y philosopher, being one day at a feast, where hee ney-
ther spake, nor offered once to speak: asked after dinner what was y occasion
of his

of his silence, answered them thus. It is better for a man to know his tyme when to speak, then it is to know to speak. For to speak wel, is geuen vs by nature: but to choose time to speak, proceedeth of wisdom. Epimenides þ painter, after hee had dwelt long time in Asia, returned to Rhodes from whence hee first departed, & because none of þ Rhodians euer hard him speak any thing, either of that hee had seene, or doon in Asia, they marvelled very much, and prayed him to discourse vnto the some part of that hee had seene, and suffered in Asia. To whom hee made this answer. Two yeares I sulked the seas, abyding the perill of the water, and tenne other yeares I was resident in Asia, to learn the perfection of a paynters art: for other yeares I studied in Grece to accustom myself to bee silent, and now you would I should feede you with tales and newes. O Rhodians, come to mee no more with any such motion: for you should come to my house to bye pictures, and not to here newes. Albeit in so many yeares and in such farre and straunge contries yt could not bee but Epimenides had seene many things woorthie to bee recounted, and pleasaunt to here: yet hee would neuer tell the noz shew them: & suer herein hee did like a good philosopher, and answered like a wise and graue person. For in telling of straunge things, and of diuers countreys, there are few that will beleue them, and many that will stand in doubt whe ther they bee trew or no. And therefore touching this matter also, Pithagoras the philosopher was one day asked vpon what occasion hee made his scholars vse so great silence in his colledge, þ in two yeres after they were entered, they might not speak. He answered thus. In other philosophers schooles they teach their disciples to speak, but in myne there is taught nothing but to hold their peace. For in the whole world there is no better nor higher philosophy, then to know to bydel the tongue. It is a maruelous thing to see a man, that with tyme his beard and heares of his head become all white, his face withered, his eares deaf, his legges swollen, his breath stynk, his spleene stop, and his body faint and feeble with age, and all the parts thereof consumed, saue onely the hart, and tongue, which wee neuer see waxe old in maner, how aged or impotent so euer hee bee, but rather dayly become green: and that that is woorst of all is, that what euell the wretched hart thinketh in that crooked and miserable age, that dooth the accursed tongue with all celeritie utter. There ys a company of courtiers in the court, that presume to bee eloquent, and wel spoken, & of courtly enterteynement, which when they will talk of some pleasant matter, they must first tell you a lye, and surely these kynd of courtiers wee may better cal them detractors of others, then cyuil enterteyners. Accursed bee hee that to the prejudice of his neighboz, maketh profession to bee a courtly interteigner, and you shall hardly see none of these recyted courtiers lest of any, but they haue in secret spunne the threede, to weaue a great cloth of mallice. And yet wee doo these men great honoz & reuerence, not for any good will wee beare the, but for þ wee are afrayed of their ill tonges. And although to dissimble othertwile, it is a graue & wise mans part, yet for al þ wee may not iudge il of the, since wee see þ best mans honoz & credit comonly to bee no greter nor lesse, then a malignat person shal seeme to vse his tongue to speak of him. I remember there was in the court in my tyme a noble man, noble of byrth and person both, whom I reprooued diuers times (as bys familiar friend)

of his

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of his prodigall luyning, and ill speakyng. And hee made mee thys answer: Truly sir, those y report that I speak ill of the, it is them selues y doo pt of mee: & if I followe them therein, it is for nothing els, but to bee a witness for the, if any seeke to impugne their sayngs: but suer of my self I neuer uttered, or deuised woord, y might bee to y prejudice of any. What ill can seeth he, that speaketh ill of an other, hee onely offendeth not that beginneth, but hee that assisteth him, & much moze hee that heareth him, & after publisheth it: but aboue all hee that telleth it abrode, & addeth moze then hee hard. The fauored of princes must also think, that though they are prohibited to speak much, yet it is most fyt and decent for them to bee true & faithfull secretaries. For there is no thing y prince priueth moze, then y secret brest of his fauored courtier. And therefore I say not wout cause that they ought to bee secret, but most secret. For the esteemed courtier must haue a better consideracion of his princes secrets committed to him, then of y benefits hee receiueth of him. Suer y is no small, but a great & most necessary vertue in a man, to bee close, & of few woords, & so secret in deede, that hee make no moze countenance of that was told him priuily, then if he had neuer hard it spoke of. I know an other maner of people so prone to speak ill, that they cannot keepe secret their owne faults, much lesse others faults, publishing them in euery corner. Cecilius Metellus being asked one day of a Centurion, what hee ment to doo the next day following: answered thus. Think not Centurion that those things I am determined to doo, my hands shal so lightly discover: for I am of this mynd, if I knew y my shirt had any knowledge of that I will doo to morrow, I would put it of, & throw it straight in the fyre & see it burned befoze my face. It is not a like trust, to put money into one mans hands of trust, & to commit secrets to y brest of an other, & this to bee true wee see it plainly, that the prince deliuereth his goods and treasure to the custody of many, but his secrets hee committeth onely to one. The fauored of princes ought to bee so secret, that what so euer they see the prince doo or say (bee it in the presence of dyners, and that they are told of it by many) Yet they ought not to bee acknowen of it. For in deede the prince speaketh many things commonly for his pleasure, which being reported agayn of the fauored courtier, wilbee thought true, & most certain. Therefore speakyng generally of this matter I say, that surely frendes are greatly bound to keepe the secrets of their frends: For that day I discover my intent to any, the self same I make him lord of my liberty. Therefore let that man think hee hath woonne a maruelous treasure, that hath a secret frend. For without doubt it is no such matter of impoztaunce, to keepe treasure safly locked vp in a chest, as it is to commit & trust secrets to the hart of an other. Plutark writeth, that the Athenians hauing warres with king Phillip because there came certayn letters of kyng Phillips to their hands (intercepted, by their scouts) directed and sent vnto his wife Olimpa: Which they no sooner vnderstoode, but they presently returned agayn safely sealed, and vntouched of them, as they came first vnto them saying: that syth by their law they were bound to bee secret, they would not reuale the secrets of others, notwithstanding they were their mortal enemies, as king Phillip was to the: & therefore they would neither see them, nor read the openly. Diodorus Siculus sayeth also, that among the Egyptians it was a criminall act for any man,

to be wray the secrets of an other, which was prooued trew by the example of a preeſt, that in the temple of the goddeſſe Iſis had deflowered a virgine, & they both truſting to þe fidelitie of an other preeſt, making their loue known vnto him, euen as they were in Venus ſweete delights, hee not regarding any lea-
ger their ſecrets, in ipſo facto proclaimed & cried out, & therupon couict & appre-
hended by þe iuſtice, theſe pooze louers were myſerably executed, & this ſpightful
& vnfortunat preeſt condignely baniſhed. And this baniſhed preeſt cōplaining
of thiniſt ſentence, ſaying, þat hee reueled, was in fauor of þe religio, & for þe
behoofe of the cōmon wealth, þe iudge answered him thus. If thou hadſt kno-
wen their offence of thy ſelf, wout their notice geeue thee, þe hadſt had reaſon to
haue cōplained of our ſentence, but ſynce they truſted thee w their dooings, &
thou gaueſt the thy woord & promiſe to bee ſecret, if thou hadſt called to mynd
þe bond thou were bound to them in, & þe thy ſelf did freely wout their cōpulſio
ſubmit thy ſelf vnto, thou wooldſt not once haue dared to haue publiſhed the
fact as thou haſt doon. Plutark in his booke de exilio ſaith, þe a man of Athens
once demaunded an Egyptian (disciple of a philoſopher) what he had vnder his
cloke, answered him thus. Truly thou haſt ſtudied litle, & bozn away leſſe, al-
though thou art an Athenian bozn, ſyth thou ſeeſt þe I cary ſecretly þe thou de-
maundſt, becauſe thou noz no other ſhould know it, & yet thou aſkeſt it of my
ſelf, what it is that I cary. Anaſillus þe was a captayn of þe Athenians, was take
of þe Lacedemonians, & put to þe torture, becauſe hee ſhould tel that hee knew, &
what the king Ageſilaus his L. and maiſter did, to whom hee gaue this aun-
ſwer. You Lacedemonias haue liberty to diſmember mee, & heau mee in peceſſe:
but ſo haue not I to reuele my lord & maiſters ſecrets. For in Athens wee ble
rather to dye, then to be wray the ſecrets of our friend. King Liſimachus, en-
treated the philoſopher Philipides very earneſtly, þe hee woold come & dwell
w him: but hee made them this anſwer. I woold bee very glad to bee in your
cōpany, knowig you to be a fauor of philoſophy: & if you wil go to þe warres
I wil follow you: & if you truſt mee w your goods, I wil keepe them careful-
ly, & faithfully: if you haue children, I wil teach them w al my hart: if you wil
ble my counſel in your affairs, I wil geeue you the beſt I can. And if you will
alſo geeue mee þe charge of your cōmon wealth, I wil gouern it w my beſt diſ-
cretion. Only one thing I wil requeſt you that you wil neuer cōmaund mee, þe
is, not to make mee partaker of your ſecrets. For it might happen that what
you had told mee in ſecret, your ſelf vnwares at a time might tell it openly,
and yet not think of it: and beeing afterwards told you by ſome other, you
woold preſently enter into ſuſpect þe it came to knowledge by mee. This phy-
loſopher woold firſt indente wth the prince (before hee woold come to his ſer-
uice) that hee ſhould neuer here any of theſe things, the knowledge whereof
bringeth many a man to their end, or at the leaſt to ſome great miſchiſe: onely
to ſhew vs þe imminent perill and daunger the ſecretary of a prince ſtandeth
in. For our hart is ſuch a friend of newes, that enery howe it feeleth a thou-
ſand temptations to vtter that to others, that was deliuered to it of ſecret.
In this our age wee doo not ble to keepe ſecrets ſo well, as in old time the
Grecians were wont, ſyth wee ſee by experyence, that yf one friend haue
to day tolde his friend a thyng in ſecret, to morrow, yea perhappes
the ſelf ſame nyght before, it was told amongſt the neighbors.

There

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There are also some kynd of men so desirous to here newes, that to know it, they will sweare a thousand othes neuer to reuele in agayn to any. But so soon as they know it, they are like vnto the blood hounds, that followe the deare now here now there smelling with their noses, till they haue found the hurt deare, then they open, and bay for their maister. Therefore I counsel, & exhort all wise & discrete men, that they doo not accompany wyth those to whom they know are not secret. For the hurt that cometh by them, consisteth not onely to tell that they know, see, and here: but with this they tel that they haue imagined of their own wicked & malicious headg. It cannot bee otherwise, but being men, wee are also subiect to the frailty of a man, as for example. To fall sometimes into y^e sinne of the flesh, & in that to forget the sinne of gluttony, & to haue small consideration of that of sloth, to bee assured in that of auarice or with that to bee overcome with passion and rage, or to bee puffed vp in the synne of pryde. And if perhaps by misfortune any one chaunce into such mans company, that hath but part, or all these condicions, and such one as doo discover and disclose both his own secrets and others to, what other can there bee hoped of, then a fyre enflamed in his good fame and reputacion, and a contagious plague and pestilence in his house. For that that I haue hard, seen, & read, yea and also proued, I say and affirme, that there is no bread so ill spent, as that that is geuen to the seruants which open and reuele their maysters secrets: And sure it may bee sayd, that such are not seruants that serue them, but traytors that betray them, and sell their maisters liberty. And it is of such importaunce, for the fauored of princes, to keepe secret, and not to reuele any part of the princes secrets, that euery man must think, that when the prynce telleth them any thing in secret, hee telleth it not alone vnto them, but rather hee confesseth it to them. Princes beeing men (as in deede they are) and much busied with the cares of the common wealth, yt cannot bee, but when they are withdrawen a part into their pryuy chāber, they will both play, talk, slepe, sygh, laugh, bee angry, threaten, & make, much agayn of some before others: All which things though they doo before their seruants in secret, it is not their pleasure, neither wil they like, it should bee told abroad amongst their subiects. And sure they haue great reason, for men of grauity & authoritie, doo not lose their reputacion for dooing things graue, and of good example: but they are iustly noted, when publikely they will shew any lightnes or folly, how little so euer it bee. Not onely those that bee in authoritie and fauor about the prynce but such other officers of the court, & seruants of household of the prynce, also, ought not to tell nor reuele any thing they see their prynce doo. For they may bee wel assured, that the prynce wil bee moze offended and displeased, to haue that hee dooth in his pryuy chamber told abroad, by those of the pryuy chamber, or other whom it pleaseth him to make famillier with him: then hee wold bee, if his treasurers & receiuers should robbe him of his treasure. It was told to Denis the Siracusan on a time, that Plato the philosopher was at the chamber dooze to speak with him: and hee presently sent Bias one of his pryuy chamber (that hee loued well) to him, to know what hee wold with y^e kyng, and Plato asked Bias what Denis did, & hee answered that hee lay stark naked vpon a table, which when Denis vnderstoode, hee was so offended with Bias, that hee commaunded forthwith hee should bee beheaded, saying

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first these wordes vnto him. I wil þ like a traytoꝝ þ bee beheaded, siþ thou hast traitoꝝously betraied mee, þsuming to disclose þ secrets of my chāber. For I sent thee not to Plato to tel him what I did, but to know what hee woold of mee. Now princes familiars & beloued of them, as they must bee very circumspect & heedeful þ they tell no man þ princes secrets, so they must bee much carefull þ they tel it not cheerly to women, yea though they were their own wiuers. For as women are very good & profitable, to looke to things of household, & safely to locke by their husbands goods: so are they on þ other side very dangerous for a man to comit any secrets to the. For notwithstanding a womā know, þ in reueling the secrets of her husband, shee putteth her life in perill, þ honoꝝ of her husband, the losse of her children, þ reputacion of her house & kynred, & peraduenture þ peace & tranquillity of þ comon weal: yet had shee rather dye, then she shoold not vtter þ shee knoweth. And many times for no other respect, but to make these weomen beleue þ heareth her, þ shee onely comaundeth her husband & al besides in her house. Well, I wil enlarge my self no further of this matter, for if I woold but geue my pen leaue to write þ I know, I shoold fynd lyme & sand enough to buyld a tower as high as Babilon. But to end my purpose, I will speak thys one word, & þ is, that I counsell & exhort, & w al my hart request princes familiars, oz seruants, þ they comit not their princes secrets to any, how great a frend oz neere kinsman so euer hee bee to the. For they may bee assured, þ since they refuse to keepe secret that þ prince comaundeth the, þ much lesse their frend will keepe it secret for any request they make to him. If thou can not keepe þ secret, that to open it, importeth þ losse of thy fauor & credit, & happely thy life also: how canst þ think an other wil doo it, þ in tellyng it, winneth both honoꝝ & credyt.

¶ A comendation of troth, which professed courtiers ought to imbrace, & in no respect to be found defectiue in the contrary, telling one thing for an other. Cap. xx.

E Pimenides the philosopher, being requested of þ Rhodians to tel the what þ vertue was they called verity, hee answered the thus. Verity my friends, is a thing w þ gods aboue al other professe, & her vertue is such, þ it warrmeth þ heauens, lighteth þ earth, maintayns iustice, & gouerneth þ comon weal, & suffreth no ill thing in her, making playn & cleare al doutfull & hidden things. The Corinthians asked þ like question also of Chilo þ philosopher, what verity was, who answered þ it was a per durable piller, neuer diminishig, noz decreasing: a buckler oz shield impassable, a faire time þ is neuer troubled, an army þ neuer perilleth, a flower þ neuer withereth, a sea þ neuer feareth fortune, & a suer haue where neuer was shipwack. Anaxarchus þ philosopher, was also demāded of þ Lacedemonians, what verity was, who answered that it was a health wout sicknes, a life wout end, a iuleppe & syzop þ healeth al, a sunne þ neuer darkneth, a moone wout eclipse, an herb þ neuer drieth, a gate that is neuer shut, & a way that neuer werieth mā. The like was asked of Eschines þ philosopher touching verity by þ Rhodians. And hee sayd, that it was a vertue wout w al force was weakned, Justice corrupted, humility fained & dissembled, patiēis insupportable, chastity bayn, liberty lost, & pyty superfluous. The like was also demāded of Pharmacus þ philosopher by the Romaines. And his answer was, that verity was a true center to wherein al things reposed, a card to sayle by, to direct þ pylot & mariners, a wisdom to hele & recure every man, & a present remedy for al euils, a height in þ top toherof every mā resteth, & a bright light to lightē þ w hole world. And surely this maketh mee thinke that these philosophers were great

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friends & louers of veritie, sing they did so much enrich, and sublime the same, by so many rare and excellent titles. But omitting now these philosophers, who haue truely spoken that they knew: let vs come speak of him, that aboue all the world hath exalted verity, which was the diuine woord, and that was Ihesus Christ, the onely begotten sonne of god, and true glasse of eternitie, who being asked the self same thing of Pylate, sayd not to him, I am wisdome, neither Justice, nor chastitie, nor paciens, humilitie, nor charity: But onely sayd to him, I am verity, to let him vnderstand, y^e every creature might bee partaker of y^e verity. But our lord Ihesus Christ, was not partaker of y^e verity: but y^e sole & onely possessor of y^e same, hee being y^e very truth it self. O, of how many is this vertue desired, & of how few (yea most few) obserued. For in effect it is nothing els, but a mark wher at all good mē shoot wth their eyes, & al il & wicked persons lose their sight. The emperoz Augustus in y^e triumph he made of Mark Antony, & his loue Cleopatra, amongst others brought to Rome an Egyptia p^rest, of 60. years of age, & y^e senat beeing informed of a surety that days of his life hee neuer told lye, they agreed not onely to restore him to liberty but to make him hygh p^rest of their temple, and to erect a stature of him, among the noble and princely parsons of Rome. Sparthianus writeth, that in the tyme of Claudian Emperoz of Rome, there deceased a citizen of Rome called Pamphilus, whose dooings after his death examined, it was manifestly proued, y^e he neuer spake one true woord all his life time, but alway lyed in that hee sayd. Which related vnto the Emperoz, hee commaunded hys body should not bee buryed, his goods should bee confiscate, and hys house rased to the foundation, and hys wife and childzen for euer banished Rome and all her territories, to the end there should remain no memozy to the common wealth, of so pestiferous and benemous a beast. At that tyme when these two thyngs thus happened, the Romayns and Egyptians were mortall enemies, and therefore by these cramples wee may see, of what force and power this vertue of verity is, y^eth the romayns made a stature to their enemy, onely for that hee was a trew and iust man: and dep^ryued of sepulture their natieue chyld, and a Romayn bozn, for that hee was a lyar. A trew man may goe in any place where hee lysteth, freely without interruptio, accompanied with al men not fearing to bee accused of any, and may wth fastie reprooue the vicious and ill persons: and synally to conclude, hee may wthout the feare of any speak in the face of the world, and shew hys face amongst the best. If a man will choose a frend, hee neede not bee inquisityue if hee bee wyse, iust, chaste, carefull, couragious, or noble, but onely if hee bee trew of hys woord. And if that bee so, it followeth that all vertues and honesty must abound in hym. Helius Sparthianus recyteth of the life of Traian the Emperoz, that beynge one nyght at supper, and accompanied with noble men at his boord, they argued of the fydelyty of frends, and infydelyty of enemyes, whom Traian answered: That hee neuer had frend in his life but hee was good, trew, honest, and faythfull: whereupon his lordz besought hym that yt woold please hym to tell them the occasion of hys good happe in thys. And hee answered thus. The cause why I haue euer been so fortunat here in was this, I neuer woold choose to my frend a lyar, and couetous man. For in him that raigneth auarice, and lying, there can neuer dwell perfyt frendship. Those that are honest, & like so to bee reputed, must endeuor them selues to speak well allways, and euer to say that that is true: and if they will not doo thys for consciens

consciens sake, let the doo it yet to auoid þ shame that followeth them. For the re
 can bee no greater mockry or dispight doon to a man, then openly to make him
 know hee hath lyed. Wee see þ chyld whē hee perceiueth hee hath told a lye, hee
 blusbeth straight, & is ashamed: much more ought men growen of years, whose
 face is couered w̄ heares, not onely blush, but shame to tell a lye. Many tymes
 I thinke what a great greif the marchant suffereth every howe not to bee cou-
 red a lyar, whē hee vttereth his ware, & suer hee dooth it but because hee woold
 not lose his credit. And lo here why they sweare comonly by þ faith of a mar-
 chant to bee more assured, where to þ contrary wee see many other, that in ap-
 paraunce seeme to bee honest and graue men, that vse not that manner: but ra-
 ther they wil stick no more to tel you a lye, then to lose a wheat grayn. But here
 I speak not, neither doo mean to touch those that are in deede vertuous and
 good men: but I speak of those that thinke them selues honest, and yet bee not
 god knoweth. And therefore wee may bee asserayned, that a marchant es-
 tremeth more his goods and marchandise, then a lier dooth his honoz, other wise
 honesty. There is nothing that preiudiceth troth so much, as a tattling tongue
 that neuer lyeth: being in maner impossible, that amongst many woordes some
 lye bee not enterlaced. All things consisteth not in other more, or lesse, saue on-
 ly in the vse that men haue of yt. For if a man doo vse to eat lytle, hee alwayes
 goeth from the table: yf wee vse to sleepe lytle, wee also leaue our bedd: And if
 wee accustome our selues also to lye, wee shall haue it in such a continuall vse, as
 though wee woold wee shall neuer leaue it after. For there are diuers sort of
 men, that as they accustome them selues to eat & drinke oft tymes in a day, so doo
 they vse to lye every howe. But I ask what is þ greatest & most perisyt thing in
 this life, that a man whilst hee lyueth may enioy. I dare boldly say, that it is
 neither nobilitie, great parentage, noz fauor, neither the great estate, helth, noz
 ryches: but rather that it is the sole honoz, w̄ tattlers and liars may neuer enioy,
 because they are neuer credited, noz beleued in their woordes. What fame, cre-
 dyt, honoz, reputacion, or good can hee haue, out of whose mouth there cometh
 nothing but lies: A lyer deserueth credit of no man, neither that any man shoold
 deale w̄ him in any thing, much lesse comit any matter of trust into his hands,
 no noz loue him, noz accept of him, but rather as detracter, & defamer of mens
 good name, wee shoold banish him our company. Anniball that was þ myghty
 prince of þ Carthagians, so valyaunt in warlick prowes, so hardy to follow yt, &
 therewithall so fortunat to ouercome his enemies: was yet notwithstanding
 blamed of Titus Liuius, and reputed for a malignant and perjured person. For
 hee neuer gaue that hee promysed to his frends, neither euer kept any couenāt
 or agreement made with his enemies. Such was not Gneus Pompeius (sonne
 to Pompeie the great) with whom Octauian and Mark Antony (both, his mortal
 enemies) being at supper with him on the sea: Menodorus the captayn of his ar-
 my sent him woord, if it were his pleasure, hee woold so lyuely haue hoyst vp
 the sayles of the ship, that hee woold soone haue perished them, or sunked the
 shyp they were in. To which message Pompeie gaue this answer. Thou shalt
 tell Menodorus my captayn, that if I were Menodor⁹ as he is, that neuer knew
 what trothment, I woold haue followed his aduice, & haue doon that hee sen-
 deth to mee for: but if hee were Pompeius as I am, which keepe my woord
 and promesse with all men, such a thought and treason woold neuer haue occu-
 pied his head. Woordes suer woorthy of so noble a prince, some of so great and

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woorthy a father. Herodotus writeth also, that when the Egyptians would make
 any new amity betwixt them selues, or bee in league, and confederate them
 selues with straungers, they used to bynd their thombs hard to the thombs
 of those with whom they would ioyne in frendshipp, and then with an instru-
 ment pricked euery one of their thombs & the blood spured out, & they sucked
 & one & other wth their tongue: inferring thereby, & they would rather shed their
 whole blood, then in one iot to falsify a break & frendship promised between the.
 Is it not a goodly thing to heare him & sweareth by & masse, of mine honesty, so
 god ketch mee, by my good sooth, by cock & ppe, & other like nyse othes, only by
 der simplicity thereof to make you beleue a lye hee wil tel you. & in dedde wee
 should least then beleue, when hee is most ruffe in his othes. For it is most cer-
 tain, the more a lyer enforceth his woordes with abundance of othes, & lesse hee
 is to bee beleued. For that is a playn demonstration, & it is a prepeded lye hee
 would make vs beleue for a trueth. It is a sport to see a true man, & a lyar in
 argument together: for the true man enforceth his woordes none otherwise but
 thus. Truly frend, it is euen thus as I tell thee, thou mayst if thou wilt beleue
 mee. And & other to defend & maintayn his lye, hee will inuocate for witnes al
 the saynts in heauen, & as many relicks as are on & earth, yea & al the devils of
 hell: so that for defence of the trueth, it sufficeth to stand fast on his feete: but
 for defence of a lye, hee must runne through & whole world. If I were a king
 or prince, to throw the beloued out of fauor, to put my men out of seruice, to de-
 prive men of their office & dignity, or to disgrace a knight of his order of knight-
 hood, or to geue no more sayth nor credit to an other: I would desire no bet-
 ter occasion or testimony, then once to take hym wth a lye. And I would thynk
 it lesse ill, that the fathers should rather pardon a great fault in their children, &
 frend in his frend, & the maister in his seruant, the to beare wth them in one lye.
 For by time the wings of Sinne is cut: but to lye is of such condicion, the elder a
 man waxeth, the more force & power it hath of him. It is not enough for a man
 to bee free of this vice, but hee must also fly & sequester him self fro the felowshipp
 of those, that are possessed with that foule & inueterate error. For it is comunly
 seene, when a man would bring out a sodein lye, to geue it more credit, hee will
 auouch his frend for a witnes, sayng hee knoweth yt, & was present wth mee.
 Now those that heareth this famous lye, & knoweth the very troth in dedde of
 the matter as it was, cōdemneth his frend hee auoucheth (although hee bee in-
 nocent in the matter) for that hee is brought in for testimony, as they doo this
 notorious and shameles lyar. I should ly also for compaigny, if I should deny to
 tell you, that, being in the court vpon a tyme in a good presence, a frend of myne
 stuck not to forge a lye amongst others, and sayd that hee had sayled in a shipp
 made all of the canes of Synamon, and hee auouched mee for a wytnesse, af-
 firmyng that I was likewise wth him in hys company in the shipp: and I to
 saue hys honor (hee beeyng my very frend) beeyng ashamed hee should incurre
 the name of a lyer, was compelled seriously to confyrm hys tale wth hym,
 whereof I repented mee after wth all my hart. For thereby I was in secret
 noted of the hearers, to bee as great a lyar as hee. Also an other tyme when I
 wēt to preach at & court, being diseased of & gout, I walked by a down wth a staff
 of a reede to stay mee wth al, the self same pson I told you of before, told amongst
 & prelatys & & were in the chappel where I preached, that hee had geuen mee
a reede

a reede or cane to walk withall, that from one knobb to another, it woold hold three great pottes of wyne. Lo now by my exāple you may gather what shame and dishonesty an honest and bertuous man sustaineth, to bee a frend and companyon of so shamelesse and horrible a lyer. For to bee playn, I was brought to this passe, by means of this frend of myne, that I could not tell what I shoold doo, but when I hard him begin to speak, to fly from him, and leaue him, because I woold not bee reputed a lyke of reputaciō with him. Howbeit in the end I was forced to vse this pollycy: that what hee had openly auouched mee a witness in, secretly agayn I woold excuse my self, and deny yt. But now returning to our matter agayn, I say: That these courtiers, and familiers of princes, ought to exyle and banish from them this abhominable cryme of lyeng. For if a mean gentleman or simple plebeyan happen some tymes to tell one thing for an other, it is but taken of the hearers streight for a simple ly. But being spoken by one of the fauored of the court, or other gentleman of reputation, it is thought a kynd of treason. For lyke as betwixt god, and the sinner, our sauioz Ihesus Christ is our only meane and mediatour, being called vpon by the priest, euen so betwixt the king and his subiects, that are suiters to his maiestie: those that are in fauour with the prince, are mediatours for them. Now therfore, if these priests be double in their wordes, and dissemblers in that they speak, how shall the sinnes of the one bee pardoned, and the busines of the other dispatched. O wofull and vnhappy sinner, that putteth his sinnes into the hands of a naughty and wicked priest, and lyke wise vnfortunat and miserable is the pooze suer, that committerh his affaires to the trust and dispatch of a lying and dissembling officer. There are many officers in Princes courts, that telleth the pooze suiters still they will dispatch them, but when it commeth to the push to solow the matter, al his fair woozds are then but wynd, and in dede they make an art of it, to speak all men fayer, to promys much, and to perfozme nothing, weaning with their swete flattering woozds to winne the harts and good willes of all, little regarding the great expence and losse of tyme of þ pooz suer, much lesse also respecting their own honoz, honesties, and credyt. Sure it were lesse dishonoz for them, to bee counted rough and churlish, then to bee bruted for lyers, and breakers of their promys. The officer of the princes palace, that is a dissembler, and lyer in his woozds & dooings, hee may for a time maintain his suits, and goe thzough with his matters: but in the end, his treacheries perceiued, him self, his fautoz, and all his dealing lye in the dust, and are bitterly overthzowen. O how many haue I seene ryle in court of nothing, to great matters and offyces, and this not thzough their painfull seruice, but altogethers by means of their deceit & flattery they cunningly vled: not exalted also for their merits, but only by a subtil meane & policy they had to draw water to their myll: not for any good cōscience they had, but only for their gret diligēce vled in their practises. And al this not wout þ prejudice of others, but rather to þ gret hurt & bitter vndoing of their neighboz: & not for any bounty they had to geue liberally, but a greedy & couetous desire to get: not for any needful busines, but to haue those þ are superfluous: & not for to relieue þ pooze & needy, but only to satisfy their insatiable apetits: & in fyne, their accout cast, wee haue seen after their deth their goodz confiscated, their seruāts dyspysed, & gone away, & their childzē for euer vndoone. So þ in briez ther was no moze memory of the in this woold, & god grant also þ in þ other lyfe their soules were not damned.

Courtiers

OF PRINCES.

Courtiers may easely with their fauor and credit attaine to great possessions, as the Iudges may also in robbing, the counsellors in pleading, and maintaining naughty causes, the captains in powling the prince of the soldiers wages, the marchants in their false weights & measures, & their brokers, in telling lyes out of all measure. But in the end of their iorney, & pilgrimage, they may bee assured that the soules of the fathers shal not only bee damned in hel, but the goods also shal bee taken from their childezen. And that þ is truely and iustly gotten by þ honest industry & trauel of the man, with a good zeal & holy intent, & to a good & iust end: it is written that it shal bee of long continuance, & by the permission of god, & praier of the people, it shal also prosper, & increase. For the true gotten goods, achieved by sweet & laboz of man, god dooth alway prosper & augment and therefore continuing our matter I say, that þ princes officers ought to determine with them selues, to bee vpright in all their actions & dooings, & aboue all, true & iust of their woordes: Wh dooing they shal bee sure to bee beloued of all, not alone of them that passe vnder their lee, but also of those whom they haue denyed fauor. And also they neede not to bee afraid to speak boldly in all places where they come, besides that they shal be reuerenced of all men. Where to þ contrary, if hee bee a lyar, a babler, and dissembler, there are few that wil fear them, much lesse loue them, & least of all do them reuerence, or honoz. And although wee cannot deny, but that these officers of the court, & other men of auctority bee wayted vpon, visited, accompanied, reuerenced, and honozed of much sort of men: yet it were a folly for vs to beleue, þ their trayn & attendants doo them all that honoz & reuerence, for any desire they haue to doo them any seruice: but only they vse all that curtesy, & capping, to get them selues & their suites quickly dispatched. And this to bee true, wee see it dayly in experience. For whe these suites haue atchiued their suit & desire, they doo not only leaue to accompany him, & attend vppon him, but moze ouer they gett the home, wout either thanking of them, or once taking their leaue of him. If all those that haue function or office of estate or dignity, (hauing charge of the dispatch of great & weighty matters, beeing also lyers & dissemblers in their dooings) knew þ yll reports that goe of them, & how they condempne their corrupt & naughty consciences: mee thinketh it impossible (if they bee not altogether graceles) but they must needs either change condition & estate, or els quyte geue vp their roomes & offices. For they are in euery mans mouth called bablers, liers, dissemblers, traitors, periurers, miserable, auaricious, & vicious. And yet a worse thing then all this, & that is: whylest they lyue, a thousand coplayns of him: and after they are dead & buried, they take vp their bones out of the graue to hang the vp vpon a gybbet. For thus saith the prouerb. Such lyfe, such end. So that wee may say, that to these officers aboue recyted, resteth nothing but only these goodly rytles. And heereunto wee may add also, that officers of lyke condition to them, neede not to haue any to accuse them, neither yet to punish the: For a time will come one day, that they will plunge themselves so deepe into a sea of troubles, that it cannot bee chosen, but they must needs at last drowne, & bitterly perishe, or at the least to bee diuyn into the hauen of their greatest enemies, so that they shal cary the burden of their owne wickednes, & be condignly chastised with their owne folly. Therefore I pray all those that shal read these writings of myne, to obserue them in their hart, & imprint them well in mynd: beeing a matter of such morality and wisdom, that it can hardly bee vnder-

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standid of any, but of such as first haue had some prooffe thereof. Helius Spartianus writeth that there was sometyne a senator in Rome called Lucius Torquatus, who was a tyrant, a dissembler, a great lyer, and very scditionous, deuyling only to sett discorde between the emperour Tytus, and the people: who being many tymes complained vpon by the people vnto Tytus, hee answered them thus. I pray you good people, let no man seeke to reprove him, perswade him, threaten, nor punish him: for hee is so wicked, and peruerse in all things, that I trust in the gods one day his owne crooked & naughty condition, shall make reuenge and satisfiacion of all the mischiefs hee hath doon mee: W was a wonderfull thing in this prince, that for an iniury of such importance as that was, he would haue no other reuenge of him, but referre all to that hee hoped to see by his owne yll nature. And sure the matter wel considered, hee had good reason to doo yt. For a wicked person is of this condition, that after hee hath once begon to doo euill, hee neuer ceaseth dayly to doo woozle (if hee bee not reclaimed by some honest man) vntill such time as vntwares (not looking to him self) hee vtterly falleth to ruyn & perdition. So that wee may aptly compare an yll man, to a candle, W after it is once lyght, it neuer leaueth burning, till it haue made an end of it self. In great & weighty matters sometimes, such as haue the dispatching of them, are wont to speak one woozd for an other, & also to make some faynt promises to their suters, not in respect to lye to them nor deceiue them: but to prolong them lenger in suit, to encrease their gaigne the more. Which I must say they ought not to doo, much lesse once to think it. When the fauored courtier or officer of the prince is moued in any matter by y^e suter, let him consider well if it bee any thing that may displease y^e prince, bee it neuer so little: for they must take great heede that they tell not princes, nor their seruants, any thing y^e they know may bee displeasing to their yeres: but only that, y^e shalbee both pleasaunt to y^e eare, profitable to y^e purse, & therewithall, that it bee true & necessary to bee told & looked to. For there is no greter destruction to y^e common weal, then to bring false reports vnto y^e king of his affairs. It is one of the gretest kinds of treason y^e can bee, for a prince to disclose y^e secrets of his hart to his fauored courtier, and for him again to tell y^e prince nothing but lyes, & tales. How great a frend so euer the prince be to his fauored courtier, the beloued courtier ought not to presume to aduance him self to tell, or make his prince beleue one thing for an other. For the matter afterwards discovered, & the troth knowne, it shall not bee enough for him in his excuse to tel the prince y^e hee made him beleue so, only to satisfy his frend. For the king may iustly tell him, that it is but an excuse, & that hee ment no other but to deceiue him. For princes eares & condicions, are so delicate: that I am bold to admonish the that are his familyers, & beloued of him, that they indouour them selues alwayes to speak (with all humble duty & reuerence) that that is true, yea though in secrete it pleaseth the prince to be inery wth them. This is euer true: hee that is a frend of verity, is also of iustice: and hee that is a frend of iustice, is also of the common weal: and hee that is a frend of the common weal, is euer indued wth a good conscience: and hee that hath a good conscience, consequently is of a good lyfe, hee that is of a good lyfe, is also of a good fame, and beloued of all. Albeit wee cannot deny, but that his enemyes will euer speak yll of him: yet wee may say also, that they can neuer hurt nor condemne him: but rather hee should bee counted a foole of all men, that will goe about or seeke to bee his enemy, who is honest in his doings,

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OF PRINCES.

trewe in his wordes, modest in his behauiour, beloued, and wel thought of of al.
 Therefore hee putterh him self into a great peril, that dare make him self a co-
 panion, & fellow in dooings, wth a wise & vertuous man. For hee must thinke, &
 accompaning with such a man, hee accompaneth not his person alone, but also &
 vertues that raigne in him: & if hee doo repugne & gainsay reasonable things,
 hee shall straight shew him self to come of a wicked race, & to bee plunged and
 rooted in all malice. Now to & end wee may leaue nothing beehind, that may
 serue to aduise & counsell this our fauored courtier, I say also: that there are
 many other in fauor with the prince, that oft tymes doo procure the prince to
 geue offices of dignity, & realty of the realme, sometimes to their kinssfolks, o-
 therwhiles to their friends, & after wards to their seruants also: w^{ch} perhaps are
 so vnmeet & vnwoorthy for them, that neither their merits shall deserue to haue
 them, nor their knowledge & experience also fitt, for so weighty an administra-
 tion. And they doo not procure these offices for them, for that they are wise, and
 capable: but only to aduance them aboue others, & because they are very trou-
 blesome & importunat. I am sozy to write it, & much moze to see it, that offices
 are not geuen now for & benefit of the comon wealth, but to recompence those
 of whom the fauored courtier hath receined pleasure, or els to satisfy the impo-
 tunacy of his seruants of his owne house. But by proces of tyme it might happē
 (by means of their skillesse rule) that & king woold take from them altogether
 their offices, or remoue them from one place to an other, although they were
 neuer well settled in a town, & commodiously. And being the princes pleasure
 to doo thus, the wise & beloued courtier must take heede hee doo not contrary &
 & king, much lesse take vpon him to defend the yll gouernment of those officers,
 hoping thereby to come to greater honoz. For it were lesse hurt for him, & offi-
 cer lost his estate & office, then hee his credit & reputation. Therefore those in
 fauor & auctority ought to content them selues wth the prince, the seruants with
 their maisters, & the parents & kinssfolks with the princes officers, for that they
 procured them these offices at & kings hands, wth the yll willes of many: w^{ch}out
 that they further please, & importune the, to suborn their faults. For after that
 & dooings of these woorthy officers bee once discouered to bee naught & corrup-
 ted, it is impossible by any means to make them good befoze & prince, w^{ch} whom
 all & means the parents & kinssfolks of such persos can make, cannot stead the
 to bring them to their first honoz, by their owne folly lost. And now to end this
 our present volume of the fauored courtier, I doo assure al & beloued courtiers,
 that if god shall fynd purty in their soules, & comon weal iustice in their house,
 & the king troth in their mouthes, & fidelity in their hartes, the good and honest
 men grace in their fauor, & that the yll & wicked boast them selues no moze of
 their auctority & office, & that & pooze shall praise them for their good woorkes, &
 the king also fynd them faithfull seruants, I will at this present wth myne owne
 hand geue the such faith & assurance, that they shall neede neuer to feare that
 god wil forsake them, nor that men can hurt them, and that they shall neuer bee
 detected of any infamy, ouerthrowen by any misfortune, neither put out of fa-
 uor & credit with their prince at any tyme.

Finis.

Here folovveth certaine other letters vvritten by
Marcus Aurelius, Selected out of the Spanishe copie, not
 vvritten in the frenche tongue.

¶ Of the huge monstre seene in Scicily in the tyme of Marcus Aurelius:
 And of the letters he wrote with bloude vpon a gate. Cap. i.



In the yere of the foundation of Rome. 720. and. xlii. of
 the age of Marcus Aurelius, and twoo yeares before he tooke
 possession of the Empire, the twenty daie of August, about
 the going downe of the Sunne, in the Realme of Sicill in
 the Citie of Palermo (a porte of the Sea) there chaunced a
 thing perillous to them that sawe it then, and no lesse dread
 full to those whiche shall heare it nowe. Whiles they of Palermo were cele-
 brating a great feast with much ioy, that they had vanquished the nauy of
 the Numidians, the pirates deuinding their bootie, were preuented by the ma-
 gistrates of the citie, who commaunded the whole spoyle to be layde vp tyll
 the warres were finished: for such was the lawe of the Ile. And trulpy it was
 a iust lawe, for oftentimes the only let why the peace is not made, betwene
 princes, is because there wanteth riches to satisfie the domages done in
 warres. When all the people were retourned home vnto their houses to
 supper (for it was in the Sommer) there appeared an hughe monster in the
 citie in this fourme. He seemed to be of the length of thre cubites, his heade
 was balde, so that his scull did appeare. He hadde no eares, saue onely twoo
 holes in his necke, whereby men iudged that he hearde: he had two wyppen
 hornes like a goate, his right arme was longer then his left, his handes wer
 lyke the feete of horses, without throte, his shoulders and his head were both
 of one height, his shoulders shone as doth the scales of fishes, his brest was
 all rough of heere, his face in all thinges was lyke vnto a man, saue that it
 had but one eye which was in the middest of his forehead. In his nose there
 was but one noethil. From the middle downwarde there was nothinge
 seene, because it was all couered, he satte on a chariot with foure wheles,
 whiche was drawen with foure beastes, that is, two Lions before, and two
 Beares behinde. No man could tell of what wood the chariot was made.
 In fashion it differed nothing from those whiche other men doe accus-
 tomyly vse. Within the chariot stode a great chauldron with eares, wherein the
 monstre was, wherfore it could not be seene but from the midle vpwarde.
 It wandered a great space in the citie from one gate to an other, castinge
 out sparkes of fyre. The feare was so great throughout all the citie, that
 some women with childe were with great daunger deliuered, and others
 beyng faynte harted fell downe dead. And all the people both men and wo-
 men great and small ran to the temples of Iupiter, Mars, and Februa, with do-
 lefull clamoures and cries makynge their importunate prayers. At the same
 tyme, all these rouerers were lodged in the gouernours pallace of the citie,
 whose name was Solyno, bozne at Capua, wher also the ryches was kepte.
 After the monstre hadde bene in all partes of the citie (or in the moste parte
 thereof)

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therof it came to the pallace where the pirates were, and cut one of the Lions eares of, and with the bloude thereof wrote these letters vpon the pallace gate which was thus R. A. S. P. I. P. These letters were of diuers men diuersly interpreted so that the interpretations were mo then the letters. And in the ende, a woman prophetesse greatly esteemed for her science, (to whom God had geuen this secret knowledge) opened the true meanyng of these letters, saying R. signifieth Reddite, A. aliena, S. si vultis, P. propria, I. in pace, P. possidere. Whiche altogether is to say. Render vnto other that which is theirs, if you in quiet wyll possesse your owne. Truly the pirates were wonderfully afrayd of this sodaine commaundement, and the woman was highly commended for her exposition. This being done, the monstre went the same nyght out of the Citie vnto a high hill called Iamicia, and there stode for the space of three dayes in the sight of the citie, the Lyons with terrible voyces roaring, the Beares with no lesse fearefull cryes ragyng, and finally the monstre moste dreadfull flames casting. During al this tyme there was neither byrde sene in the ayre, nor beaste in the fieldes. And the people offered suche great sacrifices vnto their Gods, that they brake the baynes of their handes and feete, and offered the bloude thereof to see if they could appease their wrathes. These three dayes being passed, there appeared in the element a marueilous darke cloude, whiche seemed to darken the whole earth, and there with it began to thunder and lighten so terribly, that sundry houses fell to the grounde, and infinite men ended their lyues. And laste of all ther came such a flame of fire from the monstre, that it brynt both the pallace where the rouers were, & all other thinges that were therein, so that all was consumed with fire: yea the very stones theim selues. The tempest was so great, that there fell aboue two thousand houses, and there died more then ten thousand persones. In this place whete this monstre was on the toppe of the hill, the emperour edified a sumptuous temple to the god Iupiter, in perpetuall memory of the same. Whereof afterward Alexander emperoure, hauing warre with the people of that Isle made a strong castle.

¶ Of that whiche chaunced vnto Antigonus a citezen of Rome, in the time of Marcus Aurelius. Cap. ii.

AT the same time when this woful chaunce happened in the Isle, there dwelled a Romaine in the same citie called Antigonus, a man of a roble bloud, and wel stroken in age, who with his wife and doughter were banished two yeaeres befoze from Rome. The cause of his banishment was this: There was an olde laudable custome in Rome instituted, by Quintus Cincinatus the Dictatour, that two of the most auncient senatours should go withy censour newly created (in the moneth of December) to visite al Rome and to examine severally euery Romain, declaring vnto him the. xii. tables, & also the particuler decrees of the senate, demaunding of theim, if they knew any man that had not obserued these lawes: and if they did, they should enfourme the senate thereof. And so euery man should receiue condigne punishment according to his offence. But thei neuer punished befoze they warned, for they vsed the one yeaere to admonishe them of their faultes, and the next yeaere if they dyd not amende to punyshe theim, or elles to banyshe theim. These were the wordes of the lawe in the fift table, and thyrde chapter.

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WRITTEN BY M. AUREL.

The sacret senate both ordeyne, the happy people do consent, & the auncient colonies doe allowe, that if men as men in one yeare doe trespasse, that men as men for that yeare doe wyne at them: but if they as euill men doe not amende, that then the good as good doe punishe them. Moreover the lawe sayde, the first faultes are dissembled withall, because they are committed through weake ignorance: but the second shal be punished, because they proceede of negligence and malice. This inquiry was made in the moneth of December, because in the moneth of January folowynge the officers of Rome were elected. And it was reason the good from the euill should be knowen, to the intent they might knowe who merited to haue them, & who deserued to go without them. The chiefe cause why this Antigonus, his wife, and his doughter were banished was this. It was ordeined by the eleuenth emperour of Rome Augustus, that no man should be so hardy as to pisse nere the doores of any temple. And Caligula the fourth emperour comaunded, that no womā should geue, or sel any letters of witchcrafts to hange about the peoples neckes, to deliuer them from the feuer quartaine. And Cato the censour made a lawe, that neither young mā nor mayde should talke togethers at the conduictes where they vsed to fetch water, nor at the ryuer where they washed their clothes, nor at y^e bakehouse where they baked their bread: because al the wanton youth of Rome ordinarily haunted one of these two places. It chaunced when the censours and consules visited the warde of mounte Celio, Antigonus, who dwelled thereby, was accused to haue pissed against the walles of the temple of Mars: and his wife likewise was complained of for selling wyptinges to cure the feuers: and his doughter was noted for one that commonly haunted the conduictes, riuers, and bakehouses to talke with younge men, the whiche in those daies was a great shame to maydes of Rome. The censours therefore seinge the euill president whiche they founde in the house of Antigonus at that tyme, registred also before, and that he had bene gently thereof admonished: banished him into the Isle of Scicilly, for as long time as it should please the senate. And lyke as in sumptuous and goodly buyldinges one stone falleth not without shakynge of an other, so it chaunceth likewise to men. For commonly one mischaunce cometh not alone but that another immediatly foloweth. I speake it for this purpose, for that Antigonus was not onely deprived of his honoure, goodes, and countrey, but also by an earth quake, his house fel down to the ground, & slewe his dearest beloued doughter. Whyles both these great mischaunces happened, I meane of the monstre of Scicily, and of the banishment of Antigonus from Rome: Marke the emperour was in the warres againste the Argonautes where he receiued a letter from Antigonus of his banishment, whereof the emperoure was marueylous sorry: as it appeareth by the aunswere whiche he sent to comforte him.

Howe Marcus Aurelius sought the wealth of his people, and howe his people loued him. Cap. iii.

In the seconde yeare that Marke was elected emperour the xlv. of his age, when he retourned from the conquest of the Germanes, & the Argonautes, (from whence he brought great ryches, and treasures, to the Romaine empire) he to reste him selfe, and to appointe his men, lay at Salon vntil such time

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as the Romaines had prepared all thinges conuenient for suche a glorious triumph: There was one thing done whiche neuer was sene in Rome, for the same day of his triumph his sonne Comodus by the assent of the whole people of Rome, was chosen emperor after the death of his father. He was not chosen at the request of his father, for he was against it: saying that the empire ought not to be geuen for the merites of those whiche are dead, but he should be chosen for his own good workes being alieue. This emperor said oftentimes that then Rome should be vndone, when the election shalbe take from the senate, & when the emperor shal enherite the empire by patrimony. Now to come to our matter: the emperor being at Salon trauayled much to bring his men into Rome in good order: and Rome was more careful for to receiue him triumphantly, as it appertained to such a great conqueste. He was maruelously wel beloued of al the empire, and he alwayes studied the wealth of his people, and they were alwayes most faithfull in his seruices. So that sundry times there was a question moued in the senate, whiche of these two thinges was better beloued, Either the emperor of his people, or the people of their emperor. So that one day they appointed two iudges in this case, the one was the Embassadour of the Parthes, and the other was the Embassadour of the Rhodes, and the information was geuen on bothe partes in writing. The emperor alleaged the great profite that he had done to the common wealth, and the many euils which he had deliuered it from. On the other part the senators declared the good dedes they had done in his absence, and the great loue they bare him alwayes in his presence. So likewise the emperor an other day moued an other question to the senate, affirming that it was more glory for him to haue such subiectes, then for them to haue such an emperor. The senate denied it, affirming that the comfort was greater that they had of him: then that which he could haue of them. And in this wise the emperor gaue the glory to his people, and the people gaue the glory to their emperor. Thus merily this matter was reasoned of againe. It was a pleasaunt thing to heare the reasons wherewith eche parte proued his purpose. For the good emperor attributed the whole laude for a perpetual memory vnto the people, because of the great obediēce, diligent seruice, and faithfull loue which he had found in them. And on the other part the fortunate people gaue the glory vnto the emperor, for his clemency, & mercifulnes, for his vprightuous gouerninge, for his honestie of liuing, & for his stout courage in conquering. It was a thing worthy of noting, to se how the people gaue the honour to their emperor, and howe the emperor attributed the prayse to his people. These matters were deliuered in truste to the straunge Embassadours, to thend that all people might learne to obey their princes, and also princes learne to loue their people: to thende that by such examples (as it was reason) the good should be encouraged, and the euil discomforted. Thus the emperor prepared all thinges ready with his capitaines and captiues for his entring, and the people of Rome made as great preparation for to receiue him. It was a meruailous thing to see what people came forth of Rome to mete him, & what an infinite numbꝛe were at Salon to behold him. They that were at Salon had their eyes there, and their hartes at Rome: and they that were at Rome, had their hartes at Salon, in suche sorte that their eyes da-

WRITTEN BY M. AVREL.

eyes daseled with that they sawe, and their hartes also reioyced for that they hoped to see. For there is no greater torment to the harte, then when it is deferred from that which it greatly Desireth.

How at the intercession of many whiche the Emperesse had sent, the Emperour graunted his daughter Lucilla licence to spozte her selfe at the feastes. Cap. lxi.

You shal vnderstande, that the Romaines vsed alwayes, in the moneth of January, to permit that their emperoures should triumphe. And it chaunced that at that time when they prepared for the triumphe, Faustine the emperesse caused diuers noble barons to demaunde licence of the emperoure, that her daughter might come from her mistres where she was taught, to y feastes. Her name was Lucilla: who was elder then the prince Comodus her brother. She had a goodly gesture, she was well made in the body, & derely beloued of her mother, whom she resembled not only in beauty, but also in liuing. Though the request semed to be reasonable, and those that made it his counsellors & great about him, & though him whom they asked was the father, and she that demaunded it was the mother, and she for whom this request was made was the daughter: yet the emperour would not graunt it, but halfe against his wil. Faustine when she had obtained licence was exceeding glad, and so sone as she might possible, she brought her daughter home vnto the pallace. And when the daye of the great feast & solempne triumphe came: the young damoisel perceiuing her selfe at large without any gouernour, trusting in the innocencie of her selfe, esteemed not the malice of any other man: but reioyced with those that reioyced, talked with them that talked, behelde them that behelde her, and she thought because she mente euill to no man, that no man wylled euill to her. In those dayes it was as great an offence for a mayde of Rome, to laughe in the company of men: as it was for a woman of Grecia to be taken in adultery with a priest. So greatly was the honestie at that tyme of the Romaine Matrones regarded, and the lyghtnes of the maydens was so detested, that they gaue more sharper punishment for one offence done openly, then for twoo other whiche were committed in secreat. Amonge all other thinges, from these seuen the Romaine Matrones did marueilously refrayne, that is to wete: from talkyng muche at feastes, from gready eating amonge straungers: from drynkyng wyne whyles they were whole: from talkyng in secreate with any man: from lyfting vp their eyes in the temples: from galyng muche out at the wyndowes, And from wandying abroad without their husbandes. For the woman that was apprehended in any of these thynges, was alwayes after counted as one defamed. There are many thynges suffred in persones of meane estate, whiche can not be endured in those of hygher degree: For Ladies of highe renoume, can not kepe the reputation of their estates, vnlesse they are marueilous circumspecte in all their doynges. All thynges that degenerate from their kynde deserue blame: but the dishonest woman meriteith infamy. If ladies wylbe counted ladies in dede, let them knowe howe muche they excell others in ryches, so muche lesse lycence haue they then other to goe gaddinge in the streates. For of a suretie the abundance of their ryches, and the lybertie of their personnes, should not be a

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furre to prouoke them to gadde abroad, but rather a bydle to keape them
 within. All this is spoken for this cause that Lucilla, as a mayde tender and
 younge, and Faustine her mother, as one not very olde: sometymes on foote,
 and sometymes ryding: sometymes openly, and nowe and then secretly:
 Sometymes with company, and at other tymes alone: Sometymes by
 day, and oft tymes by night: vled to foote the streates of Rome, to view the
 fieldes of Vulcane: To sport them by the ryuer of Tiber: to gather the frutes
 in the Ortechardes of Saturne: to suppe at the conduites of Nero, and suche
 other vagaries they vled. The whiche thinges though their age did desyre,
 and their idlenes allure them vnto: yet the grauitie of suche ladies ought to
 haue withdrawen them from it. I wyll speake one thing, to thende that o-
 ther ladies and gentlewomen may take warning thereby: whiche is, that I
 can not tell whiche was greater, either the small discretion whiche moued
 Faustine, and Lucilla, to wander in suche softe aboute the streates: or the au-
 dacitie that euill men tooke thereby to talke of their personnes, and doubte
 of their honesties. The keaping of women in their houses, is lyke vnto a
 bydle to holde styll euill mens tongues. The woman that is a strayer a-
 broad, putteth her good name in muche daunger. Of trouth it were bet ter
 for a woman neuer to be bozne: then to lyue with an euill name. Amonge
 all the families of the auncient Romaues, that of the Cornelians was coun-
 ted mooste fortunate, for among the men there was neuer anye founde a co-
 warde, nor among the women any that was defamed. The historiogra-
 phers saye, that there was one woman of that lynage, onely for beyng light
 in her behauiour, was by the handes of her owne parentes executed and put
 to death. Surely it was well done of the Romaines, to thintent that the
 lightnes of one woman alone, should not defame the whole family. Where
 as is noblenes, and honestie: there the matters that touche the honor, ought
 not to tary whyles they be remedied by iustice: but from that man or wo-
 man which among al hath lost his good name, from the nombre of the liuing
 he also ought to be taken. It is not sufficient for one to him selfe to be good:
 but it is requisite that he geue no occasion to others to iudge him to be euil.
 All the losses of temporal goodes that chaunce vnto men in this life, oughte
 not to be cōpared with a litle blemishe of a mans good name. The man that
 hasardeth for a trifle his good name in this world, shall at a hūdreth shootes
 scarfly shoote one right. And cōtrariwyle, the man that hath lost his honesty,
 and that este meth not the reputation of his persone: truly from him we shall
 neuer see any good thing proceade. Now the emperour like vnto a wise ship-
 maister, fearing after the great calmes some tempestuous stoyne: seing the
 lightnes of his doughter and banitie of the mother (I meane in the time of
 this great mirth and gladnes) feared lest any infamy should ensewe vnto
 these two ladies. And for a surety he doubted not without a cause for it is an
 infallible rule of enuious fortune, to geue vs in many yeres a litle prosperitie,
 to thintēt that afterward sodainly she may bring vs into some great aduer-
 sitie. By experience we see, y the sea is seldome times calme: but immediatly
 foloweth some perilous tēpest. The extreame heate of y day doth prognostifi-
 cate, y terrible thōder in y euentide. I meane, whē fortune doth flatter vs w
 her golden pilles, it is a token that she intendeth to carche vs in her snares.

The

WRITTEN BY M. AUREL.

The mylner before the bankes broken repareth the dammes. The husbandman before it raineth, thacketh his house, fearing the snow and raine that is to come. So lyke wise the sage man ought to consider, that during this lyfe he hath prosperity but by leaue, & aduersity as by patrimony. Marcus Aurelius among al other men was he that knew how to enioy prosperitie, & also to preuaile of aduersity. Though fortune gaue him much prosperity: yet he neuer trusted therein, nor for any troubles that euer he receiued in this lyfe, he was at any tyme abashed,

Of the sharpe words which Marcus Aurelius spake to hys wyfe, and to his daughter. Cap. v.

When the triumphes before named were finished, this good Emperour being willing to vnbourden his hart and to aduise Faustine, & to teache the yong damosel his daughter, and to the end that no man shold heare it, he called them a part, and sayd vnto them these words. I am not contente Faustine with that thy daughter did, nor yet with that which thou hast done being her mother. The daughters if they wilbe counted good children, must learne to obeye their fathers: and the mothers if they wil be counted good mothers, must learne to bring vp their daughters wel. When the mother is honest, and the daughter shamefast, the father is excused in geuyng counsel. It is great shame to the father being a man, that the mother being a woman should chastise his sonne. And it is a great reproch to the mother, that the daughter should be chastised by the hands of any man. There was a law enacted among the Rhodiens, that neyther the father should haue to doe wyth the daughters, nor the mothers with the sonnes, but the men bled to bring vp the men, and the women the women. And in such wise, that they abiding al in one house, it semeth vnto the fathers that they had no daughters, and vnto the mothers that they had no sonnes. O Rome, Rome, I be waille the not for to se the streates vnpaued, nor to se the houses so decayed, nor to se the battlements so fallen downe, nor the timber hewed downe, nor for the diminishing of the habytaunts, for al this tyme bringeth, and tyme taketh awaye, but I wepe for the, and wepe for the againe, to se the vnpeopled of good fathers, and vnprouided in the nourishing of their children. Rome began to decay, when the disciplyne of sonnes and daughters was enlarged, & that their bydle was let at libertie. For ther is now such boldnes in boyes, and so lytle shamefastnes in girles, with dishonesty of the mothers, & where as one father suffised for .x. sonnes, and one mother for .xx. daughters: now .xx. fathers dare scarcely vndertake to bring vp wel one sonne, & .xxx. mothers one daughter. I say this to you Faustine, you remember not how you are a mother, for you geue more libertie to your doughter then ought to be suffred. And now Lucilla remember not how you are a daughter: for you shewe to haue more libertie then requireth for a yong mayden. The greatest gift that the gods haue geuen to the Matrons of Rome is: because that they are women, they kepe them selues close and secret, and because they are Romaines, they are shamefast. The day when the women want the feare of the gods secretly, and shame of men openly, beleue me they shal eyther faile the world, or the world theym.

CERTEN LETTERS

The common wealth requyrez it of great necessity, that the women which therein enhabyte should be as honest, as the captaynes balyaunt: for the captaynes going to warre defend them, and the women whych abyde at home conserue them. As now. iiii. yeaeres passed ye saw this great pestilence: and I demaund then to haue account of the people, and I found that of C. and xl. M. honest women. lxxx. M. dyed: & of. x. M. dyshonest women in maner they scraped al. I cannot tel for which I should wepe, eyther for the lacke that we haue of the good & vertuous womē in our comon wealth, or els for the great hurt & domages that these euil & wicked women do to the youth of Rome. The fyr that brenneth in mount Ethna doth not so much endamage those that dwel in Scicil, as one euyl woman doth with in the walles of Rome. A fyerse beast, and a perillous ennemy to the common wealth is an euyl woman for she is of power to commyt all euyls, and nothing apte to do anye good. Whow many realmes and kingdomes rede we of, whych by the euil behauiours of one woman haue bene lost, and to resist agaynst them, there hath bene nede both of wisedome, perils, money, and force of many men.

The byces in a woman is as a grene rede that boweth euery waye: but the lightnes and dyshonesty is as a dry kyre that breaketh, in such wise that the more euyl they vtter, the more vnlykely is the amendment therof. Behold Faustine, ther is no creature that more desireth honour and worle kepeth it, then a woman, and that this is true, we se by iustice, by orations, by wrytyng, and other trauailles, man getteth fame & renowme: but withoute it be by flattering, and faire speakyng, this houre by auncient wryters we cā rede of few women or none, whych eyther by wrytyng, redyng, bookepynge with nedle, spinning, or by weauing, haue gotten them any great renowme. But as I say of one, I say of an other, certaynely of diuers we rede, by keeping them close in their houses, being wel occupied in their busines, temperate in their words, faithfull to their husbands, wel ordred in their persons, peasable with their neighbours, and finally for being honest amonge their owne family, and shamesfast amongst straungers, they haue obtayned great renowme in their life, and lefte a perpetuall memorie of them after their death. I wil tel you an auncyent history as profitable to restraine our vices, as it dyd then augment vertues, whych is this. The realme of the Lacedemoniens as Plato sayth, was a long tyme as dissolute through the vnchastities of women, as infamed by the byces of men, so that of al nations they were called barbarous, what tyme Grece of the philosophers, was called the mother of phylosophers, Licurgus a wise phylosopher in knowledge, and a right iust king in gouernaunce, partly with his doctrine very profitable, & partly with his lyfe most pure, ordeyned lawes in the sayd realme, wherby he expelled all byces, and planted al vertues. I cannot tel whych of these two were moste happiest, the kyng haupyng so obedyent people, or els the realme to haue soo worthy a kinge. Among other lawes for women he enacted one worthy of hyghe commendacion, the whiche commaunded, that the father whych dyed shoulde geue nothyng to his doughter: and another, that neither liuing nor dieng he shold geue any money to mary her with, to thintent that none shoulde take her for her goodes, but al onely for her vertues: and not for her beautye but for her qualtyes: wher as now some be forsaken by
cause

WRITTEN BY M. AVREL.

where as now some be forsaken because they are poore, soo then they abode
vnmariied because they were vicious, & time worthye to be desired, when
maydens hoped not to be mariied with their fathers goodes, but by the ver-
tuuous workes of their owne persons, this was the time called the golden
world, when neither y^e doughter feared to be disherited by the father in his
lyfe, nor the father to dye sorrowfull for leuyng her without dowrye at his
death. O Rome, cursed be he y^e first brought gold into thy house, & cursed be
he that first began to hoorde by treasure. who haue made Rome to be so rich
of treasure, and so poore of vertues: who hath caused noble men to marry the
Plebeians, & leaue the doughters of Senatours vnmariied: what hath made
that the rich mannes doughter is demaunded vnwillpung, & the doughters
of a poore man none wil desire? what hath caused that one marieth a foole
wth fyue hundred markes, rather then a wise womā with ten thousand ver-
tues: then I wil not say that in this case y^e flesh vanquished y^e flesh, but I say
that vanity is ouercome of malyce. For a couetous person wil soner now a
daies take a wife that is rich & foule, then one that is poore and faire: O vn-
happie woman that bying forth chyldren, and more unhappie be the dough-
ters that are bozne: the which to take in mariage no man desireth, neyther for
the bloud of their predecessours, nor the fauour of their frendes, nor the wor-
thyngnes of their persons, nor for the purty of their lyues. O wicked worlde,
where the doughter of a good man without moneye shal haue no mariage:
but it was not wont to be so. For in the old time when they treated of mari-
ages, first they spake of the persons, and after of the goods, not as they do at
this present in this unhappie time: for now they speake first of the goods &
last of al of y^e persons. In y^e said golden world, first they spake of the vertues
that the person was endewed with: and when they were mariied, as it were
in sport they would speake of the goods. When Camillus triumphed ouer the
Gauls, he had then but one sonne, and he was such one that his desertes me-
rityed great praise, & for the renoune of his father, diuers kinges desired to
haue him to their sonnes, and diuers senatours desired to haue him to their
sonne in law. This yong man being of the age of xxx. yeres, & the father at
it. was importunately stirred by his natural frends, and desires of straunge
kinges, for to marie him, but alway the old Camille withstode y^e concel of his
frends & the importunity of the straungers. When it was demaunded why
he determyned not vpon some mariage for his sonne, syth thereby should en-
sue the quyet life of the man, & the ioy of himselfe in his age, he aunswered. I
wil not mary my sonne, because some offer me rich doughters, some noble of
linage, some yong, and some faire. But ther is none hath sayd to me, I geue
you my vertuous doughter. Certenly Camil merited triumphe for y^e he did,
and deserued eternal memozy for that he sayde. I spake to you Faustine, all
these wordes, because I se you leade your doughter to theatres, and playes,
and bying her into the capitolle, you put her to the keaping of the sword plai-
ers, you suffer her to see the tumblers, & yet do you not remember that she is
yong, and you not to aged, you go into the streates withoute lycence, and
sporte you by the ryuers: I finde no byllannye therein, nor thynke that youre
doughter is euyl, but I saye it, bycause you geue occasion that she shoulde
not bee good.

Beware

CERTEN LETTERS

Be ware, be ware Faustine, neuer trust to the race of flesh of yong people, nor haue no confidens in old folkes: for ther is no better way, then to flye the occasion of al things.

For this intent the birging bestalles are closed vp betwene the walle s, to eschew the occasions of open places, not to be more lyght and folyshe, but to be more sad & vertuous flieng occasions. The yong shal not say, I am yong and vertuous: nor the old shal not say, I am old and broken. For of necessity the dy flare wil bren in the fier, & the grene flagge smoke in the flame.

I say though a man be a dyamond set among men, yet of necessitie he ought to be quicke, and to melt as ware in the heate amonge women, we cannot deny that though the wood be taken from the fyr and the Timbers quenched: yet neuertheles the stones oftentime remaine hotte. In lyke wise the flesh, though it be chastised with hotte and dy diseases, consumed by many yerres with trauaile, yet concupiscens abydeth stil in the bones.

What nede is it to blase the vertues, and deny our naturalyties? certainly ther is not so old a horse, but if he se a mare wil ney once or twise: ther is no man so yong nor old but let him se faire yong damosels, eyther he wil gyue a sigh, or a wishe. In al voluntarie things I deny not, but that one maye be vertuous: but in natural thinges, I confesse every man to be weake. When you take the wood from the fier, it leaueth burnyng: when sommer cometh the cold winter ceaseth: when the sea is calme, the waues leaue their vehement motions: when the sonne is set, it lightneth not the world. I wil say, that then, and not before, the flesh wil cease to trouble vs, when it is layd in the graue, of the flesh we are bozne, in the flesh we lyue, and in the fleshe we shal dy: & therby it foloweth, that our good lyfe shal soner end, then our fleshly desires forsake vs, oftentimes some hollome fleshe corrupteth in an euill vessel, and good wine sometime sauoreth of the foist. I say, though that the woorkes of our life be vertuous: yet shal we fele the stench of the weake flesh. I spake this Faustine, sith that age cannot resist these hot appetites, howe can the tender members of youth resist them: vnlesse you that are the mother go the right way, how should the Doughter that foloweth you find it? the Romaine matrons, if they wil bringe vp their Doughters wel, oughte to kepe these rules, when they se that they would wander abroad, that they breake their legges: and if they should be gasing: then put out their eyes: and if they wil lysten, stoppe their eares: if they wil geue or take, cut of their hands: if they dare speake, so w vp their mouthes: if they wyl pretende any lightnes, burye them quicke: death ought to be geuen to an euyl Doughter, in stede of her dowry: for gyftes, geue her woynes, and for her house, a graue.

Take hede Faustine, if you wil haue much ioy of your Doughter take from her the occasions wherby she shal be euyl. To vnderset a house behoueth diuers proppes: and if the principalles be taken away, it wil fal downe, I saye you women are so fraile, that with keepers, with great paine they can keape them selfe, and for a smal occasion they wil lose altogether. How many euyl hath there bene, not because they would be so, but because they folowed such occasions, the which they ought to haue eschewed. It is at my pleasure to enter into this battaile, but yet it is not in my power to attaine the vitorye, it is for me to enter into the sea, yet it lyeth not in my handes to escape the

WRITTEN BY M. AVREL.

the peril: it is in the hands of a woman to enter into the occasion, and after she is therein, it is not in her power to escape from euill, to deliuer her from tongues. Peraduenture Faustine, thou wilt say to me, none can speake to your daughter Lucil, vnlesse thou hearest it: no: se her, but thou seest him: no: conuey her, but thou knowest where: no: make any appointment, without thy consent: and yet thou knowest, that those whych wil her euyl, seke wyth their tongues to dishonour her: and those that with their hartes loue her, speake only in their harts. We loue in yong bloud, in the springing tyme and flozishing youth is a popson, that forthwith spreadeth into euery vaine, it is a herbe that entreteth into the entrayles, a swooning that incontinently mortifieth al the members, and a pestilence that sleeth the harts, and finallye it maketh an end of al vertues. I know not what I saye, but I fele & which I would say, for I would neuer blase loue with my tongue, except I were sore wounded therewith in my hart. Ouide saith in his booke of the art of loue, loue is I wot not what, it commeth I know not from whence, who sent it I wot not, it engendyeth I know not how, it is satisfied I wot not wherewith, it is felt, & I wot not how, oft it sleeth, I wot not wherfore, and finally without breakyng the flesh outwardly, loue taketh roote, and molesteth the hart inwardly. I know not what Ouide meaneth hereby, but I trowe when he said these words, he was as farre banysed from him selfe, as I am at this tyme from my selfe. O Faustine, they that loue together, vtter the secretes of theyr harts by dyuers wayes, and in sleaping they reason & speake & by signes they vnderstand ech other. The many words outwardly, declare smal loue inwardly: and the feruent inward loue, kepeth silence outward. The entrayles within embraced with loue, cause the tongue outward to be mute: he that passeth his lyfe in loue, ought to kepe his mouth close. And to thintent that ye shal not thinke I speake fables, I wil proue this by auncient histories, we find aunciently, that in the yere .cc.lxx. after the foundation of Rome. Etrasco a yong Romaine that was dombe, and Verona a fayre Lady of the Latines which was dombe also, these two saw ech other on mount Celio at the feastes, and ther fel in loue togethers, and their hartes were as sore fired in loue, as their tongues were tyde from speach. It was a maruailous thing to se then, & fearful to note now that this yonge lady came from Salon to Rome: & he went from Rome to Salon sundry tymes by the space of 30. yeres, without the knowledge of any parson, and neuer spake together. It chaunced at the last that the husband of the lady Verona died, & the wyfe of Etrasco also, and then they discouered their loue, and treated a mariage betwene them. And these two dombe parsons had issue a sonne of whom descended a noble linage of our Scipions, which were more famous in the seates of armes, then their father & mother were troubled for want of words. Then Faustine marke thys thing, it had litle auailed to haue cut out the tongues of the two dombe persons to haue remedied their loue, and not to haue cut out their harts. And I shal tel you of Masinissa a worthy knight of Numidie, and Sophonisba a famous lady of Carthage, al only by one sighte as they sawe eche other on a ladder, he declareth his desyre vnto her and shee knowyng hys lust breakyng the oozes of feare, and lyftynge by the ankers of shame, incontinente raysed the sayles of their hartes, and wythe the shipps

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shippes of their persones they ioyned ech to other, here may we see, how the first sight of their eyes, the knowledg of their parsons, the consent of their harts, the copulation of their bodyes, the decay of their estates, and the losse of their names, in one day, in one houre, in one moment, and in one step of a ladder were lost, what wil you that I say more to this purpose: do you not knowe what Heleyne the Greke, and Paris the Troyan, of two straunge nations, and of farre countreis, with one only sight in a temple their willes wer so knit tog ether, that he toke her as his captiue, and she abode his prisoner. In Paris appeared but smal force, and in Heleyne but litle resistance, so that in maner those two yong persons, the one procuring to banquish her, and the other suffering to be banquished: Paris was cause of his fathers death, and they both of their owne deaths, losse to their realmes, & scaunder to al the world. All this loue grew of one onely sight. When great kinge Alexander woulde haue geuen battaile to the Amolones, the quene (captaine of theym) no lesse faire then strong and vertuous, came to a riuer side, & the space of an houre eche of theym behelde an other with their eyes, withoutte vttering of anye worde.

And when they retourned to their tentes, their fierenes was turned into swete wanton amorous wordes. When Pirrus the faithfull defender of the Tharrentines, and renowned king of Epirotes was in Italy, he came into Naples, and had not bene there but one daye, but he was enamoured of a faire lady named Gemelicia, of a high lignage, and greatly esteemed of her beauty, and the very same day she was gotten with child, and shamed throughout al Italy, and cast out of the citie: & after that she was deliuered of child, she was slayne by one of her owne bretherne. Also Cleopatra in the prouince of Bithiny, in the wood Sechin made a goodly banket of Marcus Anthonius her louier, and though she was not very honest, yet had she with her chaste womē And thus the banket endured a great part of the night. And the wood being thicke, yong damosels were not so wily to hide them, but the yong men Romaines found them: so that of .60. Doughters of the senatours, .55. were gotten with child among the thicke bushes, whych thing made a great scandal in the people, & augmented the infamy of Marcus Anthonius. Thus as I haue shewed of a small number, I could say of many other. Al men are not men, nor al women are not women. I speake it, because I would it should be sayd, let it touch them that it toucheth, & let them that come vnderstande me. Ther are some ships whych are so lyght, that they wil sayle with a lytel wind. And ther be other some mills that wil grind with a lytle water. I say ther be some women so bricke, that as a glasse with a phylippe will breake, and wil slippe with a lytle mire.

Tel me Faustine, haue you suffred your doughter to speake but with her vncles, and kepe company but with her cousins? I say in thys case that the mother is in as much blame, as the doughter in peril. Do you not knowe that the hotte fire dooth not forbear the woode, be it wete or drye: but in likewise it consumeth the hard stones: Do you not know, that the extreame hunger causeth beastes to deuoure with their owne teeth, the thyng that was bread in their entrayles: Do you not know, that the gods made a lawe ouer al thynges, excepte ouer louers, because they maye not abyde it: and
doubtlesse

WRITTEN BY M. AVREL.

Doubtlesse it was right wisely Done. Rome condempneth not these foolyshe innocents, because they haue no vnderstandynge. The gods geue no paine to amorous people, because they are deprived from reason. He know when I was censour, ther was a yonge woman whiche had a chylde by her owne father, and another had a chylde by her sonne, and a niece by her proper vncle: and ther was sentence geuen on them, that the father should be giuen to the lions, and the chyliden buried quicke, and the mothers were bynte in the campe of Mars. The matter was so horrible to here, that I myght not endure to se the cursed men, and I commaunded by my decrees, that none should be soo bolde to speake in suche a case anye more.

And if this case were feareful to men, then certaynlye the Romaine Matrones oughte to lyue chastlye. When if the fire of the father doo chase the doughter, inflameth kinsefolke, and burneth theym selfe: yee maye bee sure if hee finde eyther cosin, or faire sister, the flames of his concupisence wil not leaue to take hold on her, for any parentage. If this riotous flesh wil obey reason, then it may be that your doughter may speake lybertyly with her cosins, but sith that passion repugneth so much at reason, I counsaile you, trust not to much in her byetherne. You se by experience, that the worme that is bred in the tymbre, and the mothes which are bred in the clothes, eateth that same cloth. I say that sometime a man bringeth him vp in his house, wherch after ward taketh his honour and life from him.

Faustine, take this that I haue said for a warnyng, and these last wordes I giue you counsaile. If you will kepe your selfe from thoughte, and youre doughter from peril, let your doughter be alwaies occupied with some good works: for when the handes are occupied with any good exercyse, then the hart is boyde from many idle and vaine thoughts. Euery lightnes done in youth, breaketh downe a lompe of our lyfe: but ydlenesse wherby our enuyte entereth, is it which openeth y gate of al vices. Knowest thou Faustine, from whence procedeth the vndoing of the yong Romaine doughters? I wil tel the: for as sone as they be bozne, they presume to be amorous, they as vnmindful (with the rechelesnes of the father, and wantonnes of the mothers) dispise the honest traualles, and embrace the pleasaunt ydlenes. Of ydle morions, and outragious thoughtes, the eyes take lycence without leaue, the mynd altereth, and the wil is hurt. And finally, thinking to be the whete that amorous men shoote at, they remayne as a but ful of al vices. And in conclusion, ther is nothing that more chaseth the bal of the thought in this play then the hand set a worke therwith.

The Emperour causeth his wyfe to take away al occasions of euyl frome her doughter, wherein is declared the frayltye of the tender fleshe. Cap. vi.

Then the good Emperour Marcus, hauyng a cleare vnderstandyng, and a quiet mynd, toke right great hede of all thynges that were past, prudently wayyng thynges present, and thinges to come. Seing that the perdition of princes depend al in wil wholly, eyther geuinge them selues to straunge thinges, forgettynge their owne, or els to entend to their owne only, nothing regardyng straunge thinges: His hart was so agreable to him,
*i.
that

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that neither the greate busines of theym, nor for al the affaires of his house he would leaue him the empire vndispatched. I speake this, because this emperour Marcus had iiii. daughters, whose names were Lucilla, Porfenna, Matriona, and Domicia. All resembled their mother in excellent beauty, but they resembled not their father in honesty nor vertue. And though they were in gouernance vnder their maisters out of his presence, yet he had them alwaies in memoie, and the elder they were, the more study and thought he toke for them. And when they came to lawfull age, he studied to make prouision for them. It was a lawdable custome, that the daughters of the officers of the senate should not mary without licence, nor the Emperours daughters without the consent of the senate. Then it is so, that one of the said princesses his daughter being of age, and of wil to be married, her father seeing her importunity, to accomplyshe her desire: bycause he was sicke, he sent for Faustine, that she should go and talke in the senate: the which with al her power she withstode, because she secretly she had treated for an other mariage for her daughter, and openly she excused her selfe, saying that her daughter was too yonge and tender of age. And as the goddess had geuen age sufficient to the father, so had not the daughter of yeres. When the emperour vnderstode this, he called Faustine to his bed side wheras he lay, and sayd: diuers things are dissimuled in perticuler persons, the least of them is not to be suffered in them which are gouernours of other, the prince is neuer well obeyed, onelesse he hath good credence among his people. I say this Faustine, because you do one thing in secrete, & say another openly: herein faileth the credence of so high a lady, & putteth in suspect the auctoity of so great an empire. If you suppose my good desires be sinister in your hart, for the wealth of your owne children: how should we hope then in any of your good workes, for the children of straungers? It semeth to you better to giue your daughter to them, that demaund her of the mother, and refuse them that the father doth chose. Certainly because you are a woman you desire pardon, but in that you are a mother you augment your fault. Do you not know that mariages are guided some by fortune, and some by vertues & wisdom? Such as demaund the daughters of the fathers, beleue me, they eyes be more vpon their owne proper vtility, then vpon the wealth of another. I know wel you bring forth the children, but the goddess will mary them, syth they haue endowd them with so marueilous beauty. Do you not know that the beauty of women setteth straungers, on desire, and putteth neighbours in suspicion? to great men it geueth feare, to meane men enuy: to the parents infamy, and peril to the persons them selues? with great paine it is kepte, that is desired of many. Of truth I say, the beauty of women is nothing but a signe for idle folke, & an early waking for them to be light, wheras of straung desires lieth the renowne of themselves, and I denye not, but that a light person seeketh soner a woman with a faire face, then one of an honest life. But I say that a woman that is married, onely for her beauty, maye hope in her age to haue an euill life. It is an infallible rule, that she that was married for her fayrenesse, shal be despised for her foulennesse.

What trouble he offereth hymselfe vnto, whych marieth a fayre woman. It behoueth hym to suffer her pride: for beauty, & folly, alway go together.

Also

WRITTEN BY M. AUREL.

Also he must suffer her expences, for follie in the heade, & beauty in the face, be two wormes which treate the lyfe, and wast the goodys.

Also he must suffer her riots, for a faire woman wil that none but she haue her commaundements in the house. Also he must suffer her nice minions, for many faire women wil passe their lyues in pleasure. Also he must suffer her presumption, for euery faire woman wil haue prehemenence before al other. Finally he that marieth with a faire woman, putteth himselfe in great iopardy. And I shal tel you wherfore, surely Carthage was neuer so enuyrioned with Scipions, as the house of a faire woman is with light persons.

¶ Unhappie husband when his spirite is at rest, and the body sleeping, then those lyght persons ronne about the house, sleeping his body with ielousie, casting their eyes at the windowes, scaling the walles with ladders, singing sweete songes, playing on dyuerse instruments, watching at the gates, treatinge with baudes, vncoueringe the house, and waytinge at euerye corner therof.

All these things in case they shoote at the pickte of womans beautie, they leaue not to shoote at the butte of the sorowful husbands good name: & whether this be true or not, let them aske my selfe that am married with your beauty, and let them wite of my renoune that go so about the cytie.

I say much, but truly I fele more: no man complayneth of the goddess, for geuyng him a foule wife amonge his destinies, whyte siluer is not wrought, but in blacke pitche: and the tender tree is not preserued but by the harde barke. I saye a man that marieth a foule wife, leadeth a sure lyfe, let euerye man chole as he lysteth: & I say a man that marieth a faire wife: casteth his good name at hasard, and putteth his life in peril. All the infamy of our predecessours stode in exercising of deedes of armes, and now al the pastime of the Romaine youthe, is to serue Ladies. When a woman is bruted to be sayre, then euery man goeth thither, & taketh great payne to serue her, & the woman wil be sene. I say Faustine, you neuer saw a damosel Romaine greatly renoumed in beauty, but eyther in dede, or in suspicion, there went some euyl report of her name. In that lytle that I haue red, I haue herd of diuers sayre women, both of Grece, Italy, Parth, & Rome, and they be not in memorye because they were faire, but for the great perils and misaduentures whych through their beautyes chaunced in the world. For by reason of their excellent beautyes they were vsited in their owne lands, & for their infamy shamed through al the world. When the realme of Carthage flourished in riches, and was fortunate in armes, they ruled the common wealth by wyle phylosophers, & that they repulled their enemyes by strong armes. Arminius the phylosopher was as greatly esteemed among the Carthagians as Homere was amonge the Grekes, or Cicero amonge the Romaines. He lyued in this world. 122 yeres. 80. of the which good yeaeres he lyued most quyetly, he was as much turned from women, as geuen to his bookes. Then the senate seeing he had such experience in the assayes of the weale publyke, & so withdrauen from al natural recreations, they desired him with great instaunce to be married, to thintent the memory might be had of so excellēt a wise man in time to come, & the more importune they were, the more he resisted, and said.

I wil not be married: for if she be foule, I shal abhorre her. If she be riche

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I must suffer her. If she be poore, I must mainteine her. If she be faire, I must take hede of her. If she be a shrew, I cannot suffer her. And the lest persilence of al those is sufficient to slea a. M. men. With such words this wise man excused himselfe. But in the end through great study in his age, he lost his sight, wherby the solptarines of his swete lybertye, constrayned him to take the company of a woman, by whom he had a doughter, of the whyche descended the noble Amilears of Carthage, comperitours of the Scipions, of Rome. The which shewed no lesse worthinesse in the defence of Carthage, the oures did courage in the amplifying of Rome. Tel me Faustine, may not such suspicion fal vpon your doughter, though her vertue succour her in the peril, and her honestie assure her person? I wil discouer a secret thing to you. Ther is nothing that can chaunce euyl to a woman, if she be enuironed with feminine shamefastnes. Greatly they desire, and with much importuntye they procure those thinges which highly may be attayned. There is nothing so certaine as this, that the wealth of an other, is the cause of his owne euil. And Faustine, ye know, that the most honest women, by our malyce are most desired. Certainly their shamefastnes, and keeping close, be arrowes in defence of our honestie. We reade not that the bloud, riches, nor beauty of the vnhappie matrone Lucrece, were the cause that she was desired: but the beautie of her bysage, the grauitye of her personne, the honestie of her lyuing, the keeping of her selfe close in her house, the spendyng of her time and credite among her neighboures, & the great renoune y she had among straungers, prouoked the folish Tarquine to comit with her adulterpe by force. What thinke you? wher of came this? I shal shew you. We that be euyl, are so euyl, that we vse euil the goodnes of them that be good. The fault hereof is not in the Ladyes of Rome, but rather in the immortal goddes. Their cleane honestie, declareth our cruel malice. Faustine, you say your doughter is to yong to be married. Do you not know, that the good father oughte to endoctrine his sonnes frome their age: and to prouide for his doughters whyles they be yonge? Of a trouth, if the fathers be fathers, and the mothers mothers: as sone as the goddes haue geuen them a daughter, forthwith they ought to be myndfull therof, and neuer forget it, til they haue prouided her a husband. The fathers ought not to tary for riches, nor the mother for her linage, the better to mary them: so what with the one and the other, the time passeth, and the doughter wareth aged: and in this maner they be to old to be married, and to lyue alone they cannot, so that they themselues liue in paine, the fathers in thought, and the parentes in suspicion least they should be cast away. What great ladies haue I knowen, y doughters of great senatours, which not for fault of richs, nor of vertues in their persons, but al only for differring of time, and dryng from one houre to an other, so that at last sodaine death come to the fathers, and no prouision was made for the doughters. So that some were couered vnder y earth, after their death, & others buried with forgetfulnes, being alyue. Cyther I lye, or els I haue red in the lawes of the Rhodians these wordes.

We commaund the father in maryinge tenne sonnes, to trauaile but one daye: but to mary one vertuous doughter let hym trauaile ten yeaeres, yea and hazarde his bodie in the water vppe to the chinne, sweate droppes of bloud,

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of bloude, alter the stomake, disherite all his sonnes, lose his goodes, and aduenture his person. These words in this law were pitiful for the daughters, & no lesse graue for the sonnes. For .x. sonnes by the law of men, are bound to go ouer al the world: but the daughter by this good law, ought not to go out of the house. I say mozeouer, that as things vnstable thert falling, so like wise it chaunceth to yong damosels, which thinketh al their time lost and superfluous, vnto the day of their mariage. Homere sayth, it was the custome of ladies of Grece to count the yerres of their life, not from the time of their birth, but from the time of their mariage. As if one demaunded a Grecian her age, she would aunswere. 20. yerres, if it were. 20. sith she was married: though it wer. 60. yerres sith she was boine. Affirming after they had a house to gouerne and to commaund, that day she beginneth to liue. The Melon after it is ripe, and abydeth still in the gardeine, cannot escape, but eyther it must be gathered, or els it rotteth. I say the mayden that tarieth long tyll she be married, can not escape eyther to be taken, or infamed. I wil saye no moze. As sone as the grapes be ripe, it behoueth that they be gathered: so it is necessary that the woman that is come to perfect age be married. And the father that doth this, casteth peril out of his house, bringeth himselfe out of care, and getteth much contentacion of his daughter.

¶ Of a letter whych the Emperour Marcus Aurelius sent to Piramon hys special frend, to comfort him in his troubles. Cap. vii.

MArke oratour Romaine, boine at mount Celio, to Piramon of Lion, my great frend, desireth health to thy person, and strengthe and vertue against thy sinister fortune. In the thirde kalendes of Januarie I recepued thy letter, wherby I perceiue thou hast recepued one of myne. I regard not much thy words, but I esteame greatlye thy meanyng. So that without declaring therof, I haue gathered the sentence. Reason would, because I haue wryten so often to the, that thou shouldeste the better vnderstand me: but thou art so slouthful, & though I call the, thou wilt not heare: nor though I strike the, thou wilt not fele. But now to come to the purpose. Thou knowest Piramon how nere we be in parentage, aunciet in frendship, stedfast in loue, and tender of herts, & how faithfull in al things, wherin one true frend might proue another. Thou remembreth well, when we were at Rhodes, that we dwelled together in one house, and did eate at one table: & al that thou thoughtest, I did it in effect: and that I sayd, thou neuer gaine-saydest. Certainly thou were in my harte, and I in thine entrailes. I was thine, and thou were myne. We being together, it semed to al other that we were but one, & of one wil. What a matter is this? Thou writest how thou art heauy, & yet thou doest not tel the cause why. Thou complaynest & thou art almost dead, and thou shewest me not who taketh from the thy life. If thou wilt not shew to me thy troubles, sith thou art my frende, I wil thou know that I demaund it of right. If thou wilt not, I wyl that thou know, that the pitiful gods haue determyned, that al pleasures & ioye shal departe from my house: and that al heuines & sorowes shal be lodged in my person. Sith I am prince of al honoz in tribulacion, if thou wouldest, thou canst not escape out of my siegnoy. For if thou complaine that thou art unhappye in fortune, then I esteeme my selfe to be happie in unhappines. I demaund one thyng

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thing of the: when hast thou sene me haue sufficient, and thou nede? when hast thou sene me slepe, and thou wake: and when hast thou trauailed, and I rested? Of trouth sith the goods and persons are their owne proper, the trauailes and euil aduentures are alwaies common. One thing thou ough-
test to know, if in myne amytie thou wilt perseuer, that all my goodes are thine, & al thyne euyls are myne, sith thou was borne to pleasure, & I to trou-
ble. I say not this fainyngly: for thou haste had experience of me that when Maria thy sister died (who was no lesse vertuous then faire) thou perceuedst
wel when she was in earth couered dead, I was with sorowes ouerwhel-
med alpye, and at the sowne of my teares thine eyes daunced. Sythe thou
hast such confidence in my person, surely thou maist discouer to me thy paine.
Yet as often as I haue demaunded, there hath no faimed excuses wanted.
I require the, and desire the againe, and in the name of the Gods I pray the,
and in their names I coniure the, that thou powre al thy sorowes into mine
entrailes. For from that way that thou goest, I wil not depart one iote: if
thou goest, I wil go: if thou rest, I wil rest: if thou worke I wil worke: if
thou leaue of, I wil do the same: if thou wilt die, know thou I wil not liue.
Loke frend what thou wilt do: For thy troubles & myne, torment both one
hart. If thou haue displeasure, al things dysplease me: if thou wepe, I sweer
fro henceforth neuer to laugh: if thou discharge þ of thy paine, fro henceforth
I shal take it for myne: if thou go alone, I wil forsake company, and forth-
with lyue soly rarilie. What wilt thou that I should desire? For al that euer
thou wylt I wyl. Thou complainest that in al thy trauayles thou canst find
no parent to remedy the. nor frend to councel the. I sweare to the frend Pe-
ramon, that of these, ii. things I haue as great nede in my house, as thou hast
sorow in thine. I know wel the remedy should come by riches, and by coun-
cel, and consolacion of them that be wise. And by reason of my heauy desti-
nyes, slouth hath taken from me the knowledg of wisdom: and fortune
wil not permitt me to haue great riches. Certainly I wepe for my myserie,
and yet there is but smal remedy in me.

Thou sayst in thy letter, that thy neryghbours and frends in promysinge
haue behight the many things: but in performing it they do nothyng. Here-
of I maruaile not, for the vertuous hand is not bound to make the tongue
a soole. Truly our fete daunce, our hands should worke at the sowne of the
tongue: our lyfe endeth in few days, and our renoume in fewer.

Promyse is an auuncient custome among the children of vanytie, and of cu-
stome the tongue speaketh hastely, and the hands worke at leislure. Now let
vs speake more particularly. Thou oughtest not to complayne, in that thou
findest not but in few, that dyuers haue founde in the alone: it haue bene a
custome to receiue merelpe, and willyngly, but to geue slowly, and with e-
uyl wil. They that be presumptuous do the one, & they whych be the slouth-
ful do the other. The Grekes saye, that he that promyseth, and is longe in
fulfyllinge, is but a slacke frende.

We Romaynes say, that he is much better that denyeth forth with, because
he doth not deceiue him that asketh. In this case I saye, he that maye
geue and geueth not, is an open ennemye: and he that promyseth forth-
with, and is longe before hee perfourme it, it is but a suspicious frende
what

what nede wordes to our frendes, when we may succour the with works? It is not right, to whom we geue our hartes, which is the best thing of our heartes: that we geue him our tongue, which is the worst thing of our liues. In good sothe the gods wyll not suffer in the place of amitie, to desire any thing of our frende in haste, and to be driuen of with long delaying. Plato in his lawes saith, we commaunde that in our gouerning, politike counsaile be geuen to them that be in prosperitie, to the intent that they decaie not: and to succour them that be in heuines and trouble, to the intent that they dispaire not. Certainly vnder these wordes are comprised diuers great sentences. Thou knowest well, my frende Piramon, that swete wordes comfort the harte but litle, that is in tribulation, vnlesse there be some good works therewith. I wyll not denye, but that they to whome we haue geuen our good wylls in the tyme of our prosperitie, be bounde to geue vs of their goodes, and to shewe vs fauour in our aduersitie. I demaunde one thyng of thee, wherefore holdest thou a presumptuous licence to demaunde, and reproveest on the other parte the libertie of denyng? Truly as the shamefast man should not haue deny, in any of his requestes being honest: so the shameles and importunate man should be denyed, what so euer he demaundeth. Thou maiest knowe, if thou knowe it not my frende Piramon: that to attayne to euery thyng that is demaunded, belongeth onely to the Gods. To geue all thing that is demaunded, is the signe of a seruauit: and to deny any thing, is a token of libertie. To wepe for that is denied, is the condition of tyrantes: to be vnthankfull for that is geuen, is the condition of Barbarians. And to haue a stoute harte, though thinges are denied, is the guise of the Romaines. One of the thinges wherein Caius Cesar shewed him selfe to be of high courage was, that he had most greatest ioy, when the senate denyed any thing desired by hym. Oftentimes he sayed. There is nothing where in Rome geueth more glozy nor renoume to my persone, then when I shewe my selfe most hasty to demaunde, and she moste stiffe to deny: to the intent that after she should knowe howe great my wyll is to desire, and howe that my strength is to acquire. He thinketh it is better to haue recourse to the gods with vertue, then to displease them with vices. And to geue contentation to thy reposed wil, when thou seest thy selfe in tribulation: and that thy demaundes of the gods & of men be frustrate, thou oughtest to measure it with a right measure, & to wey it in a right balaunce, the many things which thei haue geuen thee, & the few thinges which thei haue denied thee. O how vncourteous be we to the gods, & vngratulations to men, when we minish with forgetfulness that we haue receiued of them: and that litle that hath bene denied vs, we augmente with complaintes? frende Piramon, I am beguiled, if thou be not fifty yeares of age, and all that season thou haste done nothing but receiued giftes: and yet for all that, I haue not sene thee doe one dayes seruise. Certainly it is no reason to complayne of eight dayes of euyl fortune, beyng fifty yeares of age. Thou sayest in thy letter howe thou haste muche payne: because thou knowest all thy neyghbours to be enuyous. In good sothe I haue payne for thy payne, and of thy marueplyng, I haue great marueple. For all admiration proceadeth of aboundaunce of ignorance, and faulte of experience.

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Doeth the quicke vnderstanding of men rule the life of them that be mortall, that they neede not to thinke of the trauaile to come, hauinge in their handes present remedy? If they be hungry, they may eate: when they are colde, they may warme them: if they be drowly, they may scape: when they be wery, they may reſte: when they are ſicke, they may be healed: and when they are heauy, they may reioyce. In ſuch maner, that the careful yſe paſſeth, ſome to make tiltes and liſtes, ſome to make armour and ſcaffolds, ſome to inuente newe ginnes, and ſome to repaire bulwarkes. I ſaye the world and the fleſhe doe nought els but fighte againſt vs, & we haue nede at all times to defende vs from them. All theſe remedies are againſt the trauaile of the fleſhe. But what ſhall we doe, that the curſedneſſe of enuie endeth not among all theſe? Curſed is that wealth, that euery man enuieth. Certainly againſt enuy is no fortreſſe, nor caue to hyde, nor highe hyl to mounte on, nor thicke woode to ſhadowe in, nor ſhippe to ſcape in, nor horſe to beare away, nor money to redeme vs. Enuy is ſo venenious a ſerpente, that there was neuer mortall man among mortalles, that could ſcape from the byting of her toothe, ſcratching of her nayles, deſpyling of her ſecte, and the caſtinge of her popſon. I ſweare to thee my friend Piramon, that ſuch as fortune liſteth by with great ryches, ſhe full of crueltie ſoneſt overthroweth. Enuy is ſo enuious, that to them whiche of her are moſt denied, and ſet fartheſt of: ſhe geueth moſt cruell ſtrokes with her feete. This vnhappy enuy preparcth popſon ſecretly for them that enioye great pleasures.

I haue red diuerſe bookes of Hebrew, Greke, Latine, and Caldei. And alſo I haue ſpoken with many excellent wyſe men, to ſee if there might be founde any remedy againſt an enuious man. I confeſſe the trueth: reade all that can be read, and imagen all that can be, demaunde all that can be demaunded: and ye ſhall finde none other cure againſt this curſed enuy, but to baniſhe vs fro all the proſperitie, and to dwell in the houſe of aduerſitie. How vnhappy are they that be in proſperitie? for iuſtly they that be ſet by in high eſtate, cannot ſlie from the peril of Scilla, without falling into the danger of Caribdis. They cannot ſcape the peryll, without caſting their treasures into the ſea. I ſaye y the malady of enuy wyl not ſuffer them to ſcape from death, and the medecine that is applied to them, wyl not aſſure their life. I cannot determine whiche is the beſt, or to ſaye more properly the worſt: extreme miſery without the danger of fortune, or extreme proſperitie that is alwayes threatned to fall. In this caſe to be ſo extreme I wyl not determine, ſithe in the one is a perilous life, and in the other renoume is ſure. I ſhall tell thee what wyſe Cicero ſayed, when he was purſued with many at Rome. Beholde you Romaines, I holde you not for ſo good, nor my ſelfe ſo euill, to ſaye the trouth alwayes, nor alwayes to make lies. I am certaine that ye beare me no enuy, for that I am not as ye be: but it is, becauſe ye can not be as I am. In this caſe I had rather that my enemies had enuy at my proſperitie, then my frendes at my ponertie.

This Oratour ſpake after the appetite of them that be in proſperitie, leaning to geue remedie to them that be ſorrowfull. And after this Cicero had ſene the fieldes of Farſale, he tooke other counsell and remedie, ſuche as pleaſed him in Rome. For though Caſar had graunted him his goodes, yet that turned

WRITTEN BY M. AVREL.

turned not his credence and renoume. Surely frende Piramon, I knowe no remedy to geue thee against enuy, sith thou seest al the world ful therof. we see how we be the sonnes of enuy, & we liue with enuy, & die with enuy, & he that leueth moste riches, leueth the greatest enuy. The auncient wyse men counsailed riche men, that they should haue poore folkes nere them: and they admonished the poore, that they should not dwell nere to the riche. And truly it is good reason. For the riches of riche mē, is the seede of enuy to the poore. And because the poore man lacketh, and the riche hath to muche, causeth discord among the people. I sweare by the gods immortall, frende Piramon, though they that be euill would that I sweare falsely, as muche as riches with thought nourisheth couetise, so much the enuious nourisheth enuy ther by. I tel the one thing, and that is, that it is no good counsell to flie enuy, & to auoyde the vertue contrary to the same. Homer saith, that in his time there were two Grekes extream in all extremities: the one was extream in riches, and therefore he was persecuted by enuy, & that was Achilles: and the other was sore noted of malice, but no man had enuy at him, and that was Thieftes. Certainly I had rather be Achilles with his enuy, then Thieftes without it. Thou knowest wel, that we Romaines searce not but for rest in our life, & for honoz after death. And sith it is so, it is not possible but the mā that euery man enuieth his renoume, ought to be exalted in the reste of his life. And sith I see those two thinges in thee, such as be my frendes taketh litle thought, for that thine enemies murmure against thee. Thou wyrttest to me how they of Lions doe well, and are mery: except thy selfe, that art heuy, and full of pensuenes. And sith they shew not to haue pleasure at thy displeasure, shew not thy self displeased with their pleasure. For it may chaunce one day they shal be sorowfull, when that thou arte mery: and so thou shalt be quite with them. In an euil persone there can be no greater euill, nor in a good mā a greater fault, then to be displeased with another mans wealth, & to take pleasure at another mans harme. And in case that all doe vs damage with enuy, yet much moze a frend, then the enemy. For of mine enemy I will beware, & for feare I wil withdrawe: but my frende with his amitie may beguile me, & I by my fidelitie shall not perceiue. Among all mortall enemies there is none worse, then a frende that is enuious of my felicitie. Piramon my frend, I wil conclude, if thou wilt withdraw thy self fro enemies, then kepe cōpany with thine own familiar frendes. I wote not what to write moze to thee, but with al my harte I lament thy heuines. Thou knowest howe thy niece Brusia slew with a dagger her owne husband. I was very sovy for her death, and for the renoume that she left behinde her. Flauius Priscus thine vncle is newly made censoure. The proces betwene thy brother Formio & Britio is determined by the senate, and it pleaseth me right well, that they be frendes, and euery man well contented. The booke intituled the consolation of heauines I haue ended, and layde it in the capitol. I haue witten it in Greke, and that is the cause that I sent it not to thee. But I doe sende thee a riche swerde, & a faire girdle. Faustine my wyfe doth salute thee, & sendeth thy wife two sclauens. The gods be my keepers, & comfort thee in thy present heuines.

Marke the man fortunat, to Piramon sore discomforted.

A letter

CERTEN LETTERS

¶ A letter sent by the Emperour Marcus Aurelius to Catullus Censorius, that was so sorrowfull for the death of Verissimus the Emperours sonne, worthy to be red and noted. Cap. viii.

MArke the younge, and newe Censour, saluteth thee, olde and aunciente Catullus, I haue wrytten two letters to thee, and thou hast made answer to none of them. If it be because thou couldest not, I holde my peace: if it be because thou wouldest not, then I complayne me: if it be for forgetfulnes, the I accuse thee: if it be because thou settest litle by me, then I doe appeale thee: if thou hast dreamed that thou hast wrytten, I saye beleue not in dreames: and if thou wylt not it shoulde auayle to glorifie me, as a frende, yet thou mightest wryte it, aduertising and repreuing me as the father to the sonne: younge vertuous persones are bounde to honour auncient wyse men, and no lesse olde wyse men ought to endoctrine the younge people, and very young as I am. A iust thing it is, that the new forces of youth, supplie and serue them that are woine by age. For their longe experience instructeth our tender age, and naturall ignorance. Youthe is euill applied, when it aboundeth in force of the body, & wanteth the vertues of the mind: and age is honoured, wherein the force dieth outwarde, whereby vertues quickeneth the more inwarde. We may see the tree, when the fruite is gathered, the leaues fall, and when flowers dye, then more grene and perfecte are the rootes. I meane, that when the first season of youth is passed, whiche is the Sommer time: then commeth age called wynter, and purifieth the fruite of the fleshe, and the leaues of fauour fall, the flowers of delite wither, and the bynes of hope dye outwarde, then it is ryght, that much better are the rootes of good workes within. They that be olde and auncient, ought to prayse their good workes, rather then their white heares. For honour ought to be geuen for the good life, and not for the whyte head. Glorious is that common wealth, and fortunate is that prince, that is lord of younge men to trauaile, and auncient persones to counsell. As to regarde the sustaininge of the naturalitie of the lyfe, in like wyse ought to be considered the policy of gouernaunce, the whiche is: that al the frutes come nor dye not al at once, but when one beginneth, another faileth. And in this maner, ye that be auncient teaching vs, and we be obedient, as olde fathers and younge pulletes, being in the neste of the Senate: Of some their fethers fallinge, and other younge fethered: and where as the olde fathers can not flie, their trauayles are mainteined by their tender chyldren. Frende Catullus, I purposed not to wryte one lyne this yere, because my penne was troubled with thy flouthe: but the weakenes of my spirite, and the great peril of myne offices, alwayes called on me to demaunde thy counsell. This priuiledge the olde wyse men holde in their houses where they dwell. They are alwayes lordes ouer them that be simple, and are sclaues to them that be wyse. I thinke thou hast forgotten me, thinking that sithe the death of my dere sonne Verissimus, the time hath bene so long, that I should forget it. Thou hast occasion to thinke so, for many thinges are cured in time, which reason can not helpe. But in this case I can not tell which is the greatest, thy trüpery, or my dolour. I sweare to thee by the gods immortall, that the hungry wommes are not so puissaunt in the entrailes of the vnhappy chyldre: as the bitter sorowes are in the heauy harte of

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hart of the woofull father. And it is no comparifon, for the fonne is dead but one tyme, and the heauy father dieth euery moimente. What wylt thou more that I fould faye? But that one ought to haue enuy of his death, and compaffion of my lyfe, becaufe in dyeng he lyueth, and in the lyuing I dye. In the mifchaunces of lyfe, and in the great vnconftancie of fortune, whereas her gyles profiteth but litle, and her ftrengethe leffe, I thinke the beft remedy is to fele it as a man, and diffimule it as difcrete and wyfe. If all things as they be felt at heart, fhould be fhewed outward with the tongue, I thinke that the wyndes fhoulde breake the hearte with fygninges, and water all the earth with weeping. If the corporal eyes fawe the fozowe of the heart, I fwear to thee, they fhould fee more of a drop of bloud fwearinge within, then all the weeping that appeareth without. There is no comparyfon of the great dolours of the body, to the leaft greife of the mynde. For all trauayle of the body, men may finde fome remedy: but if the heauy heart fpeake, it is not heard: if it wepe, it is not fene: if it complaine, it is not beleued. What fhall the pooze harte doe? Abhorre the lyfe, wherewith it dieth: and defire death, wherewith it liueth. The highe vertues among noble vertuous people, confifte not all onely to fuffer the paffions of the body, but alfo to diffimule them of the foule. They be fuche, that alter the humours, and fhewe it not outward: they bypunge a feuer without altering of the poulce, they alter the ftomacke, they make vs to knele to the earth, to fuffer the water by to the mouthe, and to take death without leauing of the lyfe: and finally they length our life, to the intente that we fhould haue no more trauayle, and denieth vs our graue, to the intent that we fhould not reffe. But confidering, as I am troubled with fozowes, fo am I boyde of confolations: for when I haue either defire of the one, or werynes of the other, I vfe alwayes this remedy: to diffimule with the tongue, to wepe with the eyes, and to fele it with my heart. I paffe my lyfe, as he that hoped to lefe all that he hath, & neuer to recouer that that is lofte. I faye this, though ye fee me not now make funeral wepinges and waylinges, as I did at the death of my fonne: yet thinke not but it doeth bren my heart, fo that with the great heate inward, is confumed the humiditie of the eyes, for it brenneth al my fpirites within. Thou mayeft knowe what an honozable father suffereth, to lefe a good childe: in all thinges the gods be liberal, except in geuing vs vertuous chyldren. Where there is aboundaunce of great eftates, there is greateft fcarfite of good inheritours. It is a dolefull thing to heare, and greater pitie to fee, howe thefe fathers clyme to haue rycheffe, and to fee their chyldren descende to haue viciousnes. To fee the fathers honoure their chyldren, and the chyldren to infame their fathers: yea and the fathers to geue reffe to the chyldren, and the chyldren to geue trouble to their fathers: yea and sometyme the fathers die for fozowe that their chyldren die fo fone, and we fee their chyldre wepe, becaufe their fathers die fo late. What fhould I faye more, but that the honoure and ryches that the fathers haue procured with great thought, the chyldren confume with litle care. I am certayne of one thing, that the fathers may gather ryches with ftrengethe and crafte to fufteyne their chyldren, but the Gods wyl not haue durable, that that is begonne with euyl intention: as that is, whiche is wonne to the pzeiudice of other, and poffeffed with an euyl heyre.

And

CERTEN LETTERS

And though the heauy destinies of the father permit, that the ryches be lefte to their children, to serue them in all their vyces for their pastime: at last yet according to their merites, the Gods wyll that the heire and heritage should perishe. Marke what I saye, I had two sonnes, Comodus, and the prince Verissimus, the yonger is dead, that was greatest in vertue. Alway I imagined, that whyle the good liued, I should be pooze: and now that the euill remaineth, I thinke to be riche. I will tell thee the cause, the Gods are so pitifull, that to a pooze father they neuer geue euill childe: and to a ryche father they neuer geue a good childe. And as in all prosperitie there chaunceth alwayes some sinister fortune, either sone or late: so therewith fortune doth arme and apparell vs, wherein she seeth we shall fall to our greatest hurte. And therefore the Gods permit, that the couetous fathers, in gathering with greates traunple, should die with that hurte, to leaue their ryches to their vicious children. I wepe as muche for my childe that the Gods haue left me, as for him that they haue taken from me. For the small estimation of him that lyueth, maketh immortall memozy of him that is dead. The ill rest and conuersation of them that liue, cause vs to sighe for the company of them that be dead. The ill is alway desired for his illness to be dead, and the good alway meriteth to haue his death bewayled. I saye my frende Catullus, I thought to haue lost wy wytte, when I sawe my sonne Verissimus die: but I tooke comforte againe: for either he of me, or I of him must see the ende, considering that the Gods did but lende him to me, and gaue him not, and howe they be inheritours, I to haue the vse of the fruite. For all thinges is measured by the iust wyll of the Gods, and not by our inordinate wylls and appetites. I thinke when they toke away from me my childe, I restored him to another, and not that they haue taken myne. But lithe it is the wyll of the Gods to geue rest to the good childe, and hurte the father because he is euill: I yelde thankes to them for the season that they haue suffered me to enioye his life, and for the pacience that I haue taken for his death. I desire them to mitigate therewith the chasticement of their yre. And I desire, such they haue taken away the lyfe from this childe: to plante good customes in the prince myne other sonne. I knowe what heauinesse thou haste taken in Rome for my sorow. I praye the Gods to sende thee ioy of thy children, and that I may rewarde thee with some good pleasure, for that thou hast wept for my payne. My wyfe Faustine saluteth thee, and truly thou wouldest haue had compassion to see her, for she wepe th with her eies, and sigheth with her harte, and with her handes hurteth her selfe, and curseth with her tongue. She eateth nothing on the daye, nor sleapeth in the night. She loueth darkenes, and abhorreth light, and thereof I haue no marueyle: for it is reason that for that was nourished in her entrayles, she should fele sorowe at her hart. And the loue of the mother is so strong, that though her childe be dead, and layed in graue, yet alwayes she hath him quicke in her harte. It is a general rule, that the persone that is entierly beloued, causeth euer great grieve at his death. And as for me, I passe the life right sorowfully, though I shew a ioyfull face, yet I want mirth at my harte. And among wyse men being sorowful, and shewing their faces mery, is none other thing but burying the quicke, hauing no sepulture. And I sweare by the Gods immortall, I feele
much

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much more than I haue saide. And diuers times me thinke I should fall downe, because I dare not wepe with myne eyes, yet I fele it inwardly in my harte. I would sayne common with thee in diuers thinges. Come I praye thee to Briette, to the entent that we may speake together. And sithe it hath pleased the Gods to take my chyldre fro me, that I loued so well, I would counsaile with thee, that arte my louing frende. But few dayes passed, there came thither an Embassadour fro the Rhodes, to whom I gaue the moste parte of my horses: and fro the farthest parte of Spayne, there were brought me eight, of the which I send the foure. I would they were such as might please y. The gods be thy saulsegard, & send me & my wife som cōfort.

Marcus Aurelius right sorowfull, hath written this with his owne hande.

A letter sent by Marcus Aurelius Emperour to Catullus Censorius, of the newes which at that time were at Rome. Cap. ix.

Marcus the new Censor, to thee Catullus now aged, sendeth salutations. There are ten daies paste, that in the temple of God Ianus I receiued thy letter. And I take that same God to witnes, that I had rather haue sene thy person. Thou desirest that my letters may be longe, but the shortnes of tyme maketh me to aunswere thee more brievely, than I would. Thou wyllest me to geue thee knowledge of the newes here. Therto I answer: that it were better to demaunde, if there were any thing remayning here in Rome, or Italy, that is olde. For now by our euill destinies, all that is good and olde, is ended: and newe thinges, which be euil, nowe begynne. The Emperour, the Consul, the Tribune, the Senatours, the Ediles, the Flamines, the Pretours, the Centurions, all thinges be newe, saue the vertues which be old. We passe the time in making newe officers, in deuising newe counsailes, & in rayling newe subsidies. In suche wyse, that there hath bene now mo nouelties within these foure yerres, then in time passed in 400. yerres. We now assemble together. 300. to counsell in the capitol, and there we bragge and boiste, sweare and promise, that we will extalte the vertuous, and subdue the vitious, fauour the right, and not winke at the wrong, punish the euil, and rewarde the good, repayre olde, and edefie newe, plucke vices by the rootes, and to plant vertues to amend the olde, and so low the good, reprove tyrantes, and assist the pooze: and when that we are gone from thence they that spake beste wordes, are often taken with the worst dedes. Oh wicked Rome, that now a daies hath such senatours, which in sayinge we wil doe, we wil doe, passe their life: and so euery man seeking his owne profite, forgetteth the weale publyke. Oftentimes I am in the senate to behold others as they regard me: & I maruaile much to heare the eloquence of their wordes, the zeale of iustice, and the iustification of their persons: and after that I come thence, I am ashamed to see their secret extortions, their damnable thoughtes, and their il workes. And yet ther is an other thing of more marueile, & not to be suffered: that such persones as are most defamed, and vse most wicked vices, with their most damnable incenciōs, make their auowes to doe moste extreame iustice. It is an infallible rule, and of humain malice most vsed: that he that is most hardy to comit greatest crimes, is most cruel to geue sentence against an other for the same offence.

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We thinke that we beholde our owne faultes, as thorowe small nettes, whiche cause thinges to seame the lesser: but we behold the faultes of other in the water, that causeth them to seame greater. O how many haue I sene condemned by the Senate, for one small faulte done in all their life, and yet they them selues commit the same faulte euery houre. I haue red, that in the tyme of Alexander the great, there was a renowned pirate on the sea, called Dionides, which robbed and drowned all shippes that he could get: and by commaundement of this good king Alexander, there was an army sent forth to take him. And when he was taken and presented to Alexander, the king saide vnto him: howe me Dionides, why doest thou spoyle on the sea, that no shippe can sayle out of the east into the west for thee? The pirate answered & sayd: if I spoyle the sea, why doest thou Alexander robbe both the sea and lande also? O Alexander, because I fight with one ship in the sea, I am called a thefe: and because thou robbest with two hundred shippes on the sea, and troublest all the worlde with 2000000. men, thou art called an Emperour.

I sweare to thee Alexander, if fortune were as fauourable to me, and the gods as extreame against thee: they would geue me thine empire, and geue thee my litle shippe, and then peraduenture I should be a better kinge then thou art, and thou a worse thefe than I am. These were high wordes, and wel receiued of Alexander: and of trouth to see if his wordes were correspondent to his promises, he made him of a pirate a great captaine of an army, & he was more vertuous on land, than he was cruel on the sea. I promyse thee Catullus, Alexander did right wel therein, and Dionides was to be praised greatly for that he had said. Now adaies in Italy, they that robbe openly, are called lordes: and they that rob priuely, are called theues. In the annales of Liuius I haue red, that in the second troublous warre punike, betwene the Romans & Carthagians, there came an Embassadour Lusitan sent from Spain, to treat of accomde of peace. When he came to Rome, he proued before the senate, that sithe he entred into Italy, he had bene ten tymes robbed of his goodes: and whiles he was at Rome, he had sene one of them that robbed him, hange vpon another that had defended him. He seing so euill a deeде, and howe the thefe was saued without iustice: as a desperate man tooke a cole, and wrote vpon the gibet as foloweth. O gibet, thou art planted among theues, nourished among theues, squared of theues, wrought of theues, made of theues, set among theues, & hanged full of innocentes, with innocentes. The originall of these wordes are in the history of Liuius, where the whole Decade was written with black inke, and these wordes with red vermilion. I can not tel what other newes I should sende thee, but that euery thinge is so newe and so tender, and is ioynd with so euill sement, that I feare me, all will fall sodainly to the ground. I tell thee, that some are sodainly risen within Rome vnto honour, whose fall I dare rather assure, then life. For al buildinges hastily made, can not be sure. The longer a tree is kept in his kinde, the longer it will be ere it be olde. The trees, whose fruite we eate in sommer, do warme vs in wynter. O howe many haue we sene wherof we haue marueyled of their rising, and bene abashed of their falles. They haue growen as a whole piece, and sodainly wasted as a skumme. Their felicitie hath bene but a short moment, and their infortune as a long life.

Finally

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Finally they haue made a mylle, and layde on the stones of encrease, and af-
 ter a litle grinding, left it vnocupied all the whole yeare after. Thou know-
 est well my frende Catullus, that we haue seene Cincius Fuluius in one yeare
 made consul, and his children tribunes, his wyfe a matrone for young may-
 dens, and beside that, made keper of the capitol; and after that, not in one yere
 but the same daye we sawe Cincius beheaded in the place, his children drow-
 ned in Tiber, his wyfe banished fro Rome, his house rased down to y^e ground,
 and all his goodes confisked to the common treasury. This rigorous exam-
 ple we haue not red in any booke, to take a copy of it, but we haue seene it
 with our eyes, to kepe it in our myndes. As the nations of people are varia-
 ble, so are the conditions of men diuers. And me thinketh this is true, seing
 that some loue, some hate, & that some seke, some eschewe; and that some sette
 litle by, other make much store. In such wise, that al can not be content with
 one thing, nor some with al thinges can not be satisfied. Let euery man chose
 as him liste, and embrace the world when he wyl, I had rather mount a soft
 pace to the falling, and if I can not come therto, I wyl abyde by the waye,
 rather then with the sweate to mount hastily, and then to tumble downe
 headlong. In this case lithe mens hartes vnderstande it, we nede not to
 wyte further with penne. And of this matter marke not the litle that I
 doe say, but the great Deale that I wyl say. And sith I haue begon, and that
 thou art in straunge landes, I wil wyte thee al the newes from hence. This
 yeare the .xxv. day of May, there came an Embassadour out of Asia, saynge
 he was of the Isle of Cetin, a baron right propre of body, ruddy of aspect, and
 hardy of courage. He considered being at Rome, though the sommers dayes
 were long, yet wynter would drawe on, and then would it be daungerous
 sayleng into this Isle, and sawe that his busines was not dispatched: On a
 daie being at the gate of the senate, seing al the senators entre into the Ca-
 pitol, without any armour vpon them, he as a man of good spirite, and zela-
 tour of his countrey, in the ptesence of vs all, sayde these wordes. O fathers
 conscript. O happy people. I am come from a straunge countrey to Rome,
 onely to see Rome: and I haue founde Rome, without Rome. The walles
 wherewith it is inclosed, hath not brought me hyther, but the fame of them
 that gouerne it. I am not come to see the treasury, wherein is the treasure
 of all Realmes: but I am come to see the sacred senate, out of the whiche is-
 sueth counsaile for all men. I came not to see ye, because ye vanquish all o-
 ther: but because I thought you more vertuous then all other. I dare well
 saye one thyng, except the Gods make me blynde, and trouble myne vnder-
 standing, ye be not Romaines of Rome, nor this is not Rome of the Ro-
 maines your predecessours. We haue heard in our Isle, that diuers Real-
 mes haue bene wonne by the valiantnes of one, and conserued by the wyl-
 dome of all the Senate: and at this houre ye are more lyke to lose, then to
 wyne as your fathers did. All their exerceyse was in goodnes, and ye that
 are their chyldren, passe all your tyme in ceremonies. I saye this, ye Ro-
 maines, because ye haue almoste killed me with laughing at you, to see how
 ye doe all as muche your diligence, to leaue your armure without the gate of
 the Senate, as your predecessours did take to them to defende the Empire.
 What profite is it to you, to leaue of these armours which hurte the bodies,

†.x.ij.

and to

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and to put on them those which flee al the world: what profiteth it to y care-
ful suiter, that the senatour entred vnarmed into y senate without sword
or dagger: & his hart entred into y senate armed with malice? O Romaines,
I wil ye know, that in our ylle we esteeme you not as armed captaines, but
as malicious senatours. You feare vs not with sharpe grounden swordes,
and daggers, but with hard hartes & venemous tongues. If ye should in the
senate put on harness, & therewith take away your liues, it were but a small
losse: seeing that ye susteine not the innocents, nor dispatche not the businesse
of suiters. I can not suffer it. I can not tell in what state ye stande here at
Rome: for in our ylle we take armour from fooles, whether your armoures
are taken away as from fooles or mad folkes, I wot not. If it be done for
ambitiousnes, it cometh not of Romaines, but of tyrantes: that wrangler
and treful folke should be iudges ouer the peaceable, & the ambitious ouer the
meke, & the malicious ouer the simple? If it be done because ye be fooles, it is
not in the lawes of the gods, that three hundred fooles should gouerne three
hundred thousand wise men. It is a long season that I haue taried for mine
answer and licence, & by your delaies I am now farther of, then I was
the first day. We bring oyle, hony, saffron, wood, and timber, salte, silver. And
sold out of our ylle into Rome, & ye wyl that we go els where to seke iustice.
We wil haue one lawe to gather your rentes, and another to determine our
iustice. We wyl that we pay our tributes in one day, & ye wil not discharge
one of our errandes in a whole yeare. I require you Romaines, determine
your selues to take away our liues, and so we shall ende: or els heare our co-
plaintes, to the entent that we may seeue you. For in another maner it may
be, that ye know by hearing with your eares, which peradventure ye would
not see with your eyes. And if ye thinke my wordes be out of measure, so
that ye wyl remedy my countrie, I let not by my lyfe. And thus I make
an ende. Verely frende Catullus, these be the wordes that he spake to the se-
nate which I gate in wytyng. I say of trouthe, that the hardnesse that the
Romaines were wont to haue in other countreis, the same (as now) straun-
gers haue in Rome. There were that saide that this Embassadour should be
punished, but God forbid, that for sayinge trouthe in my presence, he shoulde
haue bene corrected. It is enough & to much to, to suffer these euils, though
we flee not, and persecute those that aduertise and warne vs of them. The
shepe are not in surtie of the wolfe, but if the shephearde haue his dogge
with him. I meane, dogges ought not to leaue barking, for to awake the
shepherdes. There is no God commaundeth, nor lawe counsaileth, nor co-
mon wealth suffereth, that they whiche are committed to chastice lyers,
should hange them that saye trouthe. And lithe the senatours shewe them
selues men in their liuing, and sometime more humaine than other that be
Sclaues, who els should deliuer them from chasticement? Oh Rome, and
no Rome, hauing nothing but the name of Rome: where is now become
the noblenesse of thy triumphes, the glory of thy children, the rectitude of thy
iustice, and the honour of thy temples? For as now they chastice him more
that murmureth against one only senatour, than they do them y blasphemers
gods at once. For it greueth me more to see a senatour, or cōfesse to be worst of
al other: than it displeaseth me y it should be said, y he is the best of all other.

For of

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For of a trouth I saye to thee my frende Catullus, that as nowe we nede not to seke to the Gods in the temples, for the Senatours are made gods in our handes. There is difference betwene them that be immortall, and they that be mortall. For the Gods neuer doe thing that is cuill, and the Senatours doe neuer any thinge well. The Gods neuer lye, and they neuer saye trouthe. The gods pardon often, and they neuer forgeue. The gods are content to be honoured fīue times in the yeare, and the Senatours would be honoured ten times a daye. What wilt thou that I saye more? but what so euer the Gods doe, they ought to be prayed: and the Senatours in all their workes deserue to be reprobued. Finally I conclude, that the Gods are constant in euery thing, and erre and faile in nothing: and the Senatours assure nothing, but erre in all thing. Onely in one thing the Senatours are not of reason to be chasticed, and that is: when they intende not to amende their faultes, they will not suffer the Oratours to wast their time to shewe them the trouth. Be it as may be, I am of the opinion, that what man or woman withdra weeth their eares from hearing of trouth, impossible it is for them to applie their hartes to loue any vertues: be it Censore that iudgeth, or Senatour that ordeineth, or Emperour that commaundeth, or Consul that executeth, or Oratour that preacheth. No mortall man, take he neuer so good heede to his workes, nor reason so well in his desires, but that he deserueth some chastisement for some cause, or counsaile in his doinges. And sithe I haue written to thee thus of others, I wyl somewhat speake of my selfe, because of the words of thy letter I haue gathered, that thou desirest to know of my persone. Knowe thou for certaine, that in the kalendes of January, I was made Censore in the senate, the which office I desired not, nor I haue not deserued it. The opinion of al wylse men is, that no man, without he lack witte, or surmounteth in folly, wil gladly take on him the burdein & charges of other men. A greater case it is, for a shamefast man to take on him an office to please euery man: for he must shewe a countenaunce outwarde, contrary to that he thinketh inward. Thou wilt say, that the good are ordeined to take the charge of offices. O vnhappy Rome, that hath willed to take me in such wylse, as to be the best in it. Greuous pestilence ought to come for the that be good, sithe I am scaped as good amonge the euill. I haue accepted this office, not for that I had nede thereof, but to fulfil the comaundement of Antonius my graundfather. Haue no marueile of any thing that I do, but of that I leaue to be done. For euery man that is wedded to Faustine, there is no villany but he shall doe it. I sweare to thee, that sithe the daye we were wedded, me seemeth that I haue no wit. I leaue wedding for this tyme, & retourne to speake of offices. Surely a peaceible man ought to be in offices, though it be painfull: for as the offices are assured among them that be vertuous, so perillously goeth the vertuous folke among offices. And for the troth hereof, reckon what they wyne, & then thou shalt see what they loose. Say that is good, if thou knowest it, & heare the euil, if thou desire to know it. He that wyl take the charge to gouerne other, seketh thought and trouble for him selfe, enuy for his neighbours, spures for his enemies, pouertie for his rycheffe, & waking of theyes, perill for his body, ende of his dayes, & torment for his great renoume. Finally he seketh a waye to reiecte his frendes,

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and a repeale to recouer his enemies. O an vnhappy man is he, that taketh on him the charge of children of many mothers, for he shal be alwayes charged with thoughtes how he should content them all: full of sighes, because one hath to geue hym: feare that one should take from him, weping if he lese: and feare that they insame him. He that knoweth this, without long taring ought to set a bydle in his head. But I saye of one, as I say of another. For I wyl sweare, and thou wilt not deny it, that we may finde some nowe a daies, that had rather be in the parke to fight against the bulles, than be in suertie vpon the scaffold. Oftentimes I haue heard say: Go we to the Theaters to renne at the Bulles: go we to chalse the Hartes and wilde Bores: and when they come there, they renne away, not the beastes from them, but they from the beastes. In such wise as they went running, they retourne agayne fleeing. I saye, these ambitious persones procure to gouerne, and are gouerned: they commaunde, and are commaunded, they rule, and are ruled: and finally thinking to haue diuerse vnder their handes, these wretches put them selues vnder euery mans foote. For y remedy of al these perilles, my thought is comforted with one thing, and that is, without procuring or offering my selfe, the senate of their owne wyl hath commaunded me. In the. viii. table of our auncient lawes be these wordes. We commaunde that in our sacred senate, charge of iustice be neuer geuen to him that willingly offreth him self to it, but to suche as by great deliberation are chosen. This is certainly a iust lawe. For men now be not so vertuous, nor so louing to the comon wealth, that they wil forget their own quietnes & rest, doing damage to them selfe, to procure another mans profite. There is none so folish that wil leaue his wife children, and his own swete countrey, to goe into straunge countreis: but if he see him selfe among straunge people, thinking vnder the colour of iustice to seke for his own vtilite. I say not this without weping: that the princes with their smal study and thought, and the iudges with their couetise, haue vndermined and shaken downe the high walles of the pollicy of Rome. O my frende Catullus, what wilt thou that I should saye, but that our credence so minisheth, our couetise so largely stretcheth, our hardines so boldeth, our shamefastnes so shameles, that we prouide for iudges to go & rob our neighbours, as captaines against our enemies: I let thee to wit, wher as Rome was beloued for chastising the euil, now it is as much hated for spoiling the good. I do remember that I red, in the time of Dennis Siracusan, that ruleth al Sicile, ther came an Embassadour fro Rhodes to Rome, being of a good age, wel learned, & valiant in armes, & right curious to note al thinges. He came to Rome to se the maiesty of the sacred senate, the height of the high Capitol enuironned with the Collisset: the multitude of senators, the wisdom of y counsaillours, the glory of triumphes, the correction of the euil, the peace of the inhabitauntes, the diuersitie of nations, the aboundaunce of the maintenance, the order of the offices: and finally seing that Rome was Rome, he was demaunded howe he thought thereby. He answered and sayed. O Rome, at this present worlde thou art full of vertues and wyle men, hereafter thou shalt be furnished with fooles. Loe what highe and very hyghe wordes were these. Rome was seuen hundred yeares without any house of fooles, and nowe it hath bene three hundred yeares without one wyle or vertuous

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vertuous man. Loke what I say, it is no mockerie, but of trowth, if the pittiful Gods now a days did reise our predeceffours from death to lyfe, either they would not know vs for their children, or els they would attache vs for fooles. These be things vsed in Rome, but thou sendest no word of that is vsed in Agripine. I wil write nothing to the to put the to paine: write to me some thunge to reioyce me, if thy wife Dimisila chaunced wel of the flote that came out of Cetin with salt, oyle, and hony, I haue wel prouided for her. Wilt thou know that Flodius our vncle was cast downe by the rage of his horse, & is deceassed. Laercia & Colliodorus are frendes together, by occasion of a marriage, I do send the a goun, I pray to the gods to send the ioy therof. My wife Faulstine saluteth the. Recomend me to Iamiro thy son. The gods haue the in keeping, and sinister fortune be fro me.

Marcus, thy frend, to thee Catullus his owne.

¶ Marcus Aurelius writeth to the amorous ladies of Rome. Chap. r.

MArke oratour, Reading in Rhodes the art of humanity, to you amorous Ladies of Rome, wisheth health to your parsons, & amendmente of your desired liues. It was written to me that at y feast of the mother Berecynthia al you being present together, made a play of me, in which you layd my life for an example, & slaundered my renoume. It is told me, that Aulilina composed it, Lucia Fulua wrote it, & thou Toringua did sing it, and you altogether into the Threatre did present it. You brought me forth painted in sondy formes, with a booke in my hand tourned contrarie, as a fained philosopher: with a long tongue, as a bold speaker with our measure: with a horne in my head as a common cuckold: with a nettel in my hand, as a trembling louer: with a banner fallen downe, as a coward captain: with my berd halfe shauen, as a feminate man: with a cloth before my eyes, as a condemned foole: & yet not content with this, another day ye brought me forth portracted with another new deuple. Ye made a figure of myne, with seete of strawe, the legges of amber, the knees of wood, the thighes of brasle, the belly of horne, the armes of pitche, the hands of mace, the head of Iron, y eares of an asse, the eyes of a serpent, the heres of rotes iagged, y teeth of a cat, the tongue of a scorpion, & the forehead of lead, in which was writen in two lines these lettets. M.N.S.N.I.S.V.S. which in my opinyō signifieth this. This picture hath not so many metalles, as his life hath chaunges. This done, ye went to the riuer & tyed it to the head downeward a hole day, & if it had not bene for the good Lady Messelyne, I thinke it had bene tyed ther tyl now.

And now ye amorous Ladies haue writen me a letter, by Fuluius Fabricius, whych greued me nothing, but as an amorous man from y hands of ladies I accept it as a mockery. And to y intent I shold haue no laysure to thinke theron, ye send to demaund a questiō of me, y is: if I haue found in my bookes, of what, for what, from whence, when, for whom, & how women wer first made. Because my condiciō is to take mockes, for mockes, & sith you do desire it, I wil shew it you. Your frēds & mine haue writen to me, but especially your inballadour Fuluius hath instantly requyred me so to do. I am agreued with nothpyng and wyl hold my peace, saue to your letter onely I wyl make aunswere. And sith there hath bene none to aske the question, I protest to none but to you, amorous ladies of Rome, I sende my aunswere.

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And if any honest lady wil take the demaunde of you it is a token that she doth enuy the office that ye be of. For of trouth, that Lady which sheweth her selfe annoyed with your paine openly, from henceforth I condemne her that she hath some fault in secret. They that be on the stage, feare not the ro ring of the bul: they that be in the Doungeon feare not the shot of the cannon. I wil say, the woman of good lyfe, feareth no mans slaunderous tongue. The good matrons may kepe me for their perpetual seruaunt, and the euyl, for their chiefe enemy: I aunswere. It is expedyent you know of what the first women were made. I say, that according to the aduersities of nations that are in the world, I find dyuers opinyons in this case. The Egiptians say, that when the riuer Nilus brake, and ouer ranne the earth, there abode certaine peces of earth whych cleued together, and the soune comyng to them, created many wild beastes, amongst whom was found the first woman. Note ladyes, it was necessarie that the floud Nilus should breake out, so that the first woman myght be made of earthe. All creatures are nourished and byed in the intrayles of their mothers, except the woman, whych was byed without a mother. And it semeth most true, that without mothers ye were borne, for without rule ye lyue, and with order ye dye. Truly he taketh vpon him a great thing, and hath many cares in his mynde, muche to muse vpon, needeth much counsel, needeth long experience, & ought to chose amongst many women, that thinketh to rule one only wife by reason. Se the beastes neuer so wild, at length the Lyon is ruled by his keeper, the bul is enclosed in his parke, the horse ruled by the bydel, the lytle hoke catcheth the fysh, the Oxre contented to pealde to the yoke: only a woman is a beast whych wyll neuer be tamed, she neuer loseth her boldnes of commaundynge, nor by anye bydel wil be commaunded. The gods haue made men as men, and beastes as beastes, & mans vnderstanding very high, and his strength of great force: yet ther is nothing, be it of neuer so great power, that can escape a woman, eyther with sleight or myght. But I say to you amorous ladyes, ther is neither spurre can make you go, raine that can hold you backe, bydel that can restraine you, neither fishe hoke, ne net that can take you: to conclude, there is no law can subdue you: nor shame restraine you, nor feare abashe you, nor chastisement amend you. O to what great peril putteth he himselfe vnto, & thinketh to rule and correct you. For if you take an opinyon, & whole world cannot remoue you: who warneth you of any thing, ye neuer beleue him. If they geue you good counsel, you take it not: if one threaten you, straitte you complaine. If one pray you, then are ye proude: if they reioyce not in you, then are you spiteful. If one forbear you, the are ye bold: if one chastice you straitte you become serpents. Finally a woman wil neuer forget an iniurie, nor be thankeful for a benefite receiued. Now a days the most symplyst of al women wil sweare, that they know lesse then they do: but I sweare, whych of them that knoweth least, knoweth more euil then al men, and of trouth & a selfe man shal faile in their wisdom, wil ye know my ladyes howe lytle you vnderstand, & how much you be ignorant: that is, in matters of importance ye determine rashly, as if ye had studped on it a thousand yeres: if any resiste your counsel, ye hold him for a mortal enemy, hardy is that woman that dare giue counsel to a man, and he more bolde that taketh it of a woman

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woman: but I refourne and saye, that he is a foole whych taketh it; and he more foole that asketh it, but he most foole that fulfilleth it. My opinion is, that he which wil not stumbe amongst so hard stones, nor picke himselfe amongst such thornes, nor bring him with so many nettels, let him harte what I wil say and do as he shal se, speake wel and worke euil. It is my sing, a word much, but in perfourmyng, accomplishe litle. Finally allow your wordes, and condemne your counsels. If we could demaund of famous men which are dead, how they liked in their life the counsel of womē. I am sure they would not now rise againe to beleue them, nor be relused to heere them. How was king Philippe with Olimpia, Paris with Hellen: Alexander with Roxana, Aeneas with Dido, Hercules with Deanyrya, Anibal with Tamira, Antioch with Cleopatra, Iulius with Domitian, Nero with Agrippina: and if you wil not beleue what they suffered with them, aske of me vnhappye man what I suffer amongst you. O ye women, when I remember that I was borne of you, I loth my lyfe: and thinking how I liue with you, I wishe a desire my death. For ther is no such death to tormente, as to haue to do with you: a contrarie no such lyfe, as to fly from you. It is a common saying among women, that men be very vnthankful, because we were bred in your entrailles, we order you as seruantes. We say for that ye brought vs forth with perill, and nourished vs with trauaile, it is reason that we shold alwayes employ vs to serue you. I haue thought diuers tymes with my selfe, from whence the desire that man hath to women cometh. Ther are no eyes but ought to wepe, nor hart but should breake, nor spire but ought to waile, to se a wyse man lost by a foolish woman. The foolyshe louer passeth the day to content his eyes, and the darke night in tormenting himselfe with fond thoughtes, one day in hearing tydings, another day in doing serayces, sometime liking darknes, sometime lothing lyght, being in company, and solitary lyueth: and finally the poore louer map that he wil not, and would that he may not. Moreouer the counsel of his frends auayleth hym nothing, nor the infamy of his enemies, not the losse of goodes, the aduenture of honour, the losynge of his lyfe, nor the sekynge of death, neyther comynge neare, nor flyng farre, nor seing, with his eyes, ne hearing with his eares, nor tastynge with his mouth, nor fealing with his hand: a to conclude, to get byctorye he is alway at warre with hym selfe. Then I would ye louers knewe, from whence your loue doth come, it is this. The entraples wherof we are bread be fleshe, the breastes that we sucked are fleshe, the armes wherin we be fastned be of flesh, the thoughts which we thynke be fleshly, the workes which we do are fleshly, the men with whom we lyue are of flesh, and the wonder for whom we dye are flesh: by whych occasion cometh, the reuerting of our flesh to flesh, many fre harts are intangled with the snares of loue. It semeth wel my ladies ye were gendered in puddels as befoze is mencioned of the Egyptians: & puddels haue no cleare water to drynke, nor fruite to eate, nor fish to be taken, nor shyppes to sayle in.

I meane, that in your lyues ye be filthy, your personnes without shame, in aduersitye weake and feble, in prosperitee ful of deceite and guyle, false in your wordes, and doubtful in your doynges, in hatynge without measure, in loue extreme, in gifts couetous, in takynge vnshamefast: & finally, I

saye

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say ye are the ground of feare, in whom the wisse men find perill, & the simple
 men suffer injury. In you, the wisse men hold their reuenge slaundered, & the
 simple men their life in penury. Let vs omit the opinion of the Egyptians, and
 come to *Pythagoras*, which say, that in the desertes of Arabia, the sonne shyneth
 hottest: & at the beginning ther was found one womā, with one bird called
 the *Phoenix*, which bird was created on the water, and the woman engende-
 red by the great heat of the sonne, & of the powder of trees in this wile. Ther
 was a tree for eate to moynes, & upon a time a blast of lightning set it on
 fire, & burnt it so as amongest the ashes of that rotten tree, the first woman
 was made & found. Although I be a Roman philosopher, yet can I not di-
 salow the opinion of the greke philosopher. Of trouth ye amorous dames, ye
 haue your tongues of the nature of fire, and your condicions like the powder
 of a ractente. According to the dyuersity of beasts, so nature hath in diuers
 parts of the body placed their strength: as the Eagle in her byl, & Unicorne
 in the horne, the serpent in the taile, the bul in the head, the beare in his pa-
 wes, the horse in the breast, the dogge in the teath, the bove in the tuske, the
 doves in the winges, & the women in their tongues. For of trouth the flighte
 of the dove is not so hyghe, as the fantasy of your folyshnes is vaine: the cat
 scratcheth not so sore with her nayles, as ye scratch the folish men with your
 importunities. The dogge hurteth not hym so much that he runneth after,
 as ye do & sorrowful lauer that seruethe you: the life of him is not in so much
 daunger that catcheth the bul by the hornes, as the same of him that falleth
 in your hands. To conclude, the serpent hath not so much poison in his taile:
 as ye haue in your tongues. I accept the Romaine ladies a part, for ther are
 many very noble, whose lynes are not touched with complaint, nor good fa-
 mes had in suspect. Of such, neither my letter speaketh ought, nor my penne
 wytyth: but of those women I speake that be such, as al the venemous bea-
 stes in & would haue not so much poison in their bodyes, as one of those hath
 in their tongues. And sith the gods haue commaunded, & our fate doth per-
 mit, & the life of men cannot passe without women: I aduise the youth, & be-
 sech the aged, I make the wise, & instruct the simple, to shonne women of e-
 uyl name, more then the comon pestilence. Reading the auncient lawes of
 Plato, I find written this. We comaund that al women openly defamed,
 bee openly banished the cite, to thintente that others seing the same pu-
 nished, may abhoire the same, for feare to fal in the like paine. The same law
 said further, we comaund & they pardon a woman for al her faults she com-
 mitteth bodely, in case ye se amendment likewise in her: but we wil that no
 fault be pardoned, committed by the tongue. For actual sinne done, is the
 frailty of nature, the tongue, only of malice. Denyng Plato, maister & mea-
 sure of al knowledge & science, & prince of al philosophers. When thou in the
 golden world maydest such lawes, in whiche time ther was such scarcite of
 those women which were euil, and so great plenty of them that were good:
 what should we do now in Rome, wher there be so many euil openly, and
 none good in secret? women naturally oughte to be shamefast in their face,
 temperate in wordes, wise of wit, sober in going, honest in conuersacion, pi-
 tiful in correction, ware in their luyng, auoyding companyes, faithfull in
 their promyse, constāt in loue. Finally she that wil be counted honest, let her
 not

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not trust to the wisdom of the wise, nor commit her fame to the wanton youth: let every wise woman take heed what he is & promyseth her ought. For after that the flames of Venus be set on fire, and Cupide shotte his arrowes, the rich offereth all that he hath, and the poore al that he may. The wise man wil ever be her friend, and the simple man for ever her seruaunt.

The wise man wil lose his lyfe for her, and the simple wil accept his death for her. The old men say, they wilbe frendes to their frendes: and the yonge man wil say, he wilbe enemy to their enemyes. The aged promysing to pay her debtes, the other to reuenge her iniuries. Finally the one because to hide their pouertie, and the other to publyshe their beautie, leade these fooles losing their lyues, & bringinge their fame to ende. I wil leaue to speake of the good womenn, for I munde not to charge them with ought. I aske you amorous ladies yf Plato was amongstest you when ye made a play of my lyfe, & drew my picture about Rome: no surely, for that I se in your act now, I do suspect that to be true which hath bene sayd of others, for there are fewe in Rome that execute the paine of Platoes law. One thing ye cannot deny, if I were the worst of al men, at the last ye se the end of my bylanies: but this you cannot deny, that she which is least euil of al yon, & naughtines of her life, I could not sufficiently set out in my lyfe. It is great perill to wise women to be neighboried with folles, it is great perill to & shamesfast to be w the shameles, it is great perill to the chaste to be with the adulterers, great perill it is for the honorable to be with the defamed, for ther is no flaundered woman but thinketh every one defamed, or at the least desireth to haue them so, procureth to haue them flaundered, or saith they be infamed. And in the end to hide their infamy, they flaunder al the good. It is long sicke I knew you amorous ladies, & you me. If ye speake, I speake: if you know I know. If ye hold your peace, I am stil: if ye speake openly, I wil not talke in secret. Thou knowest well Aulina & diddest compasse & iest of me, that Eumedes sold cauldes dearer in the butcherie, then thou diddest innocent virgins in thy house. And thou Toringa knowest wel & before me thou couldest not count all thy louers on thy fingers, but diddest desire to haue a bushel of peason. Thou wottest wel Lilia Fulua, whē thou were (thou wottest with whom) at Bretus, we made agreement with thy husbaund, thou tokest him a side and said, vnles I may lie out of my house one night in a weke, thou shalt not lye quietly in thy house, thou knowest wel Restoria, & in thy youth thou were two peres on the sea, & diddest cōpound with the pirate & no woman shold serue the hundred souldiers but thou alone in a galy. Thou knowest tight wel Erma curtia that when the censo: came to take the, he found .v. mens apparel, the which thou warest in the night season, & but one womā's attire wherwith thou was clothed in the day time. Thou knowest wel Pefilana Fabricia & Alluines, Metelles, & thou being married, demaunded openly what thou haddest gotten in his house with thy frends in secret thou knowest wel Camilla, not being content wythe thy owne countre folkes, thou haddest such resorte and haunte of straungers to the, that thou canst speake al languages.

I wil marke them that haue marked me, hurt them that haue hurted me, persecute them & haue persecuted me, defame them that haue flaundered me, al other my penne pardoneth, for & they pardoned me in their play. Because

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my letter begon with that ye did to my parson, therfore I wil end it, with that it knoweth of your good names. And thus I conclude, & a man maye scape from al daungers in shunning them: but from women, ther is no way but to fly from them. Thus I end, and beset the gods that I may se of you that which you would se of me: and sith ye be louers, I counsaile you, as ye haue sent me the play in a mockerie, euen so to receiue my aunswere.

Marke nowe the Rhodian, to the amorous Ladyes of Rome.

Of a letter sent by Marcus Aurelius to his loue Boemia, for that she desired to go with him to the warres. Cap. xi.

MARCUS the Romaine pretor, being in the warres of Dacia: sendeth health to his louing Boemia, remainyng in the pleasours of Rome. Escapinge from a cruel battaile thy few lynnes I red, and vnderstode thy large information. I let the know thou hast astonyed me more, then mine enemyes haue feared me: and taking thy letter in my hands, the herbe of malyce entered into my hart. When I temper my body with & delights, I thinke my hart fre fro the venyme of thy amours: sith I of my wil, and thou for want of power haue geuen vs to be fre of our pleasures, I thinke as wel to make a deuorze of our sorowes. But ye be such, ye such I say, as are & banishmentes of loue: & the treasour of grefes. The loue of you al ought to be digested with pilles, but the passion of one of you wil not be oppressed, with all the rubarbe, in Alexandria. Be shew your selues cruel to pardon an enemy: and euer lyghtly you chaunge your frends. I haue curiously made serche, why: lest delight gouerned my youth: yet could I neuer se in a woman stedfastnes, nor reaso in their loue, nor end in their hate. The present wantones quarrelleth with my youth passed, because thou seest not in me the auncient good wil toward the, nor & present serupce. And certainly hearing thy accusation, & not my iustification: thou myghtest pay me as iustly with death, as I pay the with forgetfulnes. The whych forgetfulnes ought to be as straunge in him that serueth, as vngreatitude in the lady that is serued. Thinkest thou I haue forgotten the lawe of Venus? when I commaunded that the curious louers should exercise their strength in chualry, and occupy their harts in loue: & more it willet a man to weare his geare cleanly, their feete right, their bodies constant, their voice soft & humble, demure & modeste of chere: they ought to haue eyes open alwayes loking vp to the wyndowes, & their harts ready to fly into the ayer. For a trowth my frend Boemia, he is a grosse louer that hath his wil in captiuitie: and his iudgment fre. The iudgement is of no value, where the wil is in thraldome. This I say, & thou maiest know, though my age hath left the exercise: yet my vnderstandyng hath not forget the art, Thou complainest because I geue my selfe to much quiet, and that I haue forgotten the, I wil not deny the truth, the day of my forgetting maketh the pryuy of my thoughtes. And reason the ouerseer declareth, that it is not requysite for my grauptie to permitt I should loue: nor in thy age to suffer to be beloued. The world doth dissemble many things in youth: whych in age meriteth greuous corrections. The wanton toyes of youth procede of ignorance, but the bylanies done in age grow of malyce.

When I walked in nyghtes I letted the streates, I sange ballades: I galed

WRITTEN BY M. AVREL.

galed to the wyndowes, I played on the gittornes: I scaled the walles, I wakened y^e yowth. Thinkest thou I wiste what I did in my yowth? but sith I se my selfe bereued of all my wonted wanton toyes, and polished with so many whyte heares, clad with so many sorowes: either I thinke now I was not then, or els I dreame now, not knowing the way I straye in, nor seing that stony way ready to stumble in. Unwittingly I haue fallen into y^e staires, not foreseeing the wherilpole: guidles I entred, in the rashenes of my yowth I lost me: for the which I aske pardon. And now that I am out of y^e byriers, thou wouldest haue me further in then euer I was. Now that I can not take the purgations, thou offerest to me the siroppes. I haue waked all night, and now thou geuest me a fresh alarum. By our auncient frendship I pray thee, & by the gods I coniure thee: that sithens my harte is rebell to thy wyl, that thy doubtfull wil doe suffer, and let alone, my wyl out of doubte. And because thou shouldest not thinke any vngreatitude in my white heeres as I may in thy yong wanton persone, I will that we accompte that we haue gotten, & that we hope to get. Tel me what cometh of these vaine pleasures: the time euil spent, the fame in way of perdition, the goodes consumed, the credite lost, the goddes offendeth, the vertues sclaundered: from whence we get the names of brute beastes, and sir names of shame. Suche be ye, and others. Thou writest in thy letter howe thou wouldest willingly leue Rome, and come to see me in the warres of Dacia. Considering thy folly I laugh, but knowing thy boldnes I beleue thee. And when I thinke on this, I tourne to my bosome, & peruse thy seale: doubting whether the letter were thyne or not. The baynes of my hart do chaunge, my colour doeth tourne, imagening that either shame hath vtterly forsaken thee, or els grauitie hath wholly abandoned me: for such lightnes should not be beleued, but of the like persons. Thou knowest wel he that doth euil, deserueth punishment soner, then he that doth infamy. I would aske the whether thou wilt go? thou sufrest to be cut as sowet grape, & now thou wouldest be sold for good wine? thou camest in with cherries, & yet wouldest remain as quinces. We haue eaten the in blossomes, & thou wilt be like the fruite? the nuttes be pleasaunt, but the shelles be hard. By doing thou were made ripe in thy yowthe, & thou woudest to be in stil. Thou art nought els but rotten. And if thou be rotten, y^e art to be abhorred. Thou art not content with .xl. yerres which y^e hast, wherof .xv. thou didest passe in tast, like to swete wine that is sold, or like the melos that be rypp & melow. Art not thou that Boemia which lacketh two teethe before? are not thine eyes sonken into thy head? thy heares whiter, thy fleashe wyrcled, & thy hand perished with the gout, & one ribbee marred with child bearing? whether dost thou desire to go? put thy selfe then in a baryl, & cast it into the ryuer, so shalt thou become pure & white. We haue eaten the fresh fish, & now thou wouldest bring hether the stinking salt fishe. O Boemia, Boemia, in this case I see no trust in yowthe, nor hope in age. For vnder this thy hoied age there is hid, the panges of fraile yowth. Thou cōplainest that thou hast nothing, it is an olde quarell of the auncient amorous ladies in Rome that taking all thinges, they say they haue left them nothing. The cause thereof is, where you doe lacke credite, there ye would haue it accomplished with money. Beleue me louing frende, the folly estate of vnlawfull gaining, both geueth an vnure state, & also an euill fame to the persone. I knowe not howe

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thou art

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thou art so wastful, for if I pulled of my ringes with þ one hande, thou pickedst my purse with the other: greater warres haddest thou then with my coffers, then I haue now with my enemies. I neuer had iewel, but thou demaundedst of me, & thou neuer askedst me thing that I denied thee. I find & bewaile now in my age, the high partes of my youth. Of trauel & pouertie thou complainest. I am he that hath great nede of the medicine for this opilation, & plaisters for the sonne, & cold water for such a burning feuer. Doest thou not wel remember, how I did banish my necessitie into the land of forgetfulnes, & placed thy good wil, for the request of my seruice? in the winter I went naked, & in the sommer loded with clothes. In the mite I went on foote, & rode in a faire way. When I was sad I laught, when I was glad I wept. Being afraid, I drew out my strength, & out of strenght cowardnes. The night with sighes, & daies in wayling I consumed. When thou haddest nede of any thing, I robbed my father for it. Tel me Boemia, with whom diddest thou fulfil thine open follies, but with the misorders that I did in secret? wote ye what I thinke of the amorous ladies in Rome? that ye be mootes in olde garmentes, a pastime for light persones, a treasure of fooles, & the sepulcres of vices. This that semeth to me is, that in thy youth euery mā gaue to thee, for that thou shouldest geue to euery one: now thou geuest thy selfe to euery man, because euery one shoulde geue them to thee. Thou tellest me þ þ hast two sonnes, & lackest helpe for the. Geue thākes to þ gods for þ mercy they haue shewed thee. To .xv. children of Fabritius my neighbour, they gaue but one father: & to thine only two sonnes, they haue geue .xv. fathers. Wherefore deuide them to their fathers, & euery one shalbe wel prouided. Lucia thy doughter in dede, & mine by suspect; remēbre that I haue done more in making of her, then thou diddest, bringing her forth. For in the getting of her, thou callest many: but to mary her, I did it alone. Very litle I wypte to the, in respect of that I would wypte. Butrio Cornely hath spoken much to me on thy behalf, & he shall say as much to the in my part. It is long ago sithe I knew thy impacience, I know wel thou wilt sende me another more malicious. I pray the, sence I wyte to the in secret, discouer me not openly: & whē thou readest this, remēbre what occasion thou hast geuen me to wyte thus. Although we be fallen out, yet I will sende the money. I send the a gown, & the gods be with thee Boemia, and sende me from this warre with peace.

Marke pretour in Daci, to Boemia his
louer & auncient frend in Rome.

The aunswere of Boemia to the Emperour Marcus Aurelius. Wherin is expressed the great malice, and litle pacience of an euill woman. Cap. xii.

Boemia thine aunciet louer, to thee Marke of mount Celio her natural enemy, desireth vengeance of thy person: & euill fortune during thy life. I haue receiued thy letter: & thereby perceiue thy spiteful intētes, & thy cruel malices. Such naughty persons as þ art, haue this priuiledge: þ sith one doth suffre your villanies in secrete, you wil hurt the openly: but þ shalt not do so w me Marke. Although I am not treasure of thy good: yet at þ least I am of thy naughtines. Al þ I cannot reuēge w my person: I wil not spare to do it w my tongue. And though we women for weakenes sake, ar easely ouercom in persone: yet knowe þ that our hartes are inuincible. Thou saiest, escaping from a

WRITTEN BY M. AUREL.

from a battaile, thou receiuedst my letter: wherof thou wast sore agaste. It is a common thing to them that be slouthfull to speake of loue, for fooles to treat of booke, & for cowards to blase of armes. I say it, because the answer of a letter was not nedeful, to rehearse to a woman whether it was before the battaile, or after. I thinke wel thou hast escaped it, for thou wert not the first that fought, nor the last that fled. I neuer saw þ go to the warre in thy youth, that euer I was fearful of thy life: for knowing thy cowardlines, I neuer toke care for thy abience, I alwaies iudged thy persō safe. The tel me Marke, what dost thou now in thy age, I thinke thou cariest thy lance, not to serue thy tourne in thy warre: but to leane on, whē the gout taketh the, Thy head pece I iudge, thou hast not to defend the from stroks of sword: but to drinke withal in tauernes. I neuer sawe the strike any man with thy sword: but I haue sene the kil a thousand womē with thy tongue. O malicious Marke, if thou wert as valiaunte, as thou art spiteful: thou shouldest be no lesse feared among the barbarous nations, then thou art abhorred (with good reason) amongest the Romaines. Tel me what thou list, but thou canst not deny: but both thou hast bene, & arte a slacke loue, a cowardly knight, an vnknown friend, auaricious, infamed, an ennemy to all men: a friend to none. Whereouer we þ knew the a lyght yong mā, condemne the now for an old dotting foole. Thou saiest, þ taking my letter into thy handes, forthwith thy hart receiued the hearbe of malpce. I beleue the wel vnsworne: for any thing touching malpce, doth streight find harbor in thy brest. The beasts corrupted do take poison, which the sound, & of good complexion, refuseth. Of one thing I am sure, thou shalt not die of poison. For seldom times one poison hurteth another: but it driueth out the other. O malicious Marke: if al they in Rome knew the, as wel as the vnhappie Boemia dothe: they should se how much the wordes that thou speakest, differ from the intention of thy hart. And as by the booke thou makest, thou meritest þ name of a philosopher: euen so for the ilnes thou inuentest, thou dost deserue the name of a tiraunt. Thou saist, thou sawest neuer constancy in a womans loue, nor end in her hate. I ioy not a litle, that other ladies in Rome as wel as I, doo know thy smal wisdom. Behold Marke, I wil not mocke the: for thou art such a one, as neuer deserued that one shold begin to loue, nor end to hate. Wilt thou haue stablitate in loue, and thou vnthankful of thy seruyce? wilt thou serue in mockerie, and be beloued faithfully? wilt thou entoy the parson, without spending any of the goodes? wilt thou haue no complaints on the, & thou cease not thy malice? Thou knowest the il of womē: I wil thou know that we be not so folishe as ye wene vs: nor thou so wise as thou praisest thy selfe to be. Hitherto we haue sene mo men folow the desire of women, then women haue liked to folow men. I haue sene a thousand times, yea & thou thy selfe, that one man hath not so mighty a hart, as to ouercome thre wise womē: & one woman holde th her selfe strong inough, to subdue.iii. C. lighte persons. Thou saist thou art ashamed of my lightnes, to se me forsake Rome, & come to the into the warres. Great is the loue of the countrey, and many leaue much goodes which they haue in straunge landes, to lyue poozely in their owne: but greater is thy loue, sith I would leaue Rome with the Delities therein, & come to seke the in straung lands amonge the rude souldiours. O malicious Marke, O straunge friend. If I leaue Rome, it were to goe

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I like my harte, whiche is with thee in the warres. And certainly oftentimes
 when I thinke, of thy absence, I fall into a swoone, as one that hadde no
 harte: but I neuer fynde remedy. I thinke oure loue is not like to these
 beastes, whiche haue their myndes only vpon sensual pleasures, without the
 cōiourning of the louing hartes. I sweare to the by the goddesse Vestal, & the
 mother ^{Berecinthia}: that thou owest moze to me for the loue I haue bozne to
 thee in one day, then for the seruice I haue done to thee in .xxii. yeres. Behold
 vnhappy Marke, howe much and dearly I loued thee. In thy presence I al-
 wayes behelde thee, and absent I alwayes thought of thee: sleeping I drea-
 med on thee, I haue wepte for thy sorowes, and laught at thy pleasures: and
 finally al my wealth I wished thee, and al thy misfortunes I toke as mine.
 I ensure thee of one thing: that I fele not so much the persecution thou hast
 done to me, as I doe the wayling forgetfulness thou shewest to me. It is a
 great griefe to a couetous man to lose his goodes: but without comparison
 it is a greater torment for the louer, to see his loue euill bestowed. It is a
 hurt that is alwayes sore, and a payne alwayes paynefull, a sorowe alwayes
 sorowfull, and it is a death that neuer endeth. ¶ If men knewe howe dearly
 and faithfully women doe loue, when they are bent to loue: and with what
 malicious harte they hate, being set to hate: I sweare to you, ye would ne-
 uer company with them in loue: or if ye did loue them, ye would neuer leaue
 for feare of their hate. And as there is neuer great hate, but where there
 was first much loue: euen so thou shalt neuer be greatly hated, for that thou
 wert neuer truly beloued of the ladies. The sorowful Boeme hath loued thee
 .xxii. yeres of her life: and now she onely hateth thee till after her deathe.
 Thou sayst I may be eaten for veruypce: and yet would be solde for wyne.
 I knowe I haue erred, as one both young and light: and when I founde
 me to straye out of the waye I was to farre gone, and my mishappe coulde
 no other way, noz remedy. It is a great losse of all losses when there is no
 remedy. I haue offended as a weake and frayle woman, but thou as a man
 strong. I erred by simple ignorance, but thou of a purposed and wilful ma-
 lice. I sinned not, knowing that I did amisse: but thou knewest what thou
 diddest. I did credite thy wordes as a faithfull knight: and thou betraidest
 me with a .1000. lyes, as a common lier. Tell me, diddest not thou seke occa-
 sion to come into my mothers house ^{Getulia}, to entise me her doughter Boe-
 mia to thy mynde: diddest not thou promise my father, to teache me to reade
 in one yere: and readest me ^{Ouide} of the art of loue: diddest not thou sweare
 to mary me, and after withdrew thy hande as a false adulterer: dost thou
 not knowe that thou neuer foundest in my persone any byllany, noz in thy
 mouthe any truthe: At the least thou canst not deny, but thou hast offended
 the gods, thou art defamed amongst me, odious to the Romans, a slaun-
 derer of the good folkes, an example to the ill, and finally a traitour to my fa-
 ther, a breaker of thy faith to my mother, and to me the vnhappy Boemia an
 vnhappy louer. ¶ Malicious Marke, hast thou not cut me in leaues, offering
 to my father to kepe his vines safe: Euell may the chicken truste the kyte,
 or the Lambes the wolfe, or the Doves the faucon, but thou arte worse to
 bring vp the doughters of good men. ¶ Cursed Marke, a hurtfull keeper of
 vines hath the Matrone of Rome founde thee, in keapping their doughters.
 I sweare, that there was neyther grape noz cluster, but it was either eaten,
 or gathered

WRITTEN BY M. AVREL.

or gathered by the. Thou diddest eate me grene, for the which I promise the it hath set thy teeth on edge. Thou sayest I was riped by power of heat and straw. It greweth me not so much that thou saiest it, as that thou geuest me occasion to say to the, thy shame is so shamelesse, and thy euil so malicious, & I cannot make aunswere to thy purpose, onlesse I rubbe the on the quicke. I aske the when thou marriedst Faustine: whether thou foundest them grene or ripe: thou knowest wel, and so do I also, that other gaged the vessel, and thou drankest the lyes: other had the meate, and thou the huskes: other did eate them being grene, and with the refuge set thy teath on edge. O cursed Marke: behold how great thy euels are, and how the goddes haue iustly punished the, that beinge yonge, thou couldest not deserue to be beloued of thy louers, nor yet now in thy age, thy wife kepe her faith to the. For me to be reuenged of thy parson, I nede no more but to se the married to Faustine. By the mother Berecinthia I promise the, that if thy smal wisedome mighte attaine to know at the ful, what they say of the, and her in Rome: thou wouldest wepe both day and night for the life of Faustine, and not leaue the woeful Boemia. O Marke, litle care is taken for the, and how farre is our vnderstanding vncoupled from thy thoughtes. For through thy great learninge, thy house in the day tyme is a schole of philosophers, and the wantonnes of thy wife Faustine in the night maketh it a receite of ruffians. It is a iust iudgement of the goddes, sith that thy malice onely sufficeth to poison many that be good, the euilles onely of one woman, shalbe enough to spoile, and take away thy good renown. One difference ther is betwene the and me, and thy Faustine, which is, that my facts are in suspect, and yours done in deed, mine be in secret, but yours known openly. I haue but stumbled, but you haue fallen. For one onely fault I deserue punishment: but you deserue pardon for none. My dishonour dyed with my fact, and is buried with my amendmēt: but your infamy is borne with your desires, nourished with your malices, & stil with your works. Finally your infamy shal neuer dye, for you liued neuer wel. O Marke malicious, with al that thou knowest, dost not thou knowe & to dye wel, doth couer an euil fame, and to make an end of an euyl life, doth begin a good fame? Thou ceaseest not to say euil onely of suspect, which thy false iudgements geueth: and yet wouldest thou we shold conceale that, we se with our eyes. Of one thing I am sure, that neyther of the, nor of Faustine ther are hath bene any false witnes. For ther are so many true euilles, & ther needeth no lyes to be inuented. Thou saiest it is an old custome, with the amorous ladies in Rome, though they take of many, yet they are the porest of al: because we want credite, we are honored for siluer. It is most certaine, & of holly we loke for pricks, of acorns huskes, of nettels stinginge, and of thy mouth malices. I haue seriously noted: I neuer heard & say wel of any, nor I neuer knew any that would the good. What greater punishmēt can I desire for thy wickednes, nor more vengeaunce for my iniuries, then to se al the amorous ladies of Rome discontented with thy life, and ioy to thinke on thy death, cursed is the man whose life many do bewaile, and in whose death euery one doth reioyce. It is the propertie of such vnthankeful wretches as thou art, to forget the great good done to them, & to repent & litle they geue. How much the noble harts do reioyce in geuing to other: so much they are ashamed to take seruice vnrwarded. For in geuing they are lords, & in ta-

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king they become slaues. I aske what it is thou hast geuen me, or what þ^e hast receiued of me: I haue aduentured my good fame, and geuen thee possession of my persone: I haue made thee lord of me and mine: I banished me from my countrey, I haue put in perill my life. In recompence of this, thou dost detect me of misery. Thou neuer gauest me ought with thy harte, nor I toke it with good will, nor it euer did me profite. As all thinges recouer a name, not for the worke we openly see: but for the secreete intention with which we worke. Euen so thou unhappy man desirest me, not to enioye my parsonne, but rather to haue my money. We ought not to call thee a cleare loue, but rather a thefe, & a wily persone. I had a litle ring of thine, I minde to throwe it into the riuer: & a gowne thou gauest me, which I haue burnt. And if I thought my body were increased with þ^e bread I did eate of thine, I would cut my fleshe being whole, & let out my bloud without feare. O malicious Marke, thy obscured malice wyl not suffer thee to vnderstande my cleare letter. For I sent not to thee to aske money, to relieue my pouertie and solitarines: but only to acknowledge & satisfie my willing hart. Such bayne & couetous men as thou, are contented with giftes, but the hartes incarnate in loue, are not satisfied with a litle money. For loue is rewarded alway with loue. The man that loueth not as a mā of reason, but like a brute beast, & the woman that loueth not where she is beloued, but onely for the gaine of her body: such ought not to be credited in wordes, nor their persones to be honored. For the loue of her endes when goods faileth: and his loue when her beautie decaieth. If the beautie of my face did procure thy loue, & thy riches only allured my good wyl: it is right, that we should not be called wylse louers, but rather solishe persons. O cursed Marke, I neuer loued thee for thy goodes, although thou likedst me for that I was faire. Then I loued with my hart, & now I abhorre thee with all my hart. Thou saiest the gods vsed great pitie on me, to geue me fewe children, & them many fathers. The greatest faulte in women is shameles, & the greatest villany in men is to be euill sayers. Diuers thinges ought to be borne in the weakenes of women, which in the wisdomme of men are not permitted. I say this, for that I neuer saw in the tēperance to cloke thine own maliciousnes, nor wisdomme to shadow the debilitie of others. Thou saiest my children haue many fathers: but I sweare to thee, that the children of Faustine shal not be fatherles, although þ^e die. And if the gods as thou saiest haue ben pitifull to my childre, no lesse art thou to straunge children. For Faustine kepeth the but to excuse her faultes, & to be tutoz to her children. O cursed Marke, thou nedest not take thought, for thy children haue no nede to be married. For one thing we are bound to thee, that is: the example of thy pacience, for since thou suffrest Faustine in so many open infamies, it is no great nede we suffer any secretes in thee. For this present I say no more, I end my letter, desiring to se shortly the ende of thy life.

¶ Marcus Aurelius wyrteth to the lady Macrine the Romaine, of whom (beholding her at the wyndowe) he became enamoured. Whiche declareth what force the beauty of a fayre woman hath in a weake man. Cap. xlii.

MArke the very desirous, to the lady Macrine greatly desired. I knowe not whether by my euyl aduenture, or by happe of my good aduenture: not long agoe I saw the at a window, where thou haddest thy armes as close, as I my eyes displayd, that cursed be they for euer: for in beholding thy face,

WRITTE BY M. AVREL.

face, forthwith my hart abode with the as prisoner. The beginning of thy knowledge, is the end of my reason, and falling in: shonnyng one euyl, come infinite trauayles to men. I say it for this, if I had not bene ydel, I had not gone out of my house: and not gone out of my house, I had not passed by the streat. And not going through the streate, I had not sene þ at the window: and not seing the at the window, I had not desired thy person. And not desiringe thy person, I had not put thy fame in so greate peril, nor my life in doubt: nor we had geuen no ocrasion to Rome to speake of vs. For of troth lady Macrine, in this case I condemne my selfe. For willnyngly I dyd behold the. I did not salute the, althoughe thou desiredst to be sene. Sith thou were set by as a white, it is no merueile though I shotte with the arrowes of my eyes, at the but of thy beauty, with rolyng eyes, with browes bent, wel coloured face, incarnate teth, ruddy lipps, couled heere, handg set with ringes, clothed with a thousand maner of coloures, haupng purses full of swete sauoures, the braceletes and earringes ful of pearles and stones. Tel me what this meaneth? The most that I can thinke of this is, sith you shew vs your bodie openly, ye would we should know your desires in secret. And if it be so, as I beleue it is, it semeth to me lady Macrine, thou oughteste to loue him that lyketh the, to enfourme him that seketh the, to aunswere him that calleth the, to seale him that sealeth the, and to vnderstand him that vnderstandeth the: and sith thou vnderstandest me, I do vnderstand the, & vnderstand that thou knowest not. I do wel remember as I went by the streat solitari-ly to se ii. theues put to death, my eyes saw the at a window: on whom dependeth al my desires. More iustice thou dost to me, then I to the theaues: for I being at iustice, thou hast iusticed the iustice, & none dare paine the. The gallowes is not so cruel to them, which neuer knew but doing euyl: as thou art to me, which neuer thought other but to serue the. They suffer but one death, but thou makest me suffer a thousand. They in one daye & one houre end their lyues, and I each minute do fele the pages of death. They died giltty, but I innocently. They dy openly, & I in secret. What wilt thou I saye more to thee, they wepte for that they died, and I wepe teares of bloude from my hart for that I liue. This is the differēce, their tormentes spreadeth abroad through al their body, & I kepe mine together in my hart. O cruel Macrine, I know not what iustice this is, þ they kil men for robbing & stealing of money, & suffer women to liue, which steale mens harts. If they take the liues from them þ picke purses, why then do they suffer ladies which robbe our entrailes? By thy noblenes I pray the, & by the goddesse Venus I coniure the, eyther satisfie my desire, or restore to me my hart whych thou hast robbed from me. I would thou knew lady Macrine, þ clere intencion of my hart, rather then this letter written with my hande. If my hap were so good, as thy loue would permit me to speake with the, I wold hope by sight & speche to win that, which I am in suspect by my letter to lose. The reason wherof is, because thou shalt rede my rude reasons in this leter, & if þ sawest me, thou shouldest se þ bitter teares which I would offer to thee, in this my vnhappy life. & þ my mouth could publishe my cruel peines, as my harte sealeth the. I sweare to thee lady Macrine, þ my woful plaintes would stirre by thy small care, and as thy beauty hath made thee thine owne, so the knowledge of my grieve should make the myne. I desire thou wouldest regarde the beginning and therewith note the ende.

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For of truth, the same day that thou imprisonest my hart at the window, in þe dungeon of my desires, I had no lesse weakenes to overcome, then thou haddest strength to enforce me: & greater was thy power to take me frome my selfe, then my reason was to put me from the. Now lady Macrine, I doe not aske other mercy of the, but that we may declare our minds together. But in this case what wilt thou I say vnto the? but that thou hast somuch power ouer me, and I so lytle of my libertie: that though I would not, my hart must nedes be thine, & that being thine, thou wilt shewe thy selfe to be mine. And sith it may not be, but that my life must be condemned in thy seruice: be thou as sure of my faith, as I am doubtful of thy good wil. For I shal haue a greater honoz to be lost for thy sake, the to winne any other treasure I haue no more to say to the now, but þe thou haue respect to my perdition, & draw life out of my death, & tourne my teares to ioy. And because I hold my faith, and wil neuer dispaire in thy hope, I send the .x. little ringes of gold, with .x. ringes of Alexandria, and by the immortall gods I coniure the, þe when thou putttest the on thy finger, thou receivest my loue into thy hart.

Marcus thy louer, wrote this with his owne hand.

Of an other letter whiche the emperour sent to the Lady Macrine, wherein he expreſseth the firy flames which consume soneſt the gentle harts. Cap. xlii.

MArke thy neighbour at Rome, to the Macrine his swete enemy. I cal the swete for it is iust I die for the: & enemy, because thou ceaseſt not to kil me. I cannot tel how it is, but ſithe the feaſt of Ianus hitherto, I haue writen the letters vnto the, in the aunſwere wherof I would haue ben contented to haue receiued but ii. from the. If I would ſerue the, thou wilt not be ſerued: if I ſpeake to the, thou wilt not aunſwere me. If I behold the, thou wilt not loke at me: if I cal the, thou wilt not anſwer me. If I viſite þe, thou wilt not ſe me: if I write to the, thou wilt make no aunſwere. And þe worſt of al is, if others do ſhew the of my grefes, thou takeſt it as a mockerie. O þe I had ſo much knowledge wher to complaine to the, as thou haſt power to ceaſe my plaint: then my wiſedom ſhould be no leſſe praiſed among the wiſe, then thy beauty amongeſt the ſoleſ. I beſech the hartely not to haue reſpect to the rudeneſs of my reaſons, but regard þe faith of my teares, which I offer to þe as a witneſs of my wil. I know not what profite may come by my harme, nor what gaine of my loſſe thou maiſt hope to haue, nor what ſurety of my peril thou maiſt attaine, nor what pleaſure of my paine thou maiſt haue. I had aunſwere by my meſſenger, that without reading my letters, wth thy owne hands thou diſt rent them in peces, it ought to ſuffice to thinke how many parſons is tormented. If it had pleaſed you lady Macrine to haue red thoſe ſew lines, you ſhould haue perceiued how I am inwardly tormented. Be women be very extreme, & for the miſaduenture of one man, a woman wil complaine of al mē in general. So ye al ſhew cruelty for one particular cauſe, openly ye pardon all mens liues, and ſecretly ye procure death to al. I accompt it nothinge lady Macrine that thou haſte done, but I lament þe which thou cauſeſt thy neighbour Valerius to ſay to me. One thing I would thou ſholdeſt remember, and not forget, that is. Sith my libertie is ſo ſmall and thy power ſo great, that being wholly mine, am toynd to be thine: the more iniurie thou doſt to me, the more thou hurteſt thy ſelfe, ſince by the I die,

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die, as thou by me doest live. In this peruers opinion abide not, so mayest thou hase the life of vs both. Thou hurttest thy good name, and destroyest my health, in the ende thou must come to the same phisicke. Pardon me lady Macrine, if I saye ought that may offende thee. I know ye women desire one thing greatly, that is, to haue soueraintie of vs, and yet not seame so much as by thought to wyshe the same. Thou haddest the same of a gentle nature, though in dede thou were not so: yet thou haddest the same thereof, and an auncient good name ought not to be losse with a newe vnkindenes. Thou knowest howe contrary ingratitude is, to vertue in a vertuous house. Thou canst not be called vertuous, but if thou be curteous. There is no greater ingratitude, then not to loue againe. Though I visite the, and thou not me, it is nothing: though I remember thee, and thou forgettest me, it is nothing: though I wepe, and thou laugh, it is nothing: though I craue of thee, and thou denie me, it is nothing: though thou owest me, and paye me not, it is nothing. But if I loue thee, and thou not me, this is a great thing: which the eyes can neither dissimule, nor the hart suffer. All the vices in mortall men are to be pardoned, because they offende naturally: saue onely this discourtesy in women, and vngentlenes in me, which are counted of malice. Diuerse seruices by me done to thee, and all the good willes I haue heretofore bozne to thee, thou onely lady Macrine with one thing rewarde me. I praye thee be not slacke to helpe me, for I was not so to offer me into peril. If thou sayest that Patroclus thy husbände hath the proprietie in thee, at the least yet receiue me vpon proufe, and I will pretende a possession of thee: and in this wyse the bayne glorie in being thyne, shall hyde the hurt being myne. thou makest me maruayle not a litle, that for so small a rewarde, thou wilt suffer so great an importunitie. For certainly we graunte many thynges to an importunate man, whiche we deny to a temperate man. If thou lady Macrine hopest to ouercome me: beholde I yelde me as vanquished. If thou wilt lose me, I holde me losse: if thou wilt kyll me, I holde me dead. For by the gestures whiche I make before thy gate, and the secrete sighes whiche I fetch in my house, thou mayest knowe howe greatly I mynde to reste: but thy braue assaultes, are rather buyldinges to nouryshe death, then to cosoyte the lyfe. If thou wilt I escape this daunger, deny me not remedy. For it shalbe a greater dishonour for to flea me, then shame to saue me. It is no iust thing for so small a gaine, to lose so faithfull a frende. I wote not howe to make thee my detter, nor howe to make thee paye me, and the worst of all is, I knowe not what to saye, nor howe to determine. For I was not bozne to myne owne wealth, but to be faithful in thy seruices. And sythe thou knowest whom thou haste trusted with thy message, the same I doe trust with this open letter, and my aunswere in secrete. I doe sende to thee a iewel of pearle, and a piece of golde, I pray the gods make thee receiue them as willingly, as I doe frely sende them.

Marke Drafour to the inexorable Macrine,

Of a letter whiche the Emperour Marcus Aurelius sent to the beautiful lady Livia, wherein he proueth that loue is naturall, and that the moste parte of the philosophers and wyse men, haue bene by loue overcome. Cap. rb.

Marke

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MArke full of sorowe, to thee careles Lyuia. If thy litle care did lodge in me, and my sorowes were harboured in thee, thou shouldest then see howe litle the quarell is that I make to thee, in respect to the torment I suffer. If the flambes issued out, as the fire doth burne me within, the heauens should perishe with smoke, and the earth should make umbers. If thou doest well remember, the firste time I saw thee in the temple of the virgin Westals, thou being there diddest alwayes praye to the gods for thy selfe, and I vpon my knees prayed to thee for me. Thou knowest, and so doe I, that thou diddest offer oyle and hony to the goddes, but I did offer to thee teares and sighes. It is iust thou geue more to hym that offered his harte, then to him whiche draweth money out of his purse. I haue determined to wyrite to thee this letter, whereby thou maieste perceiue howe thou arte serued with the arrowes of my eyes, whiche were shot at the white of thy seruice. O vnhappy that I am, I feare least this present calme, doth threaten me with a tempest to come. I wyl sape, that discourtesy in thee, causeth doubtfull hope in me. Beholde my misaduenture, I had lost a letter, and tounring to the temple to seeke it, I founde the letter whiche was of some importaunce: and had almoste loste my selfe, whiche is the greatest thyng. Considering my small rewarde, I see my eyes (the ladders of my hope) set on so high a wal, that no lesse certaine is my fal, then my climming was doubtfull. Thou bending downe thy harness of thy high desertes, and putting me to the point of continuall seruice, suffrest me to enioye the fruite, and geue to whom thou wilt the leaues. By the immortal gods I sweare, that I marueile not a litle, for I thought that in the temple of the virgin Westalles no temptation could haue come to man. But nowe by experience I finde, that that woman is easelier ouercome, whiche is moste watched: then the other that hath honest libertie. All bodily diseases be first had or they be knownen, and knownen or they be sene, and sene or they be felte, and felte or they be fasted: and so in all thinges except this darte of loue whom they firste feale the stroke thereof, before they knowe the waye howe it commeth. The lightning commeth not so sodaine, but it is knownen before by the thonder. The wal falleth not sodeinly, but first some stones fall downe. The colde commeth not so faste, but some small shuering is sene before: onely loue is not felt, vntil he hath had power in the entrailes. Let them know that are ignorant, & thou lady Lyuia if thou wilt know. Loue sleapeth when we wake, & waketh when we slepe, laugheth whē we weape, & wepeth whē we laugh. It assureth in taking, & taketh in assuring: it speaketh when we be still, & is stil when we speake. And finally it hath such a cōdition, that to geue vs our desire, it causeth vs to liue in paine. I sweare vnto the, whē my wil became thy seruaunt, & thy beautie made the my mistres, when I was at the tēple, and there found thee, neither y in thy praier didst mynde me, nor I vnhappy man did thinke on thee. O vnhappy hart of mine, that being whole thou art deuided, being in health thou art hurt, being aliuie thou art killed, being mine thou art stolen, & the worst of al is, that thou not helping to my lyfe, consentest that death shal assault me. Considering many times lady Lyuia with my selfe my thoughtes to be high, & my fortunes base, I would haue seperated my selfe from thee: but knowing my traualle to be wel employed in thy seruice, I say though I might, I would not be seperated from thee. I wil not
Denie

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Deny one thing, that is: the cursed loue taketh away the tast of al thinges, & in those things only it geueth vs pleasure, which are greatly against our profite. This is the profe of him that loueth hartely, that one frowne of her that he loueth, doth more greue him, then al the delightes of the rest of his life can please. I deme lady Lyuia, thou arte abashed to se me openly as a philosopher, & to know me secretly as a louer. I besech thee hartely discouer me not. For if the gods graunt me long life, I am now a young foole, yet in age I will be wyse. The gods know what I desire, and the force whiche doth enforce me thereunto. And as the fleshe is weake, & the hart tender, the occasions many, the vertues fewe, the world deceitfull, the people malicious: so I passe this springe time with floures, in hope that in haruest I shall haue some fruite. Thinkest thou lady Linia, that philosophers be thei neuer so wise, are not touched with the sharp dartes of loue? and that vnder their course clothes, there is not soft fleshe & white? Certainly amonges hard bones, is nourished soft e fleshe: & within the pricking huskes, growe the chesse nut. I saye, that vnder simple attire, is the faithfull loue. I doe not deny but our fraile nature doeth withstande our vertues. Nor I deny not but that the wanton desires, are repressed with vertuous mindes. Nor I deny not but that the rashenes of youth are restrained with the reynes of reason. I deny not but many times wisdom doth withstand that that the fleshe procureth: & yet I confesse, & he that is not amorous, is a foole. And dost not thou know, although we be wise, we leaue not therfore to be men: dost not thou know, all that euer we learne in our life, suffiseth not to gouerne the fleshe one houre? dost not thou know, that to wise men in this case hath fallen many errours? dost not thou know that there hath bene, & are many maisters of vertues: and much more there are & hath bene folowers of vices? then why dost thou make suche a wonder only of me? I wil not saye it without a trouth, that I neuer had my iudgement so good & perfite, as when Cupide blewe winde on me with his winges. There was neuer man vntill my time accompted wise, but first he was entangled with Cupides snares. Gratian was in loue with Tamira, Solon Salaminus, the geuer of the lawes, was enamored with one Gretian. Pittacus Mitelenus left his owne wife, & was in loue with a bond woman & he brought from the warre. Cleobulus when he was. lxxx. yere olde, & had red philosophy lxx. yeres, climming by a ladder to scale his neighbours house, fel, and of the bruse died. Periander prince of Achaia, & chiefe philosopher of Grece, at the instance of his louers, slew his owne wife. Anacharsis a Philosopher, a Sithian by his father, and a Greeke by the mother side, loued so dearely a woman of Thebes, that he taught her al that he knew: in so much that he being sicke on his bed, she red for him in the scholes Epimenides of Crete, that slept. xv. yeres without waking. Although he was a great worshipper of the Gods, yet was he bannished Athens. x. yeres for the louing of women. Architus Tarentinus, the maister of Plato, & scholer of Pithagoras, occupied his mynd more to muet new kinds of loue, then to employ his minde to vertues & learning. Gorgias Leontinus, borne in Scycil, had mo concubines in his house, then bookes in his study. All these were wise men, & we knew them wise, yet at the end they were overcome with the flesh. Therfore blame me not alone, for as I haue told thee of these few, so could I of a whole army. For of trouth he ought to haue many thinges, & wilbe accepted a curious louer. He must haue his eyes displayed on her

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on her that he loveth, his vnderstanding much altered in that he thinketh, his tongue troubled in that he should speake: so þ in seeing he be blind, in thinking dismayd, in speaking troubled. O lady Linia, the louing in mockery, passeth by mockery: but wher as true loue is, there is greife & no mockerie: there loue spit teth his poison, & cruel Cupide fireth his arrowes by to the feathers. The eies wepe, the harte sigheth, the fleshe trembleth, the senewes doe shrink, the vnderstanding is grosse, reason faileth, & so al falleth to the earth. Finally the heauy louer abyding in himselfe, holdeth nothing of himselfe. Al this I saie, because if I want knowledge to make me a louer, yet am I sure that the workes faile not in me to worke thy seruice. And though by mishap I saue thee, yet by good chaunce I knew thee. I aske nothing of thee but that þ loue me faithfully, sith I loue the vnfainedly. And if thou hearest that I am sick from my hart, I desire the to do me some good. Sith it is only in the to help me, it is reason thou only do seke for remedy. I was greatly comforted whē Fulius Carlinus desired me in thy behalfe to doe a pleasure, which I did incontinent al þ thou desiredst, to the intent that thou another day shouldest doe frankly that I desire thee. And behold lady Linia, the woman that is serued with seruices, it is reason within a whyle she be sued vnto by prayer. And though my strength cannot open the gates of the purpose, or not agreeing to thy demaund, yet al my labours slake not to vphold thy renowne. I praye the discouer not the one, nor beguile me with the other. For thou seest in graunting is remedy, and in hoping is comfort. But promise is deceivable, & delayeng is perplous, and the entertaining byndeth. I se wel that the harty demaund, requyeth a long aunswere: but I would not thou shouldest do so. But as I loue the, so loue me: as I desire of the, so graūt thou me. I will say once againe I am all thine, & nothing mine owne. And note lady Linia, that it is as muche honour to thee, as profitable for me, that thou chaunge these thy desires, & put in order thy disordered will. For thou seest it is muche better to heale shortly, then to late, with failing thy purpose. All women obserue one euill opinion, that is: ye neuer receiue counsel, although it be geuen you in neuer so waighty a case. And if it be not so, then because thou arte esteemed beautiful, be like wple honoured for taking of good counsel. In this softe, though my losse be much, & thy patience litle, yet shall they accompt me wise in geuing counsel, & the most happy to folowe it. One thing I will say to thee, & pardon me therein. women be much defamed in that they wil take no counsel, & such as do assure their renowne so much on the iudgement of others, as they condemne wel doing before. I thinke good if it so like thee, & would if thou wilt, that thou should doe in all pointes as I haue counsaied thee. I will say no more lady Linia, but that I doe present to thee all my vnfortunate troubles, my sighes as a desperate man, my seruice as thy seruante, my troubled griefes, my wordes of philosophy, and my teares as a louer. I sende thee here a girdle of golde, on condition that thou alwayes fire thy eies on that, and thy harte on me. I pray the gods geue me to thee, & thee to me.

Marke the open Philosopher wrote
this in great secrete.

FINIS.

